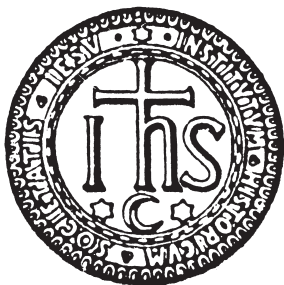


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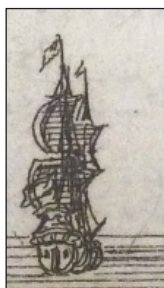
The Jesuit Historical Institute (*Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu* - *IHSI*) was founded in 1930 under Father General Włodimir Ledóchowski. Over the years its members in Rome oversaw the publication of the biannual review *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (*AHSI*), the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (*MHSI*), the monograph series *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu* (*BIHSI*), and the series *Subsidia ad historiam Societatis Iesu* (*SAHSI*). In the light of Father General Adolfo Nicolás's letter of 25 February 2010 to the major superiors of the Society (published in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, vol. XXIV (2010), pp. 931-933), the apostolate of Jesuit history at the Curia in Rome was reconstituted within the context of the Archives (*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* - *ARSI*). Henceforth *ARSI* was given an expanded mission. Among its competences is to oversee publications relating to the Society's history. Thus the historical publications continue as part of *ARSI*, while retaining the publication imprint *IHSI*.

Norman Tanner S.J., *Editor*

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A Failed Mission or a 'Never-ending Tertianship'? François-Marie Gaillard S.J. (1853-1927) and his contribution to the historiography of the Society of Jesus

Robert Danieluk, S.J.*

The approaching bicentenary of the restoration of the Society of Jesus focuses the attention of many on one of the most troubled and also most interesting periods in Jesuit history, i.e. the years between the Clementine suppression in 1773 and the rebirth of the order in 1814. Hopefully this commemoration will inspire historians to deepen their knowledge of these forty-one years, and provide new studies which help readers interested in the subject. However, interest in that period is by no means new and recent studies on Pope Ganganelli¹ or those dedicated to the survival of the Society in Russia² have had their predecessors. Sometimes they are less known or practically unknown, as in the case of the French Jesuit François-Marie Gaillard who became, in spite of himself, a specialist in this period. This article intends to recall his life and contribution to Jesuit historiography. Based on the documents preserved in the Jesuit Roman Archives (ARSI), it provides, in a series of appendices, not only their inventory reference, but also the text in some cases.

The life of Gaillard

François-Marie Gaillard was born on 2 July 1853 in Saint-Laurent-

* Robert Danieluk S.J. has been archivist in ARSI since 2004. His books *La "Bibliothèque" de Carlos Sommervogel: Le sommet de l'oeuvre bibliographique de la Compagnie de Jésus (1890-1932)* (2006) and *"Œcuménisme" au XIXe siècle. Jésuites russes et union des Églises d'après les Archives Romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus* (2009) were published by the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome. He has published several articles and book reviews in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* from 2005.

1 Isidoro Liberale GATTI, *Clemente XIV Ganganelli (1705-1774). Profilo di un francescano e di un papa, I: Lorenzo Ganganelli. L'uomo, il francescano, il teologo, il cardinale*, Padova, Centro Studi Antoniani, 2012.

2 Marek INGLÓT, *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'impero Russo (1772-1820) et la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia*, Roma, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997. Sabina PAVONE, *Una strana alleaza. La Compagnia di Gesù in Russia dal 1772 al 1820*, Napoli, Bibliopolis, 2010.

des-Hommes in the French region of Dordogne. Shortly before his twentieth birthday, 19 April 1873 he entered the novitiate of the Toulouse Province of the Society of Jesus in Pau. Sent to Toulouse a year later, he completed his novitiate there (1874-1875) starting at the same time to study rhetoric – a programme that he followed until 1876. From that year through 1878 he studied philosophy at the Jesuit formation centre in Vals near Le Puy. After that, he was sent for the next period of his religious training, i.e. regency, to Montpellier where, for two years, he taught in the Jesuit college. In 1880-1881 he also taught in the minor seminary in Sarlat (Dordogne).

Then, on the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from France in 1880, the scholastic Gaillard followed his brethren into exile where he continued regency, teaching rhetoric from 1881 through 1883 in the formation centre organized by the French Jesuits in Uclès in Spain. From there, in 1883 he moved to Jersey – another scholasticate set up outside the confines of his native country (this one was on British territory) and studied theology there until 1887. Here he was ordained priest on 8 September 1886.³

Back in France in 1887, he took a year studying for his degree in modern languages and literary studies at Angers. Having gained both degrees in 1888 (a degree in English from the University of Paris, and a degree in literary studies from that of Toulouse),⁴ he was immediately sent for the last period of his Jesuit formation, i.e. tertianship to Mourvilles-Basses in the region of Haute-Garonne where he remained until 1889. That year he was appointed teacher of German and English in the Jesuit college in Toulouse. He worked there for three years, while also doing some pastoral work, such as hearing the confessions of the pupils or directing the Sodality of Our Lady. During this time, on 3 February 1890, he took his final vows in the Society of Jesus, being professed of the four vows.⁵ From 1892 through 1894 he was teacher of French in Chyrów (today in the Ukraine, at that time in Austrian Galicia) where the Polish Jesuits had a college. Back in France in 1894, for just one year only he taught Greek, German and English in the house of formation in Toulouse, before the greatest mission of his life started in 1895.

3 The document testifying to his ordination by John Vertue (1826-1900), bishop of Portsmouth (the diocese to which the Channel Islands belonged) is preserved in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-X-13.

4 Both diplomas are preserved in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-X-24 and 25.

5 The formula of these vows, in ARSI, *Vota Assistentiae Galliae*, t. 3, doc. 89.

That year he was called to Rome to join a new group of Jesuit historians appointed by Fr. General Luis Martín to do research in the archives (the Vatican Archives and others) in order to collect material to be used in writing the history of their provinces.⁶

Gaillard would certainly not have imagined this kind of Jesuit career as his own. Actually, at that time his greatest desire was to be a missionary in Russia. In October 1894 he wrote a long letter to Fr. Martín volunteering for such a mission. In this letter he indicated that he already had that missionary desire for some twenty years, but he was putting it to the General only at that moment because he was following the advice of his Provincial: «[...] Reverend Father Provincial advises and invites me to send this letter today, wherein I offer myself to Your Paternity for any mission that would be required, but firstly for the mission in Russia, for which I am offering myself with all my heart».⁷ To convince the General, he listed in the same letter the reasons which would make him suitable for such work: his suitable character and good health, his knowledge of languages and of literature, as shown by his academic degrees, and, finally, his French nationality which would facilitate access to the Russian empire that had been closed to the Jesuits since 1820. Before taking any decision on the matter, Fr. Martín asked the opinion of Gaillard's Provincial, Fr. Calvet.⁸ The General agreed to send the missionary candidate again to Galicia to let him improve his Russian. Meanwhile Gaillard also wrote to the Provincial, giving him details of his project: he believed it was possible for him to enter Russia either as chaplain to the French embassy in St. Petersburg or as teacher in some Catholic family.⁹

6 Luis Martín * 19. VIII. 1846 Melgar de Fernamental, S.J. 13.X.1864 Loyola; † 18.IV.1906 Rome (DHCJ II, pp. 1676-82).

7 «...Reverendus Pater Provincialis suadet et invitat, ut hanc hodie mittam epistolam, qua me Paternitati Vestrae, certo certius ad quaevis a lia quae placeant, sed imprimis ad missiones rossiacas offeram, ut ex animo me nunc offero». Letter from Gaillard to Martín, from 19 October 1894, in ARSI, *Tolos.* 1004-V-13.

8 Letter from Martín to Calvet, 19 November 1894, in ARSI, *Reg. Tolos.* IV, p. 17. Arthur Calvet * 8.VIII.1849 Belves (France), S.J. 31.VIII.1868 Toulouse, † 13.X.1918 Heren Elderen (Limburg), provincial of the Province of Toulouse in 1890-1895 (ARSI; the abbreviation 'ARSI' without any further qualification appearing in some of the biographical notes of the present article indicates that the information given comes from the catalogues of the Jesuit provinces and from other tools of research available in these archives).

9 Letter from Gaillard to Calvet, 3 December 1894, in ARSI, *Tolos.* 1004-V-14.

The Provincial and his advisers however were more sceptical about the real possibility of putting these plans into practice. As clearly appears in Calvet's letter to Martín, apart from some objective difficulties in such a project, the Provincial was hesitant about some of the attitudes of the candidate for the mission:

[...] does the Father, who has true qualities of spirit and of heart, have the ability, the poise, the prudence, the wisdom which would be necessary on such a mission? He is fervent, impressionable and consequently liable not to be able to size up persons and things judiciously. He should be given other work. With the right guidance he can do a lot, for he is indefatigable at work, very amenable by reason of virtue and supernatural spirit, endowed with great strength of will, and a very good religious. [...] He knows enough Russian, Ruthenian, etc. Rev. Fr. de Scorraille advised me to find him an academic position in Russian at the Catholic Institute in Paris. If the other plans do not succeed, this one could be put into practice to some advantage, for it would contribute indirectly to the apostolic work that the Father desires. If Your Paternity finds a position better adapted to his qualities, I would be obliged if you could let me know. If not, we shall wait until some providential circumstances appear.¹⁰

Indeed, these circumstances changed and events followed in quick succession, although not in the way that Gaillard was expecting. First, the General gave him a clear and negative answer concerning any immediate departure for Russia, although expressing his

10 «[...] le Père qui a de sérieuses qualités d'esprit et de cœur, a-t-il le savoir faire, le calme, la prudence, la sagesse qui seraient nécessaires dans une telle mission? Il est ardent, impressionnable et par suite exposé à ne pas juger sainement les hommes et les choses. Il devrait être dérogé. Avec une bonne direction il ferait beaucoup, car il est infatigable au travail, très docile par vertu et esprit surnaturel, doué d'une grande force de volonté, et très bon religieux...Il sait suffisamment le russe, le ruthène, etc. Le R. P. de Scorraille me conseillait de lui procurer une chaire de russe à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Si les autres projets ne peuvent aboutir, celui-là pourrait être réalisé avec avantage: il contribuerait de loin et indirectement à l'œuvre apostolique que le Père a en vue. Si Votre Paternité trouve un status mieux adapté à ses dispositions, Elle voudra bien m'en informer. Sinon, nous attendons les circonstances providentielles qui peuvent surgir». Letter by Calvet to Martín, from 11 December 1894, in ARSI, *Tolos.* 1004-III-81. Raoul de Scorraille * 24.I.1842 Périgueux (France), S.J. 14.VII.1860 Pau, † 11. VII.1921 Mons; professor of philosophy and superior of several communities of the Province of Toulouse, he was also its provincial (1895-1902) after having been director of Études (1887-1895) (*DHCJ* IV, p. 3539).

gratitude for the French Jesuit's generous offer. Not excluding the possibility that events might make that mission possible in the future, Martín encouraged Gaillard to continue with the work entrusted to him by his Provincial, and urged him to go on studying the language and everything that could help him in case circumstances changed.¹¹ The General had also communicated this decision to the Provincial of Toulouse.¹²

Writing to the latter five months later Martín asked him to propose candidates for the project entrusted to him by the General Congregation in 1892: to see that the Society's history was written up. Wishing to accomplish this mission, the General asked the Provincials in all Assistancies to look for possible candidates for a twofold task: 1) to search for necessary material; 2) to write the history of each Assistancy. The requests were also sent to France. In the one addressed to the Provincial of Toulouse, Martín suggested the name of Fr. Suau.¹³ Calvet was not happy with this suggestion and put forward the names of other possible candidates, among them Gaillard about whom he wrote:

Fr. Gaillard who wrote to Your Paternity about Russia cannot stay at the juniorate. Fr. Pierling told me that his idea about going to Russia was not at all wise in the present circumstances. He advised him to undertake historical studies, e.g. the life of Card. Bessarion, or the history of the Society in Belarus. In this way he would really do some useful work for the conversion of the Russians. But could all these plans be put into practice? Fr. Gaillard would then be quite free. He had behind him a knowledge of ancient and modern languages, fervor, patience and persistence in accomplishing extraordinary deeds; he is tractable, a good religious, but does he have a style that is interesting enough? Does he have a sound enough judgment? We doubt it.¹⁴

11 Letter from Martín to Gaillard, 8 January 1895, in ARSI, *Reg. Tolos.* IV, pp. 23-24.

12 Letter from Martín to Calvet, 25 December 1894, in ARSI, *Reg. Tolos.* IV, p. 23.

13 Letter from Martín to Calvet, 8 June 1895, in ARSI, *Reg. Tolos.* IV, pp. 39-40. Pierre Suau * 7.VI.1861 Pointe-à-Pitre (Guadaloupe), S.J. 24.XII.1878 Victoria (Spain), † 15.VIII.1916 La Bastiolle (France); his Provincial wanted him to be a professor and for that reason was proposing other names in response to Martín's request (ARSI).

14 «Le P. Gaillard qui a écrit à Votre Paternité au sujet de la Russie ne peut rester au juvenat: le P. Pierling m'a déclaré que son idée de pénétrer en Russie n'était nullement sage pour le moment; il lui conseillera d'entreprendre des études historiques, v.gr. la vie du Card. Bessarion, ou de l'appliquer à l'histoire de la

In spite of these doubts, the availability of Gaillard for the required work was confirmed by the Provincial and eventually accepted by Martín in August of the same year.¹⁵ Thus the destiny of the future researcher was decided. Paradoxically, his new mission was to allow him to travel to Russia, although not as a missionary as he originally wanted.

Actually, Gaillard's new appointment became his real mission for the next thirty-two years, i.e. for the rest of his life. His first goal was to focus on the Society's survival in Russia and to find material concerning that period.

The group of historians which the French Jesuit joined in 1895, changed its members more often than its Roman residence: with the exception of the year 1896-1897 when they belonged to the community that ran the periodical *La Civiltà Cattolica* (at that time in the Via di Ripetta 246), nearly all of them usually resided in the Latin American College (at that time at the Via Giacchino Belli 3). Gaillard also had his residence in this college from 1895 through 1902, apart from the above-mentioned exception of one year. His researches were not limited to the Vatican Archives and Library. He read a lot in other Roman libraries and archives, such as the Chigi (since 1922 this has been part of the Vatican Library) and Corsini libraries, those at the Propaganda Fide, Vittorio Emanuele II (the Italian National Library), and in the archives of the Spanish embassy in the Piazza di Spagna, etc. During these years he also went to Naples, Parma, Reggio and Piacenza to see other archives where he expected to find useful material for his project.

Compagnie en Russie Blanche; il ferait ainsi des œuvres vraiment utiles en vue de la conversion des Russes... Mais tous ces projets peuvent-ils se réaliser? Le P. Gaillard serait donc facilement libre: il a pour lui la connaissance des langues anciennes et modernes, une ardeur et une patience et résistance au travail extraordinaires, il est docile, bon religieux, mais a-t-il un style intéressant?, a-t-il le jugement bien sûr? On en doute ». Letter from Calvet to Martín, 29 June 1895, in ARSI, *Tolos.* 1004-III-98. Paul Pierling 1. VI. 1840 Saint Petersburg, S.J. 5. XII. 1856 Baumgartenberg (Austria), + 25. II. 1922 Bruxelles (about him and his works, cf. Robert DANIELUK, 'Œcuménisme' au XIXe siècle. *Jésuites russes et union des Églises d'après les Archives Romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus, Roma, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 2009, pp. 30-31; 57). Bessarion (1402-1472), Greek, a cardinal in 1439, was one of the promoters of the union between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches (R. LOERNETZ, in *Enciclopedia Cattolica* [from now on: *Enc. Catt.*], t. 2, Città del Vaticano, Ente per l'Enciclopedia Cattolica e per il Libro Cattolico, 1949, col. 1492-1498).

15 Letter from Calvet to Martín, 9 August 1895, in ARSI, *Tolos.* 1004-III-103 and letter from Martín to Calvet, 21 August 1895, in ARSI, *Reg. Tolos.* IV, p. 46.

Later on, from 1901 through 1907, this search extended to important Spanish archives in Simancas. During the same period he also worked in Loyola and Madrid. Back in the Italian capital, after less than two years, in 1909 he left again, this time for St. Petersburg and Moscow where he had further important research to do.¹⁶ Having to leave Russia because of the expiry of his residence permit, between December 1910 and February 1911 Gaillard was in Cracow where he studied the archives of the Jesuit Galicia Province as well as those from other Polish archives and libraries. He also used his final journey back from Russia, which he left for good in September 1911, to stop for several months in Venice, Modena, Cremona and Exaten (Netherlands) to complete some necessary inquiries there.

Back in Rome for good in October 1912, from that year until his death in 1927 he did not travel any more. Residing mostly in the Pio Latino Americano college (only in 1924-1925 was he once again for one year a member of the community at *La Civiltà Cattolica*), he still completed the research and prepared a book about the Society's suppression and survival in Russia: *Suppression, survivance et rétablissement de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1772-1814* which was never published (copies of it are available both in the ARSI and in the library of the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus).¹⁷

Gaillard ended his days in the Eternal City 13 August 1927 and was buried at the Campo Verano cemetery in the Jesuit vault which since then has become the burial place of many other members of the Society of Jesus, including some of his fellow historians.

He did not leave many written memoirs about himself or his work. However, some of the material from the ARSI collections is instructive enough on that point also. One or two examples will illustrate this.

In the notes from his Spiritual Exercises in 1925, we read this reflection, recorded by Gaillard during the contemplation on the Nativity: «Let it then rain in my room as it rained at Simancas and in... Bethlehem! Let it be as cold in the Pio Latino as it was in St. Petersburg and in Moscow or as it was also at Simancas with my

16 He published a report on this journey: François-Marie Gaillard, "Ma mission en Russie (décembre 1908-septembre 1911)", *Lettres de Vals* 4 (1932), pp. 173-331. The manuscript version of it is preserved in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-I-1.

17 Cf. Appendix 2.

frostbitten hands split open!». ¹⁸ Reminiscences from the time of his researches? Most certainly.

As other notes written at the end of his life testify, he considered his long research as a way of fulfilling his religious vocation in the Society of Jesus. Remembering with gratitude the half-century of his Jesuit life, he called the years spent in research an 'everlasting tertianship' because of the studies in the order's history and traditions that he undertook by doing archival investigations (during their tertianship Jesuits deepen their knowledge of the Society's history and Institute). In these notes the spiritual reflexions, favoured by the ambiance of the Exercises, are mixed with some biographical memories:

God gave me the grace to be born into a truly pious family and to have a saintly mother. I was born and baptised on Saturday, July 2, 1853, the feast of the Visitation of our Lady. My life went on, while my 11 brothers and sisters died in their quite early childhood. I took a vow in my eleventh year, a vow which was the beginning of so many other graces that were granted to me in the years to come. I entered the Society where I was given all the graces of its way of life. On Jersey, there was another grace which has always furthered my exactitude in God's service. Priesthood, tertianship, final vows, a double vow of perfection, etc., etc. A never- ending tertianship (since October 1895) due to the study of the Society, of its Institute. Eight years of solitude and isolation at Simancas and in Russia, whence came a hunger and thirst for union. Then fifty and more years in love, passionate and crazy about my vocation *ad Societatem Jesu!* Fifty and more years of faithfulness, esteem, genuine affection for all my religious exercises. *Gratias agimus, etc. Quid retribuam Domino? et Mariae Immaculatae?*¹⁹

18 «Qu'il pleuve donc dans ma chambre, comme il pleuvait à Simancas ou à... Bethléem! Qu'il fasse froid au Pio Latino comme il faisait froid à Pétersbourg et à Moscou, ou encore à Simancas avec les mains pourries d'engelures crevées!». Gaillard's spiritual notes from 1925, p. 12, in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-III.

19 «Dieu m'a fait naître d'une famille vraiment pieuse et d'une sainte mère. Né et baptisé le samedi 2 juillet 1853, fête de la Visitation Sainte Marie. Vie conservée, alors que mes 11 frères et sœurs moururent dans leur plus tendre enfance. Vœu fait dans ma onzième année, vœu principe de tant d'autres grâces ultérieurement accordées. Entré dans la Compagnie où me sont données toutes les aides de l'Institut. À Jersey, grâce extérieure, qui stimula toujours mon exactitude dans le service de Dieu. Sacerdoce, Troisième An, profession religieuse. Double vœu de perfection, etc., etc. Troisième an perpétuel (depuis octobre 1895) par l'étude de la Compagnie, de l'Institut S. J. Huit années de retraite et d'isolement à Simancas et

He also confessed that his only ambition, while working in the Russian archives at Moscow and St. Petersburg, was to contribute in this way also to an immediate or later return of the Jesuits to Russia. From what he wrote at the same place there also emerges a recollection of the solitude in which he had lived for many years, first of all in Simancas and then in Russia: «In Moscow I consider myself responsible for the return of the Jesuits to Russia, either soon or in the future. In St. Petersburg, in Moscow I found another Simancas. Blessed solitude! Nazareth!»,²⁰

Besides the gratitude and the sentiment of fulfilling his mission there emerge some allusions to difficulties met with during this busy life: the solitude and the material disadvantages of the conditions in which he worked. Surprisingly there is no word about his unpublished writings.

More information about the personality and work of the French Jesuit are to be found in his correspondence, preserved in part in his archival collection.²¹ From the letters received from and sent by him to several fellow Jesuits, his biographer could certainly derive valuable details.

Gaillard's legacy

Apparently only a few of Gaillard's writings have been published:

1. "Summarium additionale", in *Romana beatificationis et canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Josephi Mariae Pignatelli, sacerdotis professi e Societate Jesu positio super virtutibus*. Pars altera. Romae, Typis Guerra et Mirri, 1907 [from now on: *Positio* 1907].
2. "Quelques observations à propos de la réunion des Slaves orthodoxes"; manuscript in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-I-6, published in: *Opinamenta et vota quoad pontificiam in Urbe pro Ecclesiarum Orientalium dissidentium Concordia institutionem*. Roma, Ex

en Russie, d'où faim et soif d'union. Cinquante années et plus, épris, ravi, fou de ma vocation *ad Soc. Jesu!* Cinquante années et plus, de fidélité, d'estime, d'affection sincère par tous mes Exercices de piété. *Gratias agimus etc. Quid retribuam Domino? et Mariae Immaculatae?*». Gaillard's spiritual notes [without date], p. 1. ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-III.

20 «À Moscou je me regarde comme responsable du retour prochain ou lointain des jésuites en Russie. À Pétersbourg, à Moscou, j'ai trouvé un autre Simancas. Quelle solitude bienheureuse! Nazareth!». Gaillard's spiritual notes [without date], p. 4. ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-III.

21 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II and 1011-IV. Some of these letters are included in Appendix 5 at the end of this essay.

Typographia pontificia in Instituto Pii IX, 1917, pp. 145-159.

3. "Ma mission en Russie (décembre 1908-septembre 1911)"; manuscript in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-I-1, published in: *Lettres de Vals* 4 (1932), pp. 173-331. Both texts are summarized and commented on in Stefano Maria CAPILUPI, "La Missione di François-Marie Gaillard nella Russia ortodossa del primo ventennio del XX secolo: Caratteristiche e limiti della prospettiva unionistica. Con una appendice di testi inediti" *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* vol. LXXII, fasc. 143 (January-June 2003), pp. 127-194.

The same scholar also published, in the same article, the following Gaillard texts:

4. "Travail fait depuis mon retour de Russie et de Venise (21 March 1919)"; manuscript in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-I-11, one part of it is published in CAPILUPI, "La Missione", p. 181.

5. "À propos de la religion catholique (des rites latin et slave) en Russie"; manuscript in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-I-10, published in CAPILUPI, "La Missione", pp. 181-182.

6. [Notes and observations sent to some officials of the Vatican Congregation for the Oriental Churches]; manuscript in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-I-9, published in CAPILUPI, "La Missione", pp. 183-185.

7. "Quelques questions fondamentales à discuter et à résoudre d'abord, semble-t-il, afin d'en présenter des solutions claires, soit à la Congrégation Cardinalice, soit au Saint-Père lui-même (1 May 1917)"; manuscript in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-I-8, published in CAPILUPI, "La Missione", pp. 185-189 (about this cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 167-171).

8. "À Mgr Aurelio Galli. Quelques réflexions très respectueuses (sur l'Epistola Apostolica de l'union des Églises d'Orient). Rome, le 17 octobre 1919"; manuscript in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-I-7, published in CAPILUPI, "La Missione", pp. 190-191 (about this cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 172-173).

9. [Notes sent to Card. Camillo Laurenti (1 August 1922)]; manuscript in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-I-3, published in CAPILUPI, "La Missione", pp. 191-194 (about this cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 173-177).

Practically, with the exception of the first three titles from this list, all the rest of these publications are minor writings edited posthumously.

As for the bibliography about Gaillard, it is even more modest. Besides the above-quoted article by Capilupi, anyone interested in the French Jesuit and his work would have only a short biographical article in the Polish Jesuit 'Encyclopaedia',²² and

22 *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564-1995*, Kraków, Wyższa

apparently nothing more (no mention of other publications in the Polgár-Begheyn bibliography!).

Given that the only recently-published study about Gaillard is the article by Capilupi, one remark seems, to the one who is writing, to be necessary. Capilupi focused in his study on one aspect which interested him, namely on the Uniate approach visible in several actions of the Roman Catholic Church directed towards Eastern Christians at the beginning of the twentieth century. In such a perspective Gaillard's journey to Russia and his writings concerning it appear as part of a larger programme in which the Jesuit took part. Consequently Capilupi's opinions are also understandable from the point of view that he adopted. The only problem is that, without sufficiently explaining the background to Gaillard's mission in Russia, the readers of this article may be misled and lose a sense of proportion in which this episode should be seen. For example, when Capilupi writes about Gaillard's 'missionary experience in Russia' (*la sua esperienza missionaria in Russia*)²³ or about his remoteness, lack of openness and dialogue with the Russian Orthodox (*si mantenne a distanza... non potevano aprirsi a un dialogo autentico con i russi ortodossi*),²⁴ he seems to forget that the Jesuit was sent to St. Petersburg and Moscow neither for dialogue, nor for pastoral or missionary work, although he desired it earlier, as already seen. His only mission there was to do research in the Russian archives and libraries as part of the above-mentioned historiographic project promoted so eagerly by Luis Martín. If after his return to Rome Gaillard was asked to give his opinion on diverse matters of interest to the Vatican Congregations or some of its functionaries, as seems to be the case, it was because of his experience of travelling to Russia and not because of his direct or indirect involvement in the 'Eastern politics' of the Holy See. Such an involvement never existed and anyone reading Capilupi's article should not forget that.

Coming back to Gaillard's legacy: his work is not published, but it is not unknown. As early as twelve years after his death, his fellow countryman and brother in the order Paul Dudon quoted his many documents published in *Positio* 1907 (preparation of the beatification of Joseph Pignatelli).²⁵ Dudon

Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum/Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004, p. 171.

23 CAPILUPI, "La Missione", p. 157.

24 *Ibid.* p. 179.

25 Paul DUDON, "La résurrection de la Compagnie de Jésus (1773-1814)", *Revue des*

also recalled in his other article that Ludwig von Pastor as well used Gaillard's material while preparing the last volume of his monumental *History of the Popes*.²⁶ More recently Marek Inglot and Sabina Pavone have used and quoted the same material quite frequently.²⁷

The French Jesuit has left a huge legacy, the fruit of the long years of research, at present preserved in Rome.²⁸ Comprising his unpublished writings and material that he collected, this heritage could certainly be used with profit by contemporary historians also.

His first mission, received in 1895, was to study the Society's survival in Russia. During the following years however this goal changed and he had to extend this task. As testified by his letter to Fr. General Wernz of 29-30 November 1907, as early as 1901 the previous General, Luis Martín, had suggested to him that he also study the order's suppression.²⁹ That was equivalent to extending the necessary period of research from 1773-1820 back to the middle of the eighteenth century. The same letter testifies that besides

Questions Historiques 133 (1939), pp. 21-59 (English version: "The Resurrection of the Society of Jesus", *Woodstock Letters* LXXXI [1952], pp. 311-360). Paul DUDON * 6.II.1859 Sabres (France), S.J. 24.X.1880 Oña (Spain), † 20.III.1941 Toulouse, author of many studies about the Society's history and spirituality, for many years member of the editorial board of *Études* (DHCJ II, p. 1162). About Gaillard's contribution to the cause of Pignatelli, see below in the present article. José Pignatelli * 27.XII.1737 Zaragoza, S.J. 5.V.1753 Tarragona, † 15.XI.1811 Rome; after the Society's expulsion from his native country (1767), was in Italy where he played an important role in the restoration of the order; he was beatified in 1933 and canonized in 1954 (DHCJ IV, pp. 3131-3133).

26 Paul DUDON, "De la suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus (1758-1773)", *Revue des Questions Historiques* 132 (1938), p. 76. Ludwig von Pastor (1854-1928), a German historian, author of *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, t. 1-16 (Freiburg, Herder, 1886-1933; the last volumes were published posthumously), translated into many languages (E. GATZ, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* [from now on: *LThK*], t. 7, Freiburg, Herder, ³1998, col. 1432-1433).

27 Cf. footnote 2. Inglot quotes Gaillard's book, but his judgement is severe: «Anche se il materiale raccolto e citato è ricchissimo, [Gaillard's study] non possiede un grande valore scientifico, a causa della mancanza di critica storica nel presentare e giudicare i fatti, e del necessario rigore nella selezione e citazione delle fonti» (INGLOT, *La Compagnia*, p. 37, footnote 74).

28 ARSI, *Fondo Gaillard* (cf. Appendix 1).

29 Appendix 5, doc. 9. Franz Xaver Wernz, * 4.XII.1842 Rottweil (Germany), S.J. 5.XII.1857 Gorheim, † 19.VIII.1914 Rome; General of the Society from 1906 (DHCJ II, pp. 1682-1687).

this main task he also had other work to do, such as preparing a refutation of some publications unfavourable to the Society or helping with the preparation of Pignatelli's beatification.

To accomplish all these tasks, Gaillard followed a method proposed by Franz Ehrle to all the Jesuit historians who were coming to Rome at the end of the nineteenth century.³⁰ First of all, they had to build a kind of data base in the form of a card catalogue with summaries of all the documents found. Secondly, they had to provide transcriptions of the most important of these documents.

Gaillard's long researches were successful, as witnessed by his rich archival collection stored in ARSI: 51 large notebooks and 43 file folders of transcriptions, besides eleven files of other material; all together 105 archival units occupying 8,5 meters of shelves. A rather general description of them is given in the inventory of the 'new' Society's ARSI section, while Appendix 1 at the end of this essay provides some more detailed descriptions of this material.

Each of the above-mentioned large notebooks contains several hundred sheets with the summaries of documents found in different places where the French Jesuit worked. Each sheet has an indication of the archives, the title of the series with the number of the archival unit and of the page or folio within it, the summary of each document and notes recommending a transcription of it, if judged necessary, or not recommending it, if judged not important enough. The table below summarizes the content of this collection and offers a first attempt at a general synopsis illustrating how the two parts of Gaillard's archives in ARSI (i.e. the notebooks with the summaries of documents and the file folders with their transcriptions) correspond to each other.

30 Franz Ehrle, * 17.X.1845 Isny, S.J. 29.IX.1861 Gorheim, † 31.III.1934 Rome; in Rome from 1880, he became Prefect of the Vatican Library in 1895, in 1922 and in 1929 Librarian and Archivist of The Holy Roman Church (*DHCJ* II, pp. 1221-1223). About the group of Jesuit historians directed by Ehrle, see Robert DANIELUK, "Le ricerche degli storici gesuiti nell' Archivio Segreto Vaticano tra Ottocento e Novecento", in: Paul VAN GEEST, Roberto REGOLI (edd.), *'Suavis laborum memoria'. Chiesa, Papato e Curia Romana tra storia e teologia. Scritti in onore di Marcel Chappin SJ per il suo 70° compleanno/Church, Papacy, Roman Curia between History and Theology. Essays in honour of Marcel Chappin SJ on His 70th Birthday*, Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2013 (*Collectanea Archivi Vaticani* 88), pp. 367-396.

Results of Gaillard's researches preserved in ARSI

Archives	Notebooks	File folders
Archivum Secretum Vaticanum	1-3; 12-14; 16; 22-24; 26; 49-50	1-4; 21-26
Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome	4-7; 16	5-8bis
ARSI	8-11; 20	9
Archivo General de Simancas	37-48	33-41
Archives of the Embassy of Spain in Rome	21; 27-33	27-30
Archivio di Stato di Napoli	17-19	13-19
Russian Archives in Moscow and St. Petersburg	34-36	31-32

This table indicates only the main archives researched by Gaillard; their names are given in the left column. He also visited many other archives as shown in the list of notebooks and file folders in Appendix 1. The central column of the table gives the numbers of the notebooks with summaries of documents from the archives listed on the left, while the right column gives the numbers of file folders containing transcriptions of some of these documents.

In addition, Gaillard's archival collection in ARSI also contains 174 other notebooks which are a kind of chronological data-base where he put, in chronological order, short indications referring to the above-mentioned main series of summaries and transcriptions.³¹

Gaillard's achievements**a) The book**

The main work of the French Jesuit is his book *Suppression, survivance et rétablissement de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1772-1814*. The manuscript is preserved in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1004 while the typed version is available in the same archives under the heading *Hist. Soc.* 1001-1003; many handwritten notes and corrections made by

³¹ ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1005-1008.

Gaillard prove that he used this copy.³² Another typed copy is available in the library of the Historical Institute.

The book must have been written after the author's return from Russia in 1912; however, there is no indication of the date.³³ Its three parts correspond to three diverse periods in the Society's history as indicated in its title. Thus it corresponds to what Gaillard was asked to do at the beginning of his historiographic endeavours: to study the vicissitudes of the Jesuits after 1773.

The book opens with a short introduction (Avant-propos; cf. Appendix 2) of four pages where the author introduces his work. What follows are the three parts divided into chapters as described in the same Appendix.

The first chapter of the first part shows how the pressure exerted on Clement XIV by the Spanish ambassador Moñino brought about their effect with the Pope's approval of the suppression.³⁴ The chapter contains summaries of the correspondence between Moñino and Grimaldi from the period of the immediate preparation of the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, i.e. from July 1772 through September 1773.³⁵ In the attachment, Gaillard also put the first plan and draft of this document as proposed by Moñino to the Pope in September 1772 and the following drafts of it from January and February 1773.

The second chapter is dedicated to the apostolic visitation of the

32 In the following pages I shall refer to this copy.

33 In the first chapter of the third part (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1003, chapter 1, p. 88) Gaillard qualifies the letter from Franciszek Kareu to Pius VII, 26 June 1801, as the one that had been published a long time ago (*depuis longtemps publiée*). This means that at least this chapter was written quite a long time after the 'Summary' of the cause of Pignatelli published in 1910 which contains this letter. Cf. *Romana beatificationis et canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Josephi Mariae Pignatelli, sacerdotis professi e Societate Jesu nova positio super virtutibus* (Romae, Typis Guerra et Mirri, 1910), "Novum summarium additiale", pp. 131-132. Franciszek Kareu, * 10.XII.1731 Orša (Belorus), S.J. 14.VIII.1754 Vilnius (Lithuania), † 11.VIII.1802 Polock (Belarus), Vicar General of the Society in 1799, he governed the order at the time of its confirmation by Pius VII with the brief *Catholicae fidei* (DHCJ II, pp. 1657-1659).

34 José Moñino y Redondo (1728-1808), duke of Floridablanca, ambassador of Charles III in Rome in 1772, was one of the principal leaders of the campaign against the Jesuits; in 1777-1795 he was chief minister of Spain (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 4, Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 151993, p. 842).

35 Girolamo Grimaldi (1710-1786), an Italian diplomat and statesman in the service of Spain, was ambassador in Sweden, the Netherlands and Paris; in 1763-1776 he was Spanish secretary of state; later on he was appointed ambassador in Rome (*Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* [from now on: DBI], t. 59, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2002, pp. 543-550).

Jesuits in Bologna led by Cardinal Malvezzi in spring 1773, which was in fact a kind of pre-suppression executed at a local level.³⁶ Following the chronological order of the events Gaillard bases his narration on the correspondence between the Cardinal and Rome. The Jesuits, after the acceptance of the first measures imposed on them by the visitor, insisted on seeing the brief with the clear will of the Pope justifying what was being done. That was what General Ricci ordered them, but Malvezzi never showed them any such document.³⁷ They even sent a memorial to Clement XIV asking for explanations. Finally, between March and June 1773, the apostolic visitation turned step by step into the real suppression: the novitiate and the colleges were closed, the scholastics sent away, and the Jesuits forbidden to exercise any ministry.

The third chapter focuses on the vicissitudes of a special Congregation *de abolenda Societate* established by Clement XIV at the end of June 1773 to coordinate the work of the suppression. It was composed of five Cardinals and two Consulters. Gaillard recalls that the origins of this group were at the insistence of Moñino, who wanted the Pope to create that congregation, and who was permanently influencing its activity (actually, the chapter is based on correspondence from the Spanish diplomat). The Congregation did not work well because of the diversity of points of view between its members («Disagreement as to all matters to be dealt with; unanimity only on the money to be taken!»).³⁸ However, it continued also under Pius VI. At that time its main issues were related to the ex-Jesuits imprisoned in Castel Sant' Angelo and the conditions of their release. Eventually, when in February 1776 the last ex-Assistants had left the prison, the congregation itself ceased to exist.

Chapter Four is dedicated to the promulgation of the brief of suppression. Gaillard tells in it how the suppression was announced

36 Vincenzo Malvezzi (1715-1775), cardinal in 1753 and archbishop of Bologna in 1754, was one of the faction of the cardinals of the coronas; an enemy of the Jesuits, he was deemed an ideal candidate for the tiara after the death of Clement XIII because he disapproved of the ideas of the party of the *zelanti* (DBI 68 [2007], pp. 331-333).

37 Lorenzo Ricci, * 1.VIII.1703 Florence, S.J. 16.XI.1718 Rome, † 24.XI.1775 Rome, general of the Society from 1758, after the suppression of 1773 was put in prison at the Castel Sant' Angelo where he died (DHCJ II, pp. 1656-1657).

38 «Discorde sur toutes les affaires à traiter; unanimité seulement sur l'argent à prendre!» ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001, chapter 3, p. 43.

to Fr. General Ricci and to the whole community of the Gesù in Rome. The way of proceeding adopted on that occasion became a model of executing it in other places. At the end of the day on Monday 16 August 1773, two members of the above-mentioned Congregation, together with a notary and four witnesses went to the professed house. Having gathered all the members of the community, the notary read two briefs of Clement XIV proclaiming the suppression: *Dominus ac Redemptor* (the brief suppressing the Society) and *Gravissimis ex causis* (establishing the Congregation de abolenda).³⁹ Some complementary orders were also given to the ex-Jesuits, e.g. the ban on leaving the house during the following eight days, the obligation to change the traditional Jesuit garb into clothes corresponding to their new status, the ban on exercising ministries and even entering the church, the obligation to register on the list enabling them to receive a grant given by the Pope, etc. In the same chapter Gaillard also summarizes the vicissitudes of the papal brief: the various ways it was received in many places and its being put into effect between 1773 and 1780, often accompanied by the dispersal and theft of the suppressed Society's possessions.

The main themes of the fifth chapter are the captivity and trial of Fr. Ricci and of his Assistants after the suppression. The author explains how the situation and the plans of the competent authorities were evolving on that matter. As the documents quoted here also show quite clearly, originally there was no question of prison or trial of the highest superiors of the suppressed order. Thus Gaillard, without forgetting that some other Jesuits were also, for various reasons, accused and put in prison (which is not the theme of this chapter), focused on the fact that there was neither formal accusation nor trial, nor sentence imposed on the General or his staff. That is why his conclusion is the following: «The imprisonment of innocents, then the liberation of innocents, that is the summary of this chapter».⁴⁰

In fact, the brief of suppression did not contain any accusation concerning the doctrine or of the members of the Society. It did not impose on them any punishment such as trial or prison either. Less than a month after its promulgation in Rome, Clement XIV decided that the Jesuits could be accused only of something connected to

39 Cf. the text of both in *Institutum Societatis Iesu, I: Bullarium et compendium privilegiorum*, Florentiae, Ex Typographia A. SS. Conceptione, 1892, pp. 313-330.

40 «Incarcération d'innocents, puis libération d'innocents, tel est donc le résumé de ce chapitre». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001, chapter 5, p. 8.

their presumed resistance to his briefs relative to the extinction of their order, while any other possible misdemeanours committed before the suppression must not be taken into consideration. In consequence, Fr. Ricci and his staff could be interrogated only concerning their presumed preparation (both before and after the promulgation of *Dominus ac Redemptor*) to resist to the pontiff's will to suppress the Society, or to provide for its survival. The proof of such a decision by the Pope is a letter of 11 September 1773 sent by Vincenzo Macedonio to his colleague Onofrio Alfani, both members of the Congregation *de abolenda*, quoted here by Gaillard.⁴¹

This last document is also interesting as an example of the method followed by the French Jesuit in writing his book and shows how useful his work could be today – both reasons justifying the following digression. Gaillard in the book gives only the French translation of the documents that he quotes, but he never indicates their place in the archives. This represents a serious problem for all who would like to verify the sources used by the Jesuit. However, given that he often indicates the dates of the events or the letters quoted, there is a way of finding both the whereabouts of these documents and sometimes also their original text, if it was copied by Gaillard. This possibility is offered by the already-mentioned chronological data-base that the French Jesuit meticulously prepared. It is composed of several notebooks preserved in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1005-1008. They are in the form of a calendar in which, to the events listed day by day, the place in the archives of documents relating to them is given. The example of the above-quoted letter shows this. From the indications given in one of these notebooks (corresponding to the date of the letter) we learn that this document is from the Vatican Archives (its present location is ASV, *Fondo Gesuiti* 19, f. 102rv), and a summary of it is to be found in the big notebook no. 3 of Gaillard's collection and, finally, a transcription of the Italian original is in file folder no. 4 in the same collection.

This example shows not only how to find the documents quoted in the book, but also how useful this chronological data-base could

41 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001, chapter 5, pp. 2-3. Onorio Alfani was assessor of the congregation for matters of the suppression. Vincenzo Macedonio was secretary of the same congregation. I was unable to find any more biographical information about them, except the notes in Filippo CORALLI, "La vita del P. Lorenzo Ricci, generale della Compagnia di Gesù. Biografia inedita del P. Tommaso Termanini S.J.", *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 44 (2006), pp. 87 and 109.

be for the researcher today. The only condition for using it with profit is that of understanding Gaillard's system and having a concordance of the titles given by him and the present location of the documents that he quotes. Some of the archives have perished (e. g. Archivo General Central de Estado from Alcalá de Henares, destroyed by the fire in 1939, and some of the Russian archives); others might have changed either their owners or the titles of their series or even the numbers of their volumes and their foliation or pagination (as in the case of the Vatican Archives).

Returning to the fifth chapter, it summarizes what happened after the fateful evening of 16 August 1773. The following day Fr. Ricci had to move from the Gesù to the nearby English College in the Via Monserrato. He was to stay there until 23 September, when he was transferred to the Castel Sant' Angelo, where he spent the rest of his days. His closest collaborators: Gabriele Comolli, the Secretary of the Society, and five Assistants (Gorgo, Gusmão, Korycki, Montes and Rhomberg), were also put in the same prison, but were released between September 1775 and February 1776 (with the exception of Comolli who died in January 1774).⁴² Their imprisonment in 1773 was made at the express order of the Pope given to Cardinal Corsini, head of the Congregation for matters concerning the suppression, and justified by the following reasons: to provide for the total extinction of the Society, to prevent the General from escaping, and to keep all prisoners under better control.⁴³ Gaillard sees the origins of it in the fear that the Jesuits would attempt to resist the brief. The writings of a few members of the Society discovered at that time drove the members of the

42 Gabriele Comolli, * 24.X.1703, S.J. 12.XI.1719 Rome, † 1774, since April 1761 he had been secretary of the Society (cf. ARSI). Giovanni Antonio Gorgo * 3.XI.1698 Udine, S.J. 17.X.1715 Bologna, † 1777 Udine, since 1761 assistant of the Italian assistance (*Sommervogel* III, col. 1615). Joao de Gusmão, * 6.XI.1695, S.J. 4.XI.1710, † ?, since 1751 assistant of the Portuguese assistance (cf. ARSI). Karol Korycki, * 3.XI.1702 Dzitryki (Belarus), S.J. 29.VI.1717 Vilnius, † 10.XII.1789 Rome, since 1765 assistant of the Polish assistance; put in prison with Fr. Ricci and other assistants, he was then released and spent the rest of his life in Rome (*DHCJ* III, p. 2218). Francisco Montes, * 1701, S.J. 1721, † ?, since 1765 assistant of the Spanish assistance (cf. ARSI). Ignaz Rhomberg, * 22.XII.1708 Opfenbach (Germany), S.J. 9.X.1725 Landsberg, † 13.I.1795 Rome, since 1768 assistant of the German assistance; as Ricci's vicar, he was arrested in September 1773 and joined the General for the interrogations; in February 1776 he was released (*DHCJ* IV, p. 3344).

43 Cf. letter from Macedonio to Card. Corsini, 22 September 1773, quoted by Gaillard in this chapter (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001, chapter 5, p. 4). Andrea Corsini (1735-1795), an Italian, cardinal in 1759 (*DBI* 29 [1983], pp. 598-602).

congregation to act against such persons are more imaginary than real.

During the first months of their arrest, the prisoners were interrogated. For Fr. Ricci, there were two main points on which the interrogation turned: his presumed directives and faculties given in order to guarantee resistance to the suppression, and the money that he might have hidden.⁴⁴ Given the lack of any foundation for the first point and the second being declared untrue, the interrogations stopped in January 1774. The release of the ex-General was the object of negotiations conducted by the Spanish ambassador in Rome with Leopold, duke of Tuscany, to which Ricci was supposed to return (he was originally from Florence) and to stay in retirement under the surveillance of the duke.⁴⁵

In the same chapter Gaillard also includes long extracts from the diary of Filippo Pescatore, vice-governor of the Castel Sant'Angelo, whose narrative covers the period between 9 October 1773 and 19 June 1775.⁴⁶ At the end, the French Jesuit recalls that Ricci's death in that fortress on 24 November 1775, probably occurred shortly before he might have been released, and his formal protestation made five days before dying, in which he declared his own and the Society's innocence.⁴⁷

As for Chapter Six, it is dedicated to the particular delay in the suppression of the Jesuits which happened in 1773-1780 under the rule of Frederic II of Prussia. His first resolution to keep the suppressed order in his states was eventually modified until the actual promulgation of *Dominus ac Redemptor*. As usual, Gaillard recalls the main events often quoting documents.

This chapter also gave him an opportunity to affirm that Clement XIV and Pius VI both approved of the survival of the Society of Jesus in Prussia and in Russia. The only reason that their will never took more explicit expression was the fear of

44 Cf. the report of these interrogations in Giuseppe BOERO, *Osservazioni sopra l'istoria del pontificato di Clemente XIV scritta dal p. A. Theiner, prete dell'Oratorio*, Modena, Tipografia di Carlo Vincenzi, 1853, pp. 105-114.

45 Cf. letter from Moñino to Canon Rass, private secretary to the duke, 10 November 1775, quoted by Gaillard in this chapter (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001, chapter 5, pp. 5-7).

46 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001, chapter 5, pp. 28-63. I have been unable to find any biographical information about Filippo Pescatore.

47 Cf. the text of this protestation, in Giuseppe BOERO, *Osservazioni*, pp. 115-116.

vigorous reactions at the Bourbon courts. The proofs of this statement were for Gaillard the following:

- 1) in 1774 Clement XIV, although asked, refused to publish a brief declaring that the simple knowledge of his intention to suppress the Society would be enough to allow every member of the order to request his own secularization;
- 2) during his pontificate the Propaganda and Mgr Garampi, nuncio in Warsaw, continued to maintain the Pontifical College in Braniewo (Braunsberg), while the congregation *de abolenda* gave the Jesuits in Russia faculties to exercise their priestly ministry;⁴⁸
- 3) as for Pius VI, the author of the book quotes the Pope's letter to Ferdinand duke of Parma dated 15 February 1794 (explaining that he was receiving the Jesuits in the duchy, but he could never say it explicitly),⁴⁹ and his other decisions in regard to the members of the Society living in Prussia and in Russia. Gaillard's conclusion is that neither pontiff was against the survival of the order, even though they could not manifest it more clearly.

The second part of the book deals with the history of the Jesuit survival in Russia between 1772 and 1820. The first chapter starts by recalling some all-important events happening after the partition of Poland in 1772 which would be too long to list here. In keeping with the promises in the introduction (see Appendix 2), Gaillard focuses here once again on the correspondence in order to show that the Jesuits in Russia did not do anything to obtain support and favours from the Russian empress. On the contrary, they declared many times, to Catherine II as well as to local ecclesiastical authorities that they wished to obey the Pope and to have their suppression carried out.

At the end of this chapter Gaillard arrives at an interesting question of a presumed secret letter by Clement XIV to Catherine II, written in 1774, in which the Pope would have approved the existence of the Jesuits in Russia in spite of the general suppression of the order proclaimed shortly before.⁵⁰ The

48 Giuseppe Garampi (1725-1792), an Italian, for many years prefect of the Vatican Archives, in 1772 was appointed nuncio in Poland and later (1776) in Vienna; in 1785 he became a cardinal (*DBI* 52 [1999], pp. 224-229).

49 The letter was published in INGLOT, *La Compagnia*, p. 311. Cf. the list of the correspondence between the Pope and the duke of Parma in Appendix 6. The letter of 15 February 1794 was published in INGLOT, *La Compagnia*, p. 311.

50 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapter 1, pp. 48-55.

French Jesuit acknowledges not having found any evidence of this letter in all the archives that he had visited. Yet he believed in its existence for the following reasons:

- 1) it was mentioned in the letter from the Vicar General Fr. Kareu to Pius VII dated 31 July 1800;⁵¹
- 2) the letter by Gabriel Gruber to Alexander I dated 5 April 1801 takes its existence for granted;⁵²
- 3) the letter by Luigi Panizzoni to Pius VII dated 11 April 1800 says the same;⁵³
- 4) the testimony of the Austrian emperor Joseph II (quoted by Panizzoni) affirms that the emperor had seen such a letter during his journey to Russia in 1782;⁵⁴
- 5) there were other testimonies telling the same story: the one by Card. Albani in 1799, or another from the Spanish diplomat Gómez Labrador, in 1801.⁵⁵

51 «...la loro canonica essistenza in Russia, come già e con privata lettera diretta alla fu Augusta Imperatrice delle Russie Caterina II si degnò accordarla la Santa Memoria di Clemente XIV». Letter published in INGLOT, *La Compagnia*, pp. 281-282.

52 «L'existence des Jésuites dans l'Empire de Russie a été reconnue légitime par les deux derniers papes, Clément Quatorze et Pie Six; le premier l'a déclarée dans une lettre particulière à la feue Impératrice [...]». Letter published in INGLOT, *La Compagnia*, pp. 296-297. Gabriel Gruber * 6.V.1740 Vienna, S.J. 17.X.1755 Vienna, † 7.IV.1805 St. Petersburg; he replaced Kareu as Superior General of the Society in 1802 (*DHCJ* II, pp. 1659-1660).

53 «Societas Jesu ex concessione Clementis XIV praedecessoris Tui facta Catharinae II omnium Rossiarum Imperatrici in Alba Rossia usque ad haec calamitosa tempora conservata...». Letter published in INGLOT, *La Compagnia*, pp. 284-285. Luigi Panizzoni, * 11.VI.1729 Vicenza, S.J. 3.XI.1745 Rome, † 11.VIII.1820 Rome, after the suppression joined the Jesuits in Russia in 1783 and remained there for ten years, before coming back to Italy where he contributed greatly to the restoration of the Society (ARSI).

54 «Questa risposta, a quei gesuiti dall'imperatrice comunicata, si conserva nell'archivio imperiale e fu dalla sovrana mostrata a Giuseppe II imperatore, quando fu nelle Russie, ed egli in Milano disse all'arciduca Ferdinando suo fratello di averla letta, e questi lo raccontò al suo ciamberrano marchese Matteo Rosales, che ne diede in iscritto certa testimonianza al P. Luigi Panizzoni, il quale la presentò in Venezia alla Santità di Pio VII». Letter published in *Positio* 1907, "Summarium additionale", p. 37.

55 Giovan Francesco Albani (1720-1803), an Italian, cardinal in 1747, as the dean of the Sacred College, organized the conclave in Venice in 1800 (*DBI* 1 [1960], pp. 604-606). His testimony was published in *Positio* 1907, "Summarium additionale", p. 30: «[Catherine II] avrebbe domandata la facoltà la Santo Padre di conservarli [the Jesuits] nello stato, in cui erano. Infatti così fece, ed ottenne da Clemente

The second chapter deals with the diplomatic activity on the part of Spain in order first to obtain the promulgation of the brief of suppression in Russia, then to block the restoration of the suppressed Society or at least to limit it. The opening of the novitiate in Polock in 1780 gave rise to a voluminous exchange of correspondence in which, on one side, the Bourbons asked for the repeal of this act and, on the other, Catherine II maintained her firm support for her bishop Siestrzencewicz who allowed it.⁵⁶ The issue of the Jesuits became an affair of state between Spain and Russia; the promulgation of the suppression was the condition required by Madrid for normal commercial and political treaties with St. Petersburg and the reason why Russian ships were prevented from leaving the Mediterranean. In the view of the Russian empress, the whole issue was an internal problem of her state and as such, she did not want to accept any foreign interference. Eventually, the Pope who found himself caught between the exigencies of the Bourbon courts and the firm will of Catherine II played a diplomatic game in order to satisfy the rulers of Madrid, Paris, Naples and Lisbon, and to comply with the requests of St. Petersburg concerning the religious policy of the empress, whose decisions concerning the Jesuits were only part of what she wanted to reorganize in her states in matters of ecclesiastical structure and school reform.

This determination on the part of Charles III to destroy the rest of the suppressed order shows, as Gaillard notes in this chapter, that for the king of Spain and his ministers the Jesuits existing in Russia were true religious, which proves that the Society really existed there in spite of all official statements by

XIV la facoltà, che poscia ai gesuiti comunicò. Anzi la mostrò poi ancora a Giuseppe II, quando egli fu a Pietroburgo, e questi attestò all'arciduca Ferdinando suo fratello in Milano di averla letta, a l'arciduca ciò partecipò al marchese Matteo Rosales, il cui attestato fu dato ultimamente all'abate Marotti in Parma, perché lo presentasse a Pio VI». Pedro Gómez Labrador (1755-1852), *chargé d'affaires* of Charles IV, King of Spain, on Pius VI, he then served as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Papal State; later he was to represent Spain at the Congress of Vienna (*Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, t. 26, Barcelona, Hijos de J. Espasa Editores, [1925], p. 563).

56 Stanisław Jan Siestrzencewicz-Bohusz (1731-1826), auxiliary bishop of Vilnius in 1773, ten years later became archbishop of Mohilev (thanks to the good offices of Catherine II who insisted on obtaining the papal approval of this nomination that she had made on her own); he was one of the protagonists of the many vicissitudes connected with the survival of the Society in Russia (INGLOR, *La Compagnia*, pp. 2-3).

the Bourbons proclaiming its non-existence after 1773.⁵⁷

In the third chapter Gaillard focuses on the mission of Jan Benisławski, sent in 1783 by Catherine II to Rome.⁵⁸ Since there were many discussions and opinions concerning this special mission, including the statements of historians who had denied not only the success, but even the legitimacy of this mission, the French Jesuit's goal was to show that Benisławski really had been sent to the Pope by the empress, and that he had obtained what he wanted, i.e. the approval by Pius VI of the title of archbishop of Siestrzencewicz, the appointment of himself as suffragan bishop of the latter and also the approval of the existence of the Jesuits in the empire. In this way Gaillard in fact entered into the polemics that he was asked to engage in against the books of Jules-Marie Gendry and François Rousseau (see below, point c: Plans for polemics). He gave this answer to their statements in his usual way which was based on the documents confirming his defence of the Society's attitude. Thus, once again he offers extensive quotations in French taken from many of them, and even the entire original Latin version of those which were fundamental to prove his point.

This chapter recalls that the question of the Jesuits was only one part of the complex relations between Russia and the Holy See at that time. On the one hand, there was Catherine II with her firm policy of reorganizing the ecclesiastical structures in the newly-annexed provinces in order to secure the control of the State over these territories and also over the Catholic Church (as it was secured in Russia over the Orthodox Church). On the other hand, there was Pius VI who tried to provide for the continuity of the Catholic Church of both rites in these provinces. One of the most urgent

57 «Qu'on veuille bien le remarquer, une fois encore. Pour Moñino, pour Charles III, pour l'Espagne, il y avait en Russie Blanche, le 29 janvier 1780, de vrais religieux, une vraie Compagnie de Jésus, conservée par Catherine II. Ainsi, malgré que, depuis sept années déjà, tous les ministres espagnols, à l'unisson, écrivaient le contraire. Ainsi, malgré les affirmations de leurs partisans soudoyés. Ainsi, malgré les circulaires et les brefs, qui imposaient le silence au monde entier!». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapter 2, p. 44.

58 Jan Benisławski * 16.VII.1736 Zosuli (Latvia), S.J. 20.X.1757 Vilnius, † 25.III.1812 Zosuli; he was a member of the Province of Lithuania until 1773; when Catherine II appointed him bishop coadjutor of the new archdiocese that she wanted to erect in Mohylew, she sent him in 1783 to Rome to obtain the Pope's approval for all her decisions concerning the reorganization of the Catholic ecclesiastical structures in Russia, including the existence of the Jesuits in the territory of the Empire (*DHCJ* I, pp. 407-408).

issues, seen from both sides, was the appointment of bishops, and that was in fact the main topic of negotiations. In such a situation, the question of the Jesuits, although significant, seems to be neither the first nor the most important.

The organization of the government of the Society in Russia is the theme of the fourth chapter. After the opening of the novitiate (1780) and the election of their Vicar General (1782), approved by Pius VI (1783), the Jesuits had to rebuild the usual structures of their administration. The issue of this reconstruction was not only the simple necessity of securing the normal functioning of their apostolate, but also – if not first of all – fidelity to the Society's Institute, as recalled by Gaillard: «Let Ours in White Russia either be as they are (which means according to the Institute), or not be. Do not accept any amalgamate; it is better rather to disappear!» – wrote Karol Korycki, former Polish Assistant of General Ricci, in his letter of 21 September 1782 to the newly-elected Vicar General Czerniewicz.⁵⁹ Gaillard builds this chapter upon the correspondence between these two Jesuits, preserved at present in ARSI.⁶⁰

Chapter Five is dedicated to attempts at re-establishing the Jesuits in the duchy of Parma. Expelled from there in 1768 by Ferdinand de Bourbon, they came back in 1794 at the invitation of the same duke. His project was first to gather the ex-Jesuits and employ them in schools, secondly to bring some Jesuits from Russia (re-establishing in this way the Society of Jesus in the duchy) and, finally, to obtain the approval of the Pope for all this. The first two steps of this plan having been accomplished, the insistence on the part of Spain was the only reason why Pius VI did not formally approve it with an official pronouncement. Gaillard acknowledges not having found any such document in all the archives that he had explored. However he does not completely exclude the possibility of the existence of some written approval given by the Pope to the duke, but on condition of secrecy (cf. pp. 74-75, where he quotes letters by Francesco Antonio Zaccaria that speak of a projected mission of Card. Chiaramonti who would bring the Pope's written approval to

59 «Nostri in Alba Russia aut sint ut sunt (c'est-à-dire selon l'Institut), aut non sint. N'acceptez aucun amalgame: disparaître plutôt!». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapter 4, p. 32. Stanisław Czerniewicz, * 15.VIII.1728 ca. Kaunas (Lithuania), S.J. 16.VIII.1743 Vilnius, † 18.VII.1785 Staiki (Belarus); between 1759 and 1768 he was in Rome as secretary to Korycki; after 1773 he became first the vice-provincial of the Jesuits in Belarus and then, in 1782, their vicar general (*DHCJ* II, pp. 1028-1030).

60 Cf. Appendix 4.

Parma...⁶¹ Independently of this, many other documents quoted here show the real attitude of Pius VI towards the Jesuits: a very positive one. In this sense the chapter is also an answer to the historians affirming the contrary.

Chapter Six has as its theme a declaration by Pius VI on 2 March 1799 in which he expressed his readiness and his desire to approve the Society of Jesus existing in Russia. The Pope authorized his representative in St. Petersburg, Mgr. Litta, to get local civil and ecclesiastical authorities to submit to the pontiff the formal request for such approval.⁶² This should be done by the emperor Paul I and as a result, Pius VII was to issue the brief *Catholicae fidei* in 1801. This chapter also represents a specific answer to the book by Gendry quoted earlier:

One recent historian of Pius VI claims that the pontiff, at the end of his agitated reign, might have received some suggestions, might have been under pressure, and possibly might have given way to demands. We have proved that, if there were any pressure, it came from one nuncio of the Holy See, and from him only. Furthermore, Mgr Litta only proposed; he did not even ask at all. This proposal referred to desires of the emperor and the bishops; it did not mention any request coming from the Jesuits in Russia, who did not know of its existence until the grace granted (we would like to say the «declaration») would allow them also to know the proposition that was being made.⁶³

61 Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, * 27.III.1714 Venice, S.J. 18.X.1731 Vienna, † 10.X.1795 Rome; he was known as the author of many works of erudition and polemics; in 1773, he was imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo, but then released (*DHCJ IV*, pp. 4063-4064). Barnaba Chiaramonti (1742-1823), a Benedictine in 1756, cardinal in 1785, in 1800 he was elected Pope and took the name Pius VII (*Enc. Catt.* 9 [1952], col. 1504-1508).

62 Lorenzo Litta (1756-1820), an Italian, was nuncio in Warsaw in 1794-1797, becoming thereafter the representative of the Holy See in Russia where he remained until 1799; in 1801 he was created cardinal (*Enc. Catt.* 7 [1951], col. 1425).

63 «Tel historien récent de Pie VI a prétendu, que le pontife, sur la fin d'un règne si agité, put recevoir quelque suggestion, subir quelque pression, obéir enfin à des considérations impératives. Nous avons prouvé, que, si pression quelconque se produisit, cette pression vint d'un nonce du Saint-Siège, et du nonce uniquement. Encore Mgr. Litta ne faisait-il que proposer, il ne priait pas même d'un mot. Cette proposition invoquait bien les vœux de l'empereur et des évêques, elle ne mentionnait aucune instance des jésuites de Russie. Ceux-ci en ignorèrent l'existence jusqu'à ce que la concession de la grâce, nous voulons dire, de la Déclaration, leur fit connaitre aussi la proposition faite». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapter 6, p. 16.

In this passage Gaillard refers to what Litta proposed in his letter to Marotti dated 7 December 1798 (a letter published in full in this chapter), i.e. to obtain formal papal approval of the Jesuits in Russia.⁶⁴

The aim of the last chapter of the second part (Chapter Seven) is to prove that the survival of the Society of Jesus in the Russian empire was truly justified already during the pontificates of Clement XIV and Pius VI, i.e. even before the brief *Catholicae fidei* of 1801. Once again Gaillard insists that the survival of the Jesuits was not the result of their machinations or of deceit. On the contrary, they survived as the result of vicissitudes and decisions taken by the authorities, without any involvement of their own. In this sense the chapter is an answer to those who had affirmed or insinuated the contrary.

Where then could we find malice, ruse or intrigue of the Jesuits from White Russia in order to wheedle out of Pope Pius VI in Rome the confirmation of their survival? For thirty years none of them came or came back to the Eternal City. Having read so many briefs – autographs and confirming very important diplomatic acts in favor of the restoration of the Society in Parma, in Spain, in Rome and all over the world – who would dare to affirm seriously that the Jesuits kept themselves as Jesuits in Russia against the true, inner will of the Pope?⁶⁵

Obviously, once again, in writing this Gaillard was answering Gendry.

The chapter opens with the statement that the Jesuits' survival in Russia was based on the fact that the brief of suppression was never promulgated. Thus both Clement XIV and Pius VI first tolerated, then approved and finally formally confirmed the legal existence of the order. All that follows is evidence to prove that statement.

Gaillard discusses the fact that Clement XIV accepted what had

64 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapter 6, pp. 2-8 (letter published in INGLOT, *La Compagnia*, pp. 276-278). Giuseppe Marotti, * 27.IV.1741 Ansedonia (Italy), S.J. 15.VI.1758 Rome, † 28.I.1804 Rome; after the suppression became a diocesan priest and, from 1798, secretary to Pius VI (*DHCJ* III, pp. 2511-2512).

65 «Où donc surprendre malice, où découvrir ruse ou intrigue des jésuites de la Russie Blanche, à l'effet d'extorquer à Rome, au Pape Pie VI la confirmation de leur survivance? Trente années durant, pas un seul d'entre eux ne vint ou ne revint dans la Ville Eternelle. Et après avoir lu tant de brefs autographes confirmatifs des actes diplomatiques les plus graves, en faveur du rétablissement de la Compagnie à Parme, en Espagne, à Rome, dans tout l'univers, qui donc oserait sérieusement affirmer, que les jésuites se conservèrent jésuites en Russie, contre la volonté vraie, intime du pape?». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapter 7, p. 46.

happened in Russia, and enumerates the reasons to prove it. As in the first chapter of this part (Chapter 1, pp. 48-55), he again mentions (Chapter 7, pp. 8-10) a supposed letter from the Pope to the empress, a personal and secret letter in which the Pope answered the request by Catherine that he approve the existence of the Jesuits in her states and repeats the reasons that for him proved the existence of that letter. According to the French Jesuit, Clement XIV accepted the survival of the Jesuit order because he wanted to maintain correct relations with the empress and thus to provide good conditions for the Catholic Church in her states. For that reason he did not insist on the promulgation of *Dominus ac Redemptor*, and then he gave more explicit authorization to what Catherine II had imposed.

In what concerns Pius VI, he not only followed the politics of his predecessor in accepting the status quo created by the dispositions of the empress, but he also took some important decisions preparing the future restoration of the Society: on his authority the 'Russian' Jesuits were ordained by Siestrzencewicz, then received a novitiate and the oral approval of the Pope himself in 1783. The formal written approval given by Pius VII in 1801 was the result of the process started with the agreement of Pius VI who authorized the formal request for that approval.

Pius VI was approving what Clement XIV had approved. Did he also want to show respect and consideration to Catherine II, or did he follow rather his own inner convictions? Twenty-four years later – after a long series of discreet intimations, clear statements or positive acts – a diplomatic declaration in favour of the Society of Jesus, addressed to the emperor Paul I in the name of Pius VI through the mediation of Mgr Litta, affirmed and publicly confirmed the sincerity of this first approval.⁶⁶

The chapter finishes by summarizing some events from the beginning of the pontificate of Pius VII showing how the first acceptance and more or less explicit approvals of his predecessors led directly to the

66 «Pie VI approuvait ce qu'avait approuvé Clément XIV. Voulait-il, lui aussi, user de déférence et d'égards envers Catherine II ? Suivait-il plutôt tout simplement ses intimes affections ? Vingt quatre ans plus tard, faisant suite à une longue série, soit de timides confidences, soit d'affirmations précises, voire d'actes positifs, une déclaration diplomatique adressée à l'empereur Paul I par l'intermédiaire du nonce Mgr Litta, au nom de Pie VI, en faveur de la Compagnie de Jésus, affirmait, confirmait publiquement la sincérité de cette première approbation». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapitre 7, p. 20.

gradual restoration accomplished by this Pope between 1801 and 1814. In the appendix Gaillard gives the correspondence between Karol Korycki and Stanisław Czerniewicz which complete the exposé of the chapter and of the whole second part which finishes at this point.⁶⁷

The third part of the book is about the restoration of the Society, summarized here step by step, starting with the approval by Pius VII of the Jesuits in Parma, Naples and in Russia, up to the universal restoration in 1814.

The first chapter opens with a summary of the circumstances preceding the brief *Catholicae fidei*. Gaillard recalls the exchange of letters between the Jesuits, the monarchs and the Pope. He notices that the attitude of Pius VII was less cautious than that of his predecessor: the Pope wrote to Charles IV, king of Spain in 1800 about his plans to grant what he was asked by the duke of Parma and by the tsar. Later Pius VII was even less cautious in showing his attitude:

The attitude of Pius VII differs a lot from the one that Pius VI had adopted. The new Pope is not asking permission or, still less, any approval on the part of the Catholic King. He has already decided to act with or without permission of the cabinet of Madrid. He is limiting himself to exercising respect and to paying attention. He will act in this way in 1804. In 1814 he will even dispense with such preliminary ceremonies.⁶⁸

That is how Gaillard comments on the Pope's letter to the king of Spain dated 28 July 1800 (quoted on pp. 9-14). The firm resistance of this country was indeed one of the most serious obstacles on the road to the full restoration of the Society. The position of Charles IV was clear and firm: he did not want the Jesuits to be reintroduced either in his states, or in any other country. As he expressed it in his letter to Pius VII dated 15 October 1800 (quoted on pp. 22-26), he would do everything to prevent any such restoration, even if limited to the confines of one kingdom or one duchy. As for the

67 Cf. Appendix 4.

68 «La position, que prend Pie VII diffère grandement de la position adoptée par Pie VI. Le nouveau pape ne demande pas une permission, encore moins une approbation du Roi Catholique. D'avance il a résolu d'agir avec ou sans le bon plaisir du Cabinet de Madrid. Il se borne à pratiquer des offices, des égards, des attentions. Ainsi fera-t-il en 1804. En 1814, il se dispensera même de ces démarches préliminaires». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1003, chapter 1, p. 14.

Pope, he was clearly in favour of the Jesuits and from the beginning of his pontificate he took several steps to restore them.

Gaillard recalls how the pontiff was advised by Card. Antonelli, a former prefect of Propaganda, on how to proceed in order to avoid any harm to Russia on the one hand, and Spain and Portugal on the other.⁶⁹ Thus the chapter follows step by step the main events which occurred during the preparation of the brief, showing that the papal approval of the Jesuits in Russia was only one element on the complicated European political chessboard of that period. The main concern of the Pope was to protect the Catholics in Russia, but also to be aware of what was going on in the western part of the continent. The Pope's letters, noted or quoted by Gaillard, show how difficult it was for him to balance opposing expectations coming from diverse quarters.

The chapter also deals with the interpretation of the brief (pp. 111 and following) showing that it was part of the universal restoration of the order: «...the brief *Catholicae fidei* already contained a germ of both the brief *Per alias* and the bulla *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*».⁷⁰ Thus some ideas on the partial restoration of any Jesuit-like congregation, which emerged at that time, were considered to be possible obstacles to the full restoration of the 'true' Society. At the end of this chapter Gaillard includes copies of three drafts of the brief of 1801.

As for the next chapter, its theme is the origin and preparation of the brief *Per alias* of 1804. Ferdinand IV of Naples, who had expelled the Jesuits from his kingdom in 1767, thirty years later wanted to follow his cousin from Parma (another repentant perpetrator of expulsion!) in having them back. He went to great lengths to obtain what he wanted, as indicated by his many letters that Gaillard quotes here and which appear in the *Positio* for the cause of Pignatelli in 1910.⁷¹ Actually, what he was contemplating was to obtain for his States what *Catholicae fidei* had granted for Russia. The Pope would grant it, but he needed a formal request, like the one sent to him by Paul I from Russia, in order to defend himself from Spain, proving that he could not have refused such requests. Although

69 Leonardo Antonelli (1730-1811), an Italian, cardinal in 1775, was prefect of the Propaganda in 1780-1795 (*DBI* 3 [1961], pp. 498-499).

70 «...le bref *Catholicae fidei* contenait déjà en germe et le bref *Per alias* et la bulle *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1003, chapter 1, p. 146.

71 Cf. Appendix 6.

the situation had changed a lot, compared to the pontificate of Clement XIV, Pius VII also wanted to manage the king of Spain. Quite instructive on this point is what Card. Consalvi, the Pope's Secretary of State, wrote on 16 May 1804 to Mgr Gravina, Nuncio in Spain, who had to inform the court of Madrid about the imminent return of the Jesuits to Naples: «[...] do not speak as the one who is asking approval: speak about the decision already taken, about the impossibility of refusing».⁷² As in the previous chapter, here Gaillard also inserts a copy of the brief: a draft by Card. Antonelli, indicating the corrections made by the Pope himself.

The third chapter opens with a short testimony from Card. Pacca about the circumstances of the surprisingly rapid preparation of the bulla *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum* (1814).⁷³ Indeed, the document was prepared quickly and secretly. The reason for this haste was the Pope's belief that in this way he would avoid any possible opposition from Spain, while Card. Consalvi would have preferred to postpone its publication for some months. As in the two previous chapters on both briefs, Gaillard also includes here two drafts of the bull followed by several comments and criticisms expressed by the cardinals who gave their opinion on the document. It is worth noting that in this preparation of the bull, the issue of the legitimacy of the Society's post-1773 survival in Russia arose again, as an important point which should be taken into consideration.

What actually happened on 7 August 1814 is mentioned very briefly, while the chapter ends by recalling the papal revalidation granted shortly after for those ex-Jesuits who had become once again members of the Society by an act of aggregation to the order surviving in Russia, even without going to the empire of the tsar. Gaillard was to come back to this in the next chapter.

The fourth and last chapter of this part and of the whole book offers an overview of the achievements of Pius VII seeking to restore the Society. The author recalls first the lack of support of the Pope for the Paccanarists – a new congregation which

72 «[...] ne parlez point comme qui demande un consentement: parlez de décision prise, de l'impossibilité de refuser». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1003, chapter 2, p. 24. Pietro Gravina (1749-1830), an Italian in the diplomatic service of the Holy See was nuncio in Spain from 1803 through 1816 when he became cardinal and archbishop of Palermo (*DBI* 58 [2002], pp. 772-774). Ercole Consalvi (1757-1824), Cardinal Secretary of State to Pius VII from 1800 (*DBI* 28 [1983], pp. 33-43).

73 Bartolomeo Pacca (1756-1844), an Italian, nuncio in various places and working in close collaboration with many Popes, was created cardinal in 1801 (*Enc. Catt.* 9 [1952], col. 493-494).

wanted to replace the Jesuits. The pontiff did not grant them any confirmation, for he opted for the restoration of the 'true' Society of Jesus instead of having some substitute for it. As shown by documents, amply quoted here, according to Gaillard's style, Pius VII wanted the kings and dukes to ask him to restore the Jesuits in their states. Such requests would be received and granted, offering him also the chance to defend himself from the pressure from Spain, always opposed to the restoration of the order.

Secondly a summary is given of the attempts by Carlo Emmanuele, king of Sardinia, who wanted to reintroduce the Jesuits into his state. The Pope agreed to this project and supported it, but eventually had to pull back in the face of the insistence coming from Madrid.

In the third part of this chapter the French Jesuit comes back to the question of the aggregation of the ex-Jesuits treated briefly in the previous chapter. In fact, between 1783 and 1814 many former members of the order were received back into the Society which existed in Russia. Some of those who wanted this had to go to the empire, but others were allowed to live under religious obedience while staying in their countries. In 1801 the English ex-Jesuits renewed their request from 1783 to be accepted as such, asking now to extend to them what the brief *Catholicae fidei* had granted for Russia. The case was forwarded to the Pope and, according to the answer given by Card. Consalvi, their request was accepted by Pius VII. Since there was no formal written evidence of this decision (until 1813), the episode led to some tension and misunderstandings with local Church authorities which did not want to recognize these 'new' Jesuits as religious.

At the end of the chapter Gaillard resumes the achievements of Pius VII in favour of the Society, namely his advice and assistance to Ferdinand VII of Spain when the King was about to allow the Jesuits to come back to that country, or the Pope's support for them in the difficult moments of the internal tensions in 1820. In fact, to calm the situation, Pius VII formally revalidated, in a special rescript of 15 October 1820, anything that might have been uncertain concerning the legitimacy of this congregation and the validity of the vows taken by some of its members. This last theme is developed here in a few pages only (pp. 102-106), but later it gave the author the opportunity to write an article (see below, point b: The Article) where he focuses on the vicissitudes of the first general congregation of the order after 1814.

A short appendix of three pages dedicated to Gaetano Angiolini

and his activities (judged by Gaillard with severity) closes the chapter and the whole book.⁷⁴

To sum up: the book is the fruit of Gaillard's work undertaken to achieve the main mission entrusted to him in 1895: to study the period after 1773. Therefore it does not go into (with the exception of some chapters in the first part) the theme of the suppression itself. This second task remained unaccomplished. The French Jesuit focuses mostly on the legal and diplomatic dimensions of the story, e.g. those relating the vicissitudes of the pre-suppression in Bologna in the second chapter of the first part, stressing the issue of the faculties given to Cardinal Malvezzi in order to show that the Archbishop had abused them.

Gaillard's style recalls a theatre play, where many actors (here civil or ecclesiastical statesmen: politicians, ambassadors, nuncios) play their roles in the story that is being told: they appear, one after other, proclaiming their roles by the texts of their letters so abundantly quoted in the book. This is certainly very instructive, but not always easy to read, since such an analytical approach keeps the reader waiting (sometimes a bit too long!) for something like a synthesis. Could that be a reason for not publishing a book? No evidence from the ARSI allows us to confirm that hypothesis.

Some characteristics of Gaillard's prose do not make the reading of this book (and of his other writings) easy:

1. Gaillard never indicates the provenance of the documents that he quotes. More generally, he gives neither footnotes nor endnotes with supplementary information, which the reader today would welcome, with their exact place in the archives. On the other hand, this defect could be compensated for by Gaillard's chronological notes which allow us to find the sources he was using, as said above.
2. He does not introduce the personages who appear in his narrative. Some of them, especially the less known ones, are not easy to identify.
3. Many long quotations from the documents included in the book give it the appearance of a documentary dossier rather than a historical narrative. Actually, the whole book is built upon correspondence (e.g. part I, chapter 1: the Moñino-Grimaldi correspondence; chapter

74 Gaetano Angiolini * 27.XI.1748 Piacenza (Italy), S.J. 17.X.1765 Novellara, † 17.XI.1816 Rome; his four brothers also entered the Society; after the suppression he joined the Jesuits in Russia in 1782 and worked there until the Pope's approval in 1801; he was then sent to Italy to facilitate the restoration of the Society in which he took part, especially in Naples and in Sicily (*DHCJ* I, pp. 169-170).

2: the Malvezzi-Macedonio correspondence, etc.) in such a particular way that the analysis seems to take over the synthesis (e.g. in the first chapter of the third part of the book dedicated to the story of the brief *Catholicae fidei*). Today, the reader would welcome a more user-friendly edition of the documents preceded by an introduction by the editor rather than this mixture of narrative and such long quotations.

4. The same family names have varying orthography, e.g. the secretary to Leopold, duke of Tuscany, is called 'Rass' (part II, chapter 5, p. 74) or 'De Rasse' (cf. *ibid.*, p. 78).⁷⁵

5. Gaillard usually inserts French translations of the documents he wants to include in his narrative. He does not say whether the originals are in French or in another language, as is very often the case.

6. He not only repeats quotations from the same documents, but also gives different French translations of the same text, e.g. the letter by Moñino to Canon Rass (or De Rasse?) on 10 November 1775 concerning the project of sending Ricci to Tuscany appears in part I, chapter 5 on pp. 5-7 and again on pp. 74-77, but the two translations are different one from another.

7. Some of the documents relating to the 'Russian chapter' of the story, quoted or published in the book, are dated according to the Julian calendar (e.g. at the end of the first chapter of the second part, Gaillard publishes the full text of the letter by Gabriel Gruber to Alexander I with its date 24 March 1801; the same letter is also published by Marek Inglot who gives both Julian and Gregorian dates⁷⁶), while others are dated according to the Gregorian calendar (e.g. part. II, chapter 6: the letter from Litta to Marrotti dated 7 December 1798).⁷⁷

The fact that the book finishes abruptly (there is no conclusion at all!) suggests that maybe Gaillard did not finish his work, or at least did not consider it as finished. Actually, he never calls what he writes a 'book', using other words as *exposé* or *résumé* succinct.⁷⁸ A handwritten note by him at the beginning of the third chapter of the third part saying: «A big file of documents (a true official file)

75 This difference is also present in the manuscript of the book: ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001, chapter 5, ff. 17r and 18r.

76 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapter 1, pp. 51-52; INGLOT, *La Compagnia*, pp. 296-297.

77 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapter 6, pp. 2-8.

78 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001, *Avant-propos*, p. IV and *Hist. Soc.* 1002, chapter 4, p. 54.

has recently come from the Vatican; this entire Chapter Three is to be changed», could also justify such suspicions.⁷⁹ He does not say what documents he was talking about, but it seems from that note that he did not consider his book as completely finished and ready for publication. Could this be one of the reasons why it was never published? Another unresolved question is: if he really did not finish the preparation of the book and what he presents was not yet a 'final product' ready to be submitted to censorship (no evidence of any such censorship was found in ARSI), is it not possible that the article about the 1820 General Congregation was not an article either, but some new version or even part of this unfinished book?

b) The article

In a note at the beginning of the article "La XX Congrégation Générale S. J. de l'an 1820", Gaillard acknowledges that he wrote it in September-October 1919 after having seen, in the August of that year, many documents concerning the first general congregation after the restoration of the Society, i.e. the General Congregation XX in 1820. Realizing how instructive those documents were for the understanding of this troubled episode of Jesuit history, he decided to publish the French translation of the most important of them (only one of the documents included is given in its Italian original) with some commentaries.⁸⁰ Eventually, this article remained unpublished, exactly as did the book.

Gaillard does not say where the documents that he wanted to insert in the article were from (with the exception of the above-mentioned Italian document from the Corsiniana Library). However, from what he writes on ff. 39r-40r it clearly appears that these were papers in the possession of the commission established by Pius VII to oversee Jesuit affairs during the events related in the article. Later, this documentation was forwarded to the Secretary of State at the special request of Cardinal Consalvi. Besides that, from the copies of many of these documents, kept in the file folder no. 8 in the collection of Gaillard's transcriptions, we learn that at least some of them were found by the French Jesuit in the *Corsiniana* library.⁸¹

79 «Un gros bloc de documents (un vrai dossier officiel) étant venus du Vatican naguère, tout ce 3^e chapitre est à refaire». ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1003, chapter 3, p. 1.

80 See the list of these documents in Appendix 3.

81 Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, shelf-numbers 37 I 7; 37 I 16; 38 I 16 and 38. I 18.

Gaillard's judgement about this important chapter of the order's history is clear: the responsibility for tensions and confusion was that of a few Jesuits who managed to manipulate some of their religious superiors as well as some cardinals. From that point of view the article does not bring anything new, the whole episode being known and reported by other authors.⁸² Its main interest would certainly be the documents included.⁸³

It is worth adding that the article represents if not an exception, at least a real *terminus ad quem* in the work of Gaillard. Appointed to study the Society's survival in Russia (i.e. years 1773-1820) and only later also the order's suppression (i.e. years 1750-1773), the 'new' Society's history was never of any real interest to him. Thus we could consider this article as the last item in the project entrusted to him by Fr. Martín.

c) Plans for polemics

As already said, besides his main task Gaillard also had other smaller missions to accomplish. Between 1904 and 1907 he was asked to prepare a refutation of some publications judged by his fellow Jesuits to be not particularly in favour of the Society.

In 1904 the French historian François Rousseau published an article about the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain under Charles III.⁸⁴ A Belgian Jesuit August Coemans then suggested to one of his fellow-Jesuits in Rome that one of the historians who were studying the order's vicissitudes publish an answer to it. Based on documents it would put the Society in a better light.⁸⁵ From what Gaillard wrote

82 For example Raffaele COLAPIETRA, *La Chiesa tra Lamennais e Metternich. Il pontificato di Leone XII*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1963, pp. 45-48; "Rezzi, Luigi Maria", in *DHCJ* IV, pp. 3341-3342; John W. PADBERG, Martin D. O'KEEFE, John L. MCCARTHY, *For matters of greater moment. The first thirty Jesuit General Congregations. A brief history and a translation of the decrees*, St. Louis, Missouri, Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994, pp. 33-34.

83 Cf. the list of them in Appendix 3.

84 François ROUSSEAU, "Expulsion des jésuites en Espagne. Démarches de Charles III pour leur sécularisation", *Revue des Questions Historiques* 75 (1904), pp. 113-179.

85 The letter of 4 March 1904, in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-8/1. As may be presumed from what Gaillard wrote to Achilles Gerste on 21 March of the same year (cf. Appendix 5, doc. 3), Coemans wrote to the latter. August Coemans * 25.III.1864 Antwerp, S.J. 27.IX.1881 Drongen (Belgium), † 13.III.1940 Rome; in 1904 was socius to the Provincial of the Belgian Province; afterwards, in 1920 he was called to Rome to work on the renewal of the Society's Institute in conformity with the new canon law (*DHCJ* I, p. 835). Achilles Gerste * 2.VII.1854 Ypres (Belgium), S.J. 3.X.1873 Tronchiennes

to Achilles Gerste a few days later, we learn that he was asked to prepare such an answer.⁸⁶ He objected, however, indicating the difficulties of such a task (mostly the fact that he had not done the necessary research and there was a lack of indispensable literature). However, if the General wanted him to write such an answer, he would do his best to accomplish this endeavour. Shortly after, he wrote to Gerste that the author of the article, Rousseau, who had arrived in Simancas in order to pursue his enquiries on the same theme, had asked Gaillard to show him all the mistakes in his article and to help him in his further studies.⁸⁷ The French Jesuit was optimistic about this new acquaintance, and in fact, in his subsequent book, Rousseau thanked Gaillard, among others.⁸⁸

In spite of all that, he was preparing an answer to the above-mentioned article. In his letter to Gerste of 17 May 1904 he mentions that he was working every day for that purpose.⁸⁹ His zeal in doing so must even have increased when in 1906-1907 two more books were published: in the first, Rousseau continued his study that had started with the article in 1904; the second was the work of another French historian, Jules-Marie Gendry who wrote about Pius VI.⁹⁰ For obvious reasons both authors were writing about the Society, but they were not always putting it in a good light, as noticed by contemporary Jesuits. This time also Gaillard was asked to answer. Edouard Fine, the French Assistant of Fr. General, wrote to him in May 1907 that the best way of doing it would be to publish the results of his research: based on documents found in so many

(Belgium), † 27.XI.1920 Rome; appointed by Fr. Martín archivist of the 'new' Society's archives in 1893, worked for the rest of his life in the General Curia (ARSI/*Memorias del P. Luis Martín General de la Compañía de Jesús (1846-1906)* [from now on: *Memorias*], t. II. Ed. José Ramón EGUILLOR, Manuel REVUELTA GONZÁLES, Rafael María SANZ DE DIEGO, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1988, p. 762).

86 Appendix 5, doc. 3.

87 The letter of 10 May 1904, in ARSI, Hist. Soc. 1011-II-8/3.

88 *Avant-propos*, in François ROUSSEAU, *Règne de Charles III d'Espagne (1759-1788)*, t. 1-2, Paris, Librairie Plon, 1907 [on an unnumbered page at the beginning of the first volume].

89 Appendix 5, doc. 4.

90 Jules-Marie GENDRY, *Pie VI: sa vie, son pontificat, 1717-1799 d'après les Archives Vaticanes et de nombreux documents inédits*, t. 1-2, Paris, Picard et fils, [1906] (concerning the Jesuits: t. 1, pp. 15-21; 25-36; 47-50; 294-328; 340-352; 373-416; 438-439; 444; t. 2, pp. 385-404); François ROUSSEAU, *Règne de Charles III* (concerning the Jesuits: t. 1, pp. 119-175; 202-271; 294-417).

archives they would be the best refutation of what was not in favour of the order.⁹¹

Were these two books really worth being specially refuted?

As for Rousseau, he first summarizes the situation of the Society of Jesus in Spain and in its colonies in the eighteenth century, then the reasons why the Jesuits had so many enemies, and finally he summarizes the events of the order's expulsion from all Spanish domains in 1767 and then its universal suppression. The book is definitely not a typical anti-Jesuit publication: the vicissitudes of the Society are treated by the author only to the extent required by the main theme; furthermore, in the *Avant-Propos* Rousseau includes Gaillard among those to whom he felt obliged to express gratitude for their help.

As for Gendry, quoting many documents from the Vatican archives, he reports several reasons showing that both Popes Clement XIV and Pius VI did not want the Jesuits to survive in Russia and that they did everything possible to have the suppression carried out there. In this sense his book was to some extent against the Society for it showed the lack of any legal justification for its existence before 1801. The Jesuits were shown as attempting by all possible means to obtain any papal recognition or at least an acceptance of the *status quo*, which in fact never took place, according to that author. Some examples show Gendry's outlook:

1. It would be a lie on the part of Crétineau-Joly to say that there would have been a written document in which Card. Ganganelli was promising to suppress the Society if elected Pope. The proof for Gendry was a formal statement by Fr. Roothaan distancing himself from what the French writer had published.⁹²

91 Appendix 5, doc. 6. Edouard Fine, * 28.V.1847 Marseille, S.J. 1.IX.1865 Clermont-Ferrand, † 13.V.1927 Lyon; he was assistant to the Assistancy of France from 1900 through 1923 (DHCJ II, p. 1461).

92 GENDRY, *Pie VI*, t. 1, p. 31. Roothaan's declaration on 24 December 1852 said: «...je proteste hautement, dans toute la sincérité de ma conscience, en mon propre nom et au nom de tous les miens, contre tout ce qui, dans les écrits de M. Crétineau-Joly, pourrait blesser l'honneur et le respect dûs au Saint-Siège apostolique, et je déclare qu'il n'existe aucune solidarité entre cet auteur et les membres de la Compagnie de Jésus». Rousseau also, in his article of 1904 (pp. 157-158) arrives at the same conclusion that there was no such engagement on the part of Ganganelli. Jacques Crétineau-Joly (1803-1875), a French journalist and writer, author of *Histoire politique, littéraire et religieuse de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 6 vol. (Paris, Paul Mellier/Lyon, Chez Guyot, 1844-1846) and *Clément XIV et les jésuites* (Paris, Mellier Frères, 1847) (*Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* [from now on: DBF], t. 9, Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1961, col. 1234-1235). Jean

2. The supposed briefs by Clement XIV of 7 and 29 June 1774 (which would approve of the existence of Jesuits in Prussia and in Russia) were apocryphal. Gendry notes that neither was ever found in the official collection of papal documents and it was difficult to imagine that the Pope's attitude would have changed in the short space of only a few months.
3. Gendry doubts the authenticity of the declaration attributed to Fr. General Ricci shortly before he died in which he protested the Society's and his own innocence:⁹³ if such a declaration were true, it would be evident proof of Ricci's disobedience to the Pope for it was forbidden to speak or write about the suppression.⁹⁴
4. The opening of the Jesuit novitiate in Russia was not legal because bishop Siestrzencewicz who authorized it had been appointed by Rome as apostolic visitor only for the existing religious orders; the Jesuits having been suppressed did not come under his jurisdiction.
5. It was not true that Pius VI had approved the existence of the Jesuits in Russia during the audience granted by him in 1783 to Benisławski.⁹⁵ Gendry doubts even that the latter was formally appointed by Catherine II to treat this matter with the Pope (no documents proved it), and arrives at the conclusion that the ex-

Philippe Roothaan, * 23.XI.1785 Amsterdam; S.J. 30.VI.1804 Daugavpils (Letovia); † 8.V.1853 Rome; General of the Society from 1829 (*DHC* II, pp. 1665-1671).

93 Cf. footnote 47.

94 GENDRY, *Pie VI*, t. 1, pp. 323-325.

95 «Benisławski, lorsqu'il prétend que Pie VI approuva par trois fois l'existence des Jésuites de la Russie Blanche. *Approbo Jesuitas Russiae Albae* ne donne pas à son témoignage d'autre garantie d'authenticité que la véracité de sa parole. Or, indépendamment de l'in vraisemblance d'une déclaration qui dans la bouche du pape eut été une contradiction de toute sa conduite, il convient d'ajouter que Benisławski n'avait pas qualité pour déclarer qu'il était chargé d'un message pontifical, à moins de preuves écrites à l'appui. Grégoire XV et Urbain VIII ont décidé que les *Oracula vivae vocis* doivent être regardés comme apocryphes lorsqu'ils ne sont pas revêtus de la signature d'un cardinal ou du secrétaire d'une Congrégation romaine agissant dans le ressort de leurs attributions respectives. Aussi, jusqu'à la preuve du contraire, ne devons-nous tenir aucun compte de l'attestation de Benisławski». Cf. GENDRY, *Pie VI*, t. 1, pp. 410-411. See also t. 2, p. 390 where Gendry writes: «Si le témoignage de Benisławski avait été véridique, et si Rome avait réellement toléré l'existence en Russie de la Compagnie qu'elle avait supprimée dans le monde entier, Mgr Saluzzo, le successeur d'Archetti dans la nonciature de Pologne, n'aurait pas manqué d'en être informé».

Jesuit came to the Eternal City without any such appointment.⁹⁶
 6. It would have been simply an invention on the part of the ex-Jesuit Marrotti that Pius VI at the end of his life had approved the existence of the Society in Russia.⁹⁷

Given that many of the points treated by Gendry in his book later became topics of further explanations and studies as shown in the books by Marek Inglot and Sabina Pavone, it would be out of order to discuss them here. However, from what is quoted above, it is more than understandable that at the beginning of the twentieth century Gendry's book was judged dangerous for the Jesuits and as such it deserved an answer. That point appears in some of the letters from Gaillard's collection in ARSI.

So here is no need to prove the pertinence of the topic. Yet apparently (and only apparently!) we could hardly find any refutation of those writings in the published and unpublished legacy of the French Jesuit. Did he really not accomplish his mission to write against Gendry and Rousseau according to what Fine suggested to him in May 1907? Actually, he answered both authors as has been said above concerning Gaillard's book and article. Indeed, it is more than justified to consider these two studies (at least in part) as a response to them. Besides, other tasks committed to Gaillard gave him the opportunity to accomplish what he had been asked to do. They opened the way to making the most of his rich experience and using the material gathered during many years of work. There were two of these tasks: to help in the preparation of the beatification of José Pignatelli and to accomplish a long-standing project of Fr. Martín who wanted to publish a French translation of some Polish letters from the period after the order's suppression.

d) The cause of Pignatelli

As for the cause of Pignatelli, Gaillard's contribution is clearly visible both in the published acts and in the archives of the General Postulator of the Society of Jesus.

In spring 1899, when the cause was moving forward again after dozens of years of interruption, the French Jesuit brought to the Postulator, Fr. Beccari, some material from the archives of the duke of Parma in Pianore.⁹⁸ Two years later Beccari had to provide

⁹⁶ GENDRY, *PIE VI*, t. 1, pp. 406-416.

⁹⁷ GENDRY, *PIE VI*, t. 2, pp. 402-403.

⁹⁸ Cf. letters from Gaillard to Beccari on 1, 6 and 24 May 1899, in, Rome, Archivio

answers to several questions asked by the Vatican Congregation responsible for the process, concerning the attitude of Pignatelli during the time of the order's suppression. On this occasion the Postulator asked Gaillard's assistance, given that since 1895 the latter was researching that period of history.⁹⁹

In fact, the point which required his help was not limited 'only' to the attitude of the future blessed and saint, but concerned the whole complex question of the legality and legitimacy (or otherwise) of the survival of the Society of Jesus in Russia after its universal suppression. This theme emerged for several reasons. In spite of the lively polemics inspired by Augustin Theiner's history of Clement XIV, the work of the Oratorian historian seemed, in the eyes of the Vatican officials, to justify some doubts concerning the legitimacy of the Jesuits' survival in Russia as well as Pignatelli's own obedience to the Pope.¹⁰⁰ Gendry's book was also quoted for the same purpose.¹⁰¹

As the correspondence of Fr. Beccari shows, the question was discussed. In August 1907 the postulator had to send some publications by Theiner to Angelo Mariani, an official of the Congregation and Vice-Promoter (*subpromotor fidei*) of the process. Mariani wanted to see them, suspecting that something concerning Pignatelli could be found in the writings of the German Oratorian

della Postulazione Generale della Compagnia di Gesù [from now on: APG], *Corrispondenza*, busta 2: 1899-1900 and *Diario della Postulazione Gen.*, 1891-1904 (note from 26 June 1899). Camillo Beccari, * 14.VII.1849 Rome, S.J. 31.X.1863 Rome, † 4.VIII.1928 Rome; he was the general postulator of the Society in 1901-1923 (DHCJ I, p. 381). The (pretended) duke of Parma was Roberto I Borbone-Parma (1848-1907), who lost his throne in 1859. Concerning these archives, Maria Luisa Trebiliani wrote, in her article "Carlo II di Borbone, duca di Parma" (DBI 20 [1977], p. 258): «Si ignora la sorte dell'archivio privato dei Borboni, che per un certo periodo sembra sia stato conservato in una villa della campagna lucchese».

99 APG, *Diario della Postulazione Gen.*, 1891-1904 (note dated 23 February 1901).

100 Augustin Theiner (1804-1874), a German theologian and historian, Oratorian from 1839, prefect of the Vatican Archives in 1855-1870; among his works there is also a history of the pontificate of Clement XIV: *Geschichte des Pontifikats Klemens XIV* (t. 1-2, Leipzig-Paris, Verlag der Gebrüder Firmin Didot, 1853), in which he shows himself an opponent of the Jesuits (LThK 9 [32000], col. 1387-1388). Several answers and polemics followed the publication of this book, e.g. Jacques Crétineau-Joly, *Polémique sur le pape Clément XIV. Lettres au Père Augustin Theiner*, Liège, De L'Imp. de Verhoven-Debeur, 1853 or Gustave-Xavier de RAVIGNAN, *Clément XIII et Clément XIV*, t. 1-2, Paris, Julien Lanier et Cie Editeurs, 1854.

101 Cf. the letter from Mariani to Beccari of 17 September 1907. APG, *Corrispondenza*, busta 7: 1906-1907.

and suggesting further research in the documents to avoid any possible problems.¹⁰² In the September of the same year Alessandro Verde,¹⁰³ the Promoter of the Faith, formulated some questions in regard to Pignatelli's obedience to the Pope, which had to be studied and required an answer. One of them was relative to the period after 1773, when the Spanish Jesuit was in Bologna as a secular priest. According to what had emerged from the testimonies of the witnesses brought to the process, Pignatelli would not accept the suppression of the Society and hence he was doing everything to maintain the unity among his fellow ex-Jesuits in the hope of the restoration of the order in which he believed. Thus he would not be obeying the Pope's expressed will that the Society should be suppressed, objected Verde.¹⁰⁴ Even more important was his other objection concerning the legitimacy of the Society's survival in Russia. As was known, the future saint wanted to go there and to join the Jesuits surviving under the protection of Catherine II and her successors. That would be – the same promoter pointed out – contrary to the clearly expressed will of Clement XIV who wanted his brief to be executed all over the world. Quoting Theiner's history of that pontiff,¹⁰⁵ the promoter concluded that, given that the survival of the order was illegal, Pignatelli's project was going clearly against the Pope's will.¹⁰⁶

There are also other similar questions concerning his attitude at that time, which it would be too long and beside the point to recall here as it would be to discuss the points which gave rise to many studies published since Theiner's book appeared (the authors of these works attempted, not always *sine ira et studio*, to elucidate this strange episode of Jesuit history which was their survival in Russia). The purpose of the examples mentioned above is only to show how important it was in 1907 to further the study of these issues and to give sufficient answers. This was the reason

102 Cf. letteres from Angelo Mariani to Beccari dated 6, 16 and 18 August 1907. APG, *Corrispondenza*, busta 7: 1906-1907.

103 Alessandro Verde (1865-1958), in 1925 became a cardinal (*L'Osservatore Romano* 31 March – 1 April 1958).

104 Cf. nr 55 (pp. 48-49) of the *Animadversiones R. P. Promotoris Fidei*, in *Positio* 1907.

105 The long quotation used by Verde is from the Italian version of Theiner's book: *Storia del pontificato di Clemente XIV, scritta sopra documenti inediti degli archivi segreti del Vaticano*, III, Firenze, Tipografia di Luigi Niccolai, 1854, pp. 269-271; 385-386.

106 Cf. nos. 56-61 (pp. 49-55) of the *Animadversiones R. P. Promotoris Fidei*, in *Positio* 1907.

for Gaillard's involvement in this cause where the process for beatification of one person became somehow the process of the entire order to which the candidate for the altars belonged. That is probably also a reason for Gaillard's main contribution to it, which consisted in providing, for the "Summarium additionale" of the *Positio* published in 1907, a copy of eighty-six documents found by him in diverse archives and whose transcriptions are preserved in ARSI.¹⁰⁷ Three years later, in 1910, a new version of this *Positio* was published in Rome.¹⁰⁸ It includes also a "Novum summarium additionale" of 215 pages containing one hundred and six documents. Was Gaillard also responsible for its preparation? No evidence allows us either to confirm or to deny it. Given that the documents from both summaries as well as the *Altera nova positio* published in 1916 also treated, among other themes, the question of the Society's survival in Russia, it is more than justified to presume Gaillard's involvement in all these publications.¹⁰⁹ For this reason, Appendix 6 provides a list of all the documents published in both 'Summaries'.

e) Other projects

As for Fr. Martín's wish to publish a French translation of some Polish letters, written at the end of the eighteenth century by Karol Korycki (former assistant of the Polish Assistancy) to Stanisław Czerniewicz (at that time Vicar General of the Jesuits in Russia), a note at the beginning of the copy in ARSI explains the origins of this project. The General thought that a limited publication of those letters would be of help to the Society's superiors. Eventually he hesitated, considering their possible divulgation outside of the order and their use by the Jesuits' enemies.¹¹⁰ Gaillard, who

107 "Summarium additionale", in *Positio* 1907, pp. 1-212. This "Summarium" is composed of two parts: in the first there are 35 documents, in the second 51 documents. On p. 211 we can read Gaillard's declaration on 19 October 1907, confirming that he copied all these documents; two more declarations confirm the same statement: one by Gerste, the other by the General Wernz (*ibid.*, p. 211-212).

108 *Romana beatificationis et canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Josephi Mariae Pignatelli, sacerdotis professi e Societate Jesu nova positio super virtutibus*, Romae, Typis Guerra et Mirri, 1910.

109 *Romana beatificationis et canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Josephi Mariae Pignatelli, sacerdotis professi Societatis Jesu altera nova positio super virtutibus*, Romae, Typis Guerra et Mirri, 1916.

110 Cf. Appendix 4.

had been appointed to prepare this edition, finally inserted this translation as the attachment to the second part of his book.¹¹¹

Some other notes left by him concern themes such as local expulsions of Jesuits earlier in the eighteenth century, the universal suppression of the order in 1773 and its survival after that fateful date.¹¹² Together with other material relative to the same problem, they seem to be the unfinished part of his project to write about what happened before the Clementine *Dominus ac Redemptor* also.

Among this material several units are found. There is a chapter (or an article) about the bull of Clement XIII *Apostolici pascendi munus* in 1765.¹¹³ This seems to be part of a larger work (probably of a book), with which Gaillard wanted to answer the request to take his study from the period of the post-suppression back to the events leading up to this event. The bull of Clement XIII confirming the Institute of the Society of Jesus in the context of growing tensions which accompanied the local expulsion of the order from Portugal and France, preparing the following expulsion from Spain, Naples and Parma, as well as the universal suppression of the Society in 1773, was a *terminus a quo*, i.e. a starting point for Gaillard's extended project. His essay contains thirty-five manuscript pages 307×209 mm of text and sixteen pages of appendix consisting of a copy of decree 18 of General Congregation VI in 1608 and seven drafts of the bull from 1765. Gaillard discusses the preparation of this document. Based upon documents from the Vatican Archives that he quotes at length, as usual, he shows that the Jesuits were not responsible for the bull in a way that their enemies accused them of being, i.e. insinuating that they wheedled it out of the Pope. In the second part of the chapter he focuses on the reception of the pontifical document in France, Portugal, Spain and Naples. He shows, among other things, that both Clement XIII and the enemies of the Society treated the cause of the Society of Jesus as the cause of the entire Catholic Church: by defending the order the Pope was in fact defending the Church.

Gaillard also wrote (or at least started to write) a chapter about the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in 1767. It contains several dozens of handwritten pages of the same dimensions as

111 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002, fascicle "Appendix" (p. I-II and 1-143). Also Marek Inglot quotes some of them in his book (INGLOT, *La Compagnia*, pp. 66, 82-85 and 130-131).

112 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1009-1011.

113 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1009-I.

those mentioned above.¹¹⁴ In this chapter the French Jesuit recalls the measures taken against the order at the time preceding its expulsion. Secondly, Gaillard focused on showing that the Jesuits were not involved in riots that broke out in Madrid in spring 1766 and which gave the Society's enemies an excellent pretext for going ahead with the expulsion of its members. The correspondence quoted here gives the real reasons for the expulsion.

All this material, preserved in Gaillard's collection in ARSI, awaits the attention of a historian who would attempt to go further into at least some of the themes touched on in this essay.

Conclusions

In conclusion, Gaillard's main work concerns the Jesuits' survival in Russia, especially the years 1773-1814 – the period to which he dedicated his book *Suppression, survivance et rétablissement de la Compagnie de Jésus*. The present study takes into account his article about the first general congregation after the restoration of the Society, General Congregation XX: "La XX Congrégation Générale S. J. de l'an 1820". Both the book and the article remain unpublished. Besides these, there are also some minor writings, notes and material related to the second part of Gaillard's project, i.e. to prepare a history of the local suppressions preceding the Clementine brief of 1773. Except for some material included by Capilupi in his article quoted at the beginning, all the rest of these texts remain unpublished.

Why, after all, did Gaillard not publish anything? Was it because of his clear preference for the analytical work of research rather than for any attempt at a synthesis in writing? On the one hand it is true that as early as 1897-1898 Fr. Martín realized that he had such an inclination: in March 1898 the General wanted him to come to Fiesole in order to write something, while Gaillard preferred to remain in Rome and to continue his research. As Martín recalls in his 'Memories', the French Jesuit did everything to stay as little as possible in Fiesole and as much as possible in the capital. Despite all that, the General allowed him to come back to Rome to see the documents concerning the suppression that Gaillard was allowed to study in the Vatican Archives. The same happened again a year later: the zealous researcher wanted to work in Pianore, in the archives of the duke of Parma, and to spend the summer in Rome, although Martín wanted him to

114 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1009-II-1, 2, 3 and 4.

write.¹¹⁵ Martín's successor, Fr. Wernz, also urged Gaillard to write in 1912.¹¹⁶

Instructive too, although rather severe, is the opinion of Fr. Ledóchowski who shortly after the death of the French Jesuit wrote to Henri de Saune, Apostolic Vicar of Madagascar the following appreciations of Gaillard:

...inclined during all his life towards documents, he was easily very struck by statements that he found, but restricting himself to registering everything he found, with the scrupulous conscience of an archivist, he abstained from any critical examination of the value of their content. Furthermore, his inclinations made him so averse to confrontation arising out the results and to any general outlook that it was practically impossible for him to achieve anything like a synthesis. After all, it was for this reason that we could never get a book or an article out of him in which he would use the fruits of his patient research and of his admirable work.¹¹⁷

The context of this exchange explains this opinion: de Saune had forwarded to Ledóchowski what Gaillard had written to him, namely that among the reasons for the Society's suppression were the lack of obedience that many Jesuits showed towards their religious superiors and generally towards ecclesiastical

115 *Memorias* II, pp. 899-900; 902-905.

116 Cf. Appendix 5, doc. 13.

117 «...penché toute sa vie sur les documents, il était facilement très frappé des assertions qu'il y rencontrait, mais que, se bornant à enregistrer ses trouvailles avec une scrupuleuse conscience d'archiviste, il s'abstenait de tout examen critique sur la valeur de leur contenu; de plus, ses habitudes d'esprit l'avaient rendu tellement étranger aux confrontations de résultats, aux vues générales, qu'il lui était devenu pratiquement impossible d'accomplir aucun travail de synthèse. C'est d'ailleurs pour cela que nous n'avons jamais pu obtenir de lui aucun livre, aucun article où il utilisât les fruits de ses patientes recherches et de son admirable labeur». Letter from Ledóchowski to de Saune, 31 January 1928, in ARSI, *Reg. Missiones Galliae*, t. 7, p. 52. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski, * 7.X.1866 Loosdorf (Austria), S.J. 24.IX.1889 Stara Wieś; † 13.XII.1942 Rome; he was elected General of the Society in 1915 (*DHCJ* II, pp. 1687-1690). Henri de Lespinasse de Saune, * 7.VII.1850 Toulouse, S.J. 1.II.1876 Pau, † 7.VIII.1929 Antananarivo (Madagascar); after having been superior in several communities of the Toulouse Province, was appointed auxiliary bishop of Tananarive and worked there from 1900; in 1911 he became Apostolic Vicar of Madagascar (*DHCJ* IV, pp. 3508-3509).

authority.¹¹⁸ Such an opinion must have irritated Fr. General who rejected Gaillard's opinion, reminding his correspondent of the 'Protestation' by Fr. Lorenzo Ricci who shortly before his death had declared the Society and himself innocent.¹¹⁹

Coming back to Gaillard, he was certainly a researcher *par excellence* and the gift of synthesis was not his strongest point. In this sense Ledóchowski confirmed some of the reservations expressed by Gaillard's Provincial who was about to send him to Rome in 1895, as quoted at the beginning of this article. However, the French Jesuit prepared a book and an article about the General Congregation XX, if not completely, at least to a certain extent. Eventually both remained on the shelves of the ARSI, but even there they represent a valuable resource for historians who appreciate his rich collection of transcriptions and notes.

118 I did not find Gaillard's letter to de Saune in ARSI. It is worth noting that among the reasons for the suppression given by the official historiographer of the Society, Giulio Cesare Cordara, there were the Jesuits' avarice, laxity and pride. Cf. Giulio Cesare Cordara, *On the Suppression of the Society of Jesus. A Contemporary Account*. Translation and notes by John P. Murphy S.J. Chicago, Loyola Press, 1999, pp. 171-184. St. Alphonsus Liguori would also have seen pride as a reason for the suppression (cf. his letter quoted by Giuseppe ABATE, "S. Alfonso e Clemente XIV" *MISCELLANEA FRANCESCANA* vol. XXXIV, fasc. 2 (1934), pp. 101-112).

119 Cf. footnote 47.

Appendix 1: the Gaillard collection in ARSI

The archival collection of François-Marie Gaillard S.J. preserved in ARSI is composed of 105 archival units (8,5 m of shelves) arranged in three parts as follows:

Part I: Eleven files scheduled as part of the archival series *Historia Societatis* of the 'new' Society's ARSI section: ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001-1011.

Part II: Fifty-one large notebooks with summaries of the documents from many archives and libraries where Gaillard did his research.

Part III: Forty-three file folders with transcriptions of many of the documents scheduled in Part II.

Part I: ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001-1011

***Hist. Soc.* 1001-1003:** François-Marie Gaillard, *Suppression, survivance et rétablissement de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1772-1814*. Parts I-III (1643 ff.; see the table of content in Appendix 2).

***Hist. Soc.* 1004:** Manuscript version of this book (361 ff.).

***Hist. Soc.* 1005:** Chronological notes I [60 notebooks relative to the period 1731-1765].

***Hist. Soc.* 1006:** Chronological notes II [42 notebooks relative to the period 1766-1775].

***Hist. Soc.* 1007:** Chronological notes III [40 notebooks relative to the period 1776-1789].

***Hist. Soc.* 1008:** Chronological notes IV [32 notebooks relative to the period 1790-1820 and one notebook relative to the period 1821-1900].

***Hist. Soc.* 1009**

Fascicle I: "Histoire de la bulle *Apostolicum pascendi munus*" (51 pp.).

Fascicle II: Notes and material mostly concerning the eighteenth-century expulsion from Spain.

1009-II-1: "Expulsion des jésuites d'Espagne" (65 pp.).

1009-II-2: Notes on the same theme (26 pp.).

1009-II-3: "Principales accusations et principaux accusateurs qui, en Espagne, inculpèrent les jésuites de participation à l'émeute de Madrid en mars 1766" (30 pp.).

1009-II-4: "Pression exercée sur divers évêques espagnols en vue d'obtenir leur adhésions formelle aux résolutions méditées contre la Compagnie par le Conseil Extraordinaire" (14 pp.).

1009-II-5: Copy of Lorenzo Ricci's "Storia della espulsione della Compagnia di Gesù dalla Spagna, seguita ai 3 di aprile 1767" (14 pp. of notes and 43 pp. of text; the original in ARSI, Hist. Soc. 247-II).

1009-II-6: "Expulsion de Naples" (7 pp.).

1009-II-7: French copy of "Information sommaire sur les origines, sur le progrès et sur l'état présent de notre traité, dit des frontières, avec le Portugal, et les faits survenus au cours de son exécution" (7 pp.).

Fascicle III: Notes and material concerning the eighteenth-century expulsion from France and Spain.

1009-III-1: Notes concerning Lorenzo Ricci's "Istoria dell'accaduto in Francia ai PP. della Compagnia di Gesù nel 1761 e 1762" (24 pp.; the original in ARSI, Hist. Soc. 247-I).

1009-III-2: French translation of part of Lorenzo Ricci's "Storia della espulsione della Compagnia di Gesù dalla Spagna, seguita ai 3 di aprile 1767" (8 pp.).

Fascicle IV: Notes concerning the eighteenth-century expulsion from Parma (2 ff.).

Fascicle V: Notes and material concerning Gaillard's book.

1009-V-1: "Dates de l'exécution du bref *Dominus ac Redemptor*" (1 f.).

1009-V-2: "La promulgation du bref *Dominus ac Redemptor*" (5 ff.).

1009-V-3: Notes concerning the preparation of *Dominus ac Redemptor*" (5 ff.).

1009-V-4: "Malvezzi et les jésuites" (13 ff.).

1009-V-5: "Histoire de la S.C.D.[i.e. the Congregation *de abolenda*]" (9 ff.).

1009-V-6: Notes (18 ff.).

1009-V-7: "Carcerazione e processi degli ex-gesuiti Ricci, assistenti, etc." (15 ff.).

1009-V-8: "La conservazione temporanea della Compagnia in Prussia" (28 ff.).

1009-V-9: "La bulle *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*" (14 ff.).

Fascicle VI: "La Compagnie de Jésus après le bref de suppression" (ca. 130 ff.).

Fascicle VII: "Conservation de la Compagnie en Russie Blanche" (ca. 210 ff.).

Fascicle VIII: Drafts of the chapter about the survival of the Society in Russia.

1009-VIII-2: "Clément XIV, Pie VI et les jésuites de la Russie Blanche" (17 ff.).

1009-VIII-3: "Pie VI et les jésuites de la Russie Blanche" (15 ff).

Fascicle IX: Notes and material concerning the *Compagnia del Cuore di Gesù* and the Paccanarists (ca. 60 ff.).

Fascicle X: François-Marie Gaillard, "La XX Congrégation Générale S. J. de l'an 1820" (manuscript version of the article; ff.1-56v and ca.30 ff. of drafts and notes relative to it).

Hist. Soc. 1010

Fascicle I: Several versions of documents included in the Appendix of the second part of Gaillard's book (see their list in the Appendix 4).

1010-I-1: Gaillard's introductory note (2 ff.).

1010-I-2: Copy of the letters in Polish (pp. 1-114).

1010-I-3: French translation of these letters (pp. 1-130).

1010-I-4: French translation of these letters (pp. 1-110).

1010-I-5: French translation of these letters (pp. 1-138).

Fascicle II: Transcription of documents concerning Jesuits' suppression and survival in Russia (ca. 230 ff.).

Fascicle III: Gaetano Angiolini, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus légitimement conservée en Russie, confirmée d'abord dans tout l'Empire Russe, puis étendue au royaume des Deux Siciles par le Souverain Pontife régnant Pie VII au moyen des deux brefs apostoliques *Catholicae fidei* et *Par alias*". French Copy of Angiolini's manuscript from the *Corsiniana* Library (shelf-number: 38 H 3: "Memorie per servire alla storia della nuova Congregazione della Compagnia di Gesù eretta prima in Pietroburgo e nell'Impero di Russia, e distesa poi al Regno di Due Sicilie dal regnante Sommo Pontefice Pio VII per mezzo de' suoi due brevi apostolici: *Catholicae fidei* e *Per alias*"), made by Gaillard in about 1907 (ff. 1-295v). One part of these memories is published in J. L. Chaillot, *Pie VII et les jésuites d'après des documents inédits*. Rome, Imprimerie Salviucci, 1879, pp. 326-335.

Hist. Soc. 1011

Fascicle I

1011-I-1: François-Marie Gaillard, "Ma mission en Russie, 1908-1911" (pp. 1-207). Manuscript version of Gaillard's article published in *Lettres de Vals* 4 (1932), p. 173-331;

1011-I-2-11bis: Notes concerning Russia (mostly published by Stefano Maria Capilupi, "La Missione di François-Marie Gaillard nella Russia ortodossa del primo ventennio del XX secolo: Caratteristiche e limiti della prospettiva unionistica. Con una appendice di testi inediti". *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* vol. LXXII, fasc. 143 (January-June 2003), pp. 127-194).

Fascicle II: Gaillard's correspondence:

Letter from Gaillard to ? (Naples, 23 IV 1901); cf. Appendix 5, doc. 1.

Letter from Fine to Gaillard (Rome, 30 III 1903); cf. *ibid.*, doc. 2.

Letter from Luis Martín SJ to Gaillard (Mondragone, 13 VIII 1905); cf. *ibid.*, doc. 5.

Letter from Fine to Gaillard (Rome, 20 V 1907); cf. *ibid.*, doc. 6.

Letter from Gaillard to ? (Loyola, 4 XI 1902).

Letter from Gaillard to Achilles Gerste SJ (Simancas, 16 IX 1904).

Letter from Gaillard to Franz Xaver Wernz SJ (29 XI – 4 XII 1907); cf. Appendix 5, doc. 9.

Letter from Gaillard to Fine (Simancas, 24 V 1907); cf. *ibid.*, doc. 7.

Letter from Gaillard to Fine (Simancas, 24 V 1907); cf. *ibid.*, doc. 8.

Letter from August Coemans SJ to ? [Gerste?] (Namur, 4 III 1904).

Letter from ? to Gerste (Paris, 31 III 1904).

Letter from Gaillard to Gerste (Simancas, 10 V 1904).

Letter from Gaillard to Gerste (Simancas, 21 III 1904); cf. Appendix 5, doc. 3.

Gaillard, "Synopsis du travail fait et à faire" (without date).

Letter from Gaillard to Gerste (Simancas, 26 VII 1905).

"État du travail du P. Gaillard à Simancas" (without date).

"Observations générales" (without date).

Letter from Gaillard to Gerste (Simancas, 17 V 1904); cf. Appendix 5, doc. 4.

Letter from Ferdinand Tournier SJ to ? (Rome, 9 XI 1909).

Letter from Tournier to ? (Rome, 14 I 1913).

Letter from Tournier to ? (Rome, 14 I 1913).

List of volumes seen and of documents copied in the *Archivio di Stato* in Naples.

Letter from Gaillard to Franz Xaver Wernz (2 XII 1907); cf. Appendix 5, doc. 10.

Fascicle III: Gaillard's spiritual notes from 1925-1926 (22 ff.).**Fascicle IV:** Gaillard's correspondence:

Letter from Gaillard to Fine (St. Petersburg, 10-12 IV 1910) with transcription of some documents found in Russia.

Letter from Gaillard to Fine (St. Petersburg, 9 I 1910).

Letter from Gaillard to [Norbert de Boynes SJ?] (Rome, 14 V 1925).

Letter from Paul Pierling SJ to Gaillard (25 I 1911).

Fascicle V: "Inventario di libri e carte che si ripongono nell'archivio segreto di castello, nella stanza superiore dall'Armario litt. F" (4 ff.).

Fascicle VI:

from 1011-VI-1 through 1011-VI-18: Lists of documents (22 ff.).

from 1011-VI-19 through 1011-VI-23: Transcription of documents (9 ff.).

Fascicle VII:

1011-VII-1: notebook of summaries of documents (ca. 70 ff.).

1011-VII-2: "Mémoires divers sur les jésuites de Russie Blanche (Rome, 11 XI 1896)" (8 ff.).

From 1011-VII-3 through 1011-VII-23: "Polonia-Russia". Notes (26 ff.).

From 1011-VII-24 through 1011-VII-30: Notes (9 ff.).

From 1011-VII-31 through 1011-VII-41: "Napoli". Notes (11 ff.).

From 1011-VII-42 through 1011-VII-48: Notes (7 ff.).

From 1011-VII-49 through 1011-VII-53: Notes and transcription of documents (17 ff.).

Fascicle VIII: Notebooks of Gaillard from the time of his theology studies.

1011-VIII-1: "Casus de actibus, conscientia, peccatis, legibus, virtutibus". Jersey 1886 (18 ff.).

1011-VIII-2: "Casus de Decalogo". Jersey 1886 (28 ff.).

1011-VIII-3: "Casus de Decalogo". Jersey 1886 (12 ff.).

1011-VIII-4: "Casus de justitia et Jure". Jersey 1886 (28 ff.).

1011-VIII-5: "Casus de contractibus". Jersey 1886 (26 ff.).

1011-VIII-6: "Casus de statibus". Jersey 1886 (22 ff.).

1011-VIII-7: "Casus de sacramentis in genere". Jersey 1886 (22 ff.).

1011-VIII-8: "Casus de poenitentia". Jersey 1886 (32 ff.).

1011-VIII-9: "Casus de matrimonio". Jersey 1886. (26 ff.).

1011-VIII-10: "Casus de censuris, irregularitatibus, sollicitatione, absolutione complicitis". Jersey 1886 (40 ff.).

1011-VIII-11: "Questions pour l'examen des confesseurs sur les traités et les points de doctrine qu'ils sont le plus obligés de savoir" [Excerpta litogr. lat. et franc. dal libro di Pietro Scavini, *Theologia moralis universa*. Paris, 41867]; pp. 1-23; "Resolutio nonnullarum conscientiae casuum in studioso rum exercitium juxta ordinem tractatum" [*ibid.*, pp. 25-92].

From 1011-VIII-12 through 1011-VIII-14: Notes (53 ff.).

1011-VIII-15: "De Verbo Incarnato". Jersey 1886 (42 ff.).

1011-VIII-16: "De Virtutibus". Jersey 1886 (42 ff.).

Fascicle IX: "Documents divers déjà publiés sur la Compagnie, 1772-1820". Rome 1896 (50 ff.).

Fascicle X: Personal documents of Gaillard (mostly his university diplomas; 25 documents).

Part II: Summaries of the documents (large notebooks 1-51)

This second part of the Gaillard collection is composed of 51 large notebooks with the summaries of the documents that he found in all the archives where he did research. The list below indicates

the provenance of the documents summarized in each notebook. For the Vatican Archives are also given the titles of the main series examined by Gaillard (their abbreviated titles are given here as indicated by the *Indice dei Fondi e relativi mezzi di descrizione e di ricerca dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*. 2011).

Notebook 1:

- a) Archivio Segreto Vaticano [from now on: ASV], *Segr. Stato, Baviera; Segr. Stato, Colonia; Segr. Stato, Firenze; Segr. Stato, Francia; Segr. Stato, Legaz. Avignone; Segr. Stato, Legaz. Bologna;*
- b) Bibliothèque Slave, Bruxelles [at present in the Bibliothèque de l'École Normale Supérieure in Lyon and in the archives of the Jesuit Province of France, Vanves];
- c) Archivio Generale Arcivescovile di Bologna;
- d) Archivio della *Civiltà Cattolica*, Rome.

Notebooks 2-3: ASV, *Fondo Gesuiti*.

Notebooks 4-7: Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome.

Notebooks 8-11: Jesuit archives in Fiesole [at present ARSI, section of the “new” Society].

Notebook 12: ASV, *Segr. Stato, Francia*.

Notebook 13: ASV, *Segr. Stato, Germania*.

Notebook 14:

- a) ASV, *Segr. Stato, Cardinali; Segr. Stato, Epoca Napol., Italia; Segr. Stato, Malta; Segr. Stato, Principi; Segr. Stato, Savoia; Segr. Stato, Svizzera;*
- b) Archivio di Stato di Modena;
- c) Biblioteca Estense, Modena;
- d) Archivio Storico “De Propaganda Fide”, Rome;
- e) Archivio di Stato di Reggio [Emilia?];
- f) Archivio Comunale di Reggio [Emilia?].

Notebook 15:

- a) Archivo General Central de Estado, Alcalá de Henares [destroyed by fire in 1939];
- b) Archives of the Jesuit Provinces of Toledo and Aragon.

Notebook 16:

- a) Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, London;
- b) Archives of the Jesuit Province of Galicia, Cracow;
- c) Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome;
- d) Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome;
- e) ASV, [*Fondo Garampi?*], *Misc., Arm. XIII; Misc., Arm. XV*.

Notebooks 17-19:

Archivio di Stato di Napoli.

Notebook 20: Jesuit archives in Exaten [at present ARSI, section of the “old” Society].

Notebook 21:

- a) Archives of the duke of Parma, Pianore;
- b) Archivio di Stato di Parma;
- c) Archives of the Embassy of Spain in Rome.

Notebooks 22-24: ASV, *Segr. Stato, Polonia*.

Notebook 25:

- a) Archives of the Jesuit Province of Galicia, Cracow;
- b) Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow;
- c) Biblioteka Ossolineum, Lviv [at present one part of it is in Wrocław, Poland].

Notebook 26: ASV, *Segr. Stato, Portogallo*.

Notebooks 27-33: Archives of the Embassy of Spain in Rome.

Notebooks 34-36: Archives in Moscow and St. Petersburg: Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russian Academy of Sciences, Imperial Library, and other ecclesiastical or private collections.

Notebooks 37-48: Archivo General de Simancas.

Notebooks 49-50: ASV, *Segr. Stato, Spagna*.

Notebook 51:

- a) Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome;
- b) Archives of the Vatican Congregation of the Extraordinary Affairs [at present: Archives of the Secretary of State];
- c) Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana;
- d) Archivio di Stato di Venezia;
- e) Archives of the Jesuit Province of Venice.

Part III: Transcriptions of documents (file folders 1-43)

This third part of the Gaillard’s collection is composed of 43 file folders with the transcriptions of many of the documents summarized in the notebooks of the second part. The list below indicates the provenance of the documents transcribed according to the number of the folder.

Folders 1-4: ASV [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebooks 1-3 and 14].

Folders 5-8bis: Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebooks 4-7].

Folder 9: Jesuit archives in Exaten [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebook 20].

Folder 10: State and Jesuit Archives in Spain [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebook 15].

Folders 11-12: Miscellanea [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebook 16].

Folders 13-19: Archivio di Stato di Napoli [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebooks 17-19].

Folder 20: Archives in Parma [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebook 21].

Folders 21-25:

a) ASV, *Segr. Stato, Polonia*;

b) Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebooks 22-25];

c) Archives of the Jesuit Province of Galicia, Cracow.

Folder 26: ASV, *Segr. Stato, Portogallo*; *Segr. Stato, Spagna* [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebooks 26 and 49-50].

Folder 27-30: Archives of the Embassy of Spain in Rome [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebooks 27-33].

Folders 31-32: Russian Archives in Moscow and St. Petersburg [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries the notebooks 34-36].

Folders 33-41: Archivo General de Simancas [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebooks 37-48].

Folder 42: Archives from Rome and Venice [transcriptions corresponding to the summaries in notebook 51].

Folder 43: Archivio di Stato di Torino.

Appendix 2: François-Marie GAILLARD, *Suppression, survivance et rétablissement de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1772-1814. Introduction and table of contents of the book.*

Un peu moins de six années après la divulgation du bref *Dominus ac Redemptor*, Mgr Stanislas Siestrzencewicz, évêque titulaire de Mallo et délégué apostolique, par son mandement du 30 juin 1779, érigeait, à Polotsk, en Russie Blanche, un noviciat de la Compagnie de Jésus. Erection canonique, érection solennelle. Trois dimanches consécutifs, dans toutes les églises catholiques soumises à l'autorité du prélat, lecture avait été donnée aux fidèles, puis à la porte de ces s'était fait l'affichage de l'acte épiscopal. D'autre part, cet acte portait citation intégrale des pouvoirs pontificaux, qui le motivaient, l'appuyaient, le justifiaient. Ces pouvoirs précis, clairs, authentiques, exceptionnels, les avaient sollicités du pape simultanément l'impératrice Catherine II et Mgr Archetti, nonce de Pologne: l'impératrice pour confirmer et perpétuer en Russie la conservation des jésuites, le nonce, semble-t-il, à des fins assez différentes. Jamais l'évêque de Mallo n'en révoqua, ni l'usage, ni les effets, comme Pie VI n'en condamna jamais l'interprétation faite par l'évêque, selon le sens obvie et littéral du rescrit. Ces pouvoirs, datés du 8 août 1778, étaient à peine parvenus aux mains de leur destinataire, qu'ils avaient pris, sans retard aucun, la route de Saint-Petersbourg. Là examinés avec soin, ils avaient aussitôt reçu, avec l'approbation d'usage, la confirmation d'un oukase impérial. Puis un ordre également impérial avait intimé la volonté souveraine, que Monseigneur de Mallo s'en servit immédiatement pour ouvrir un noviciat aux jésuites. Ainsi fut fait. Trois semaines plus tard, ces facultés, le mandement, et l'ouverture avaient reçu la sanction publique de Catherine II. Bien plus, pour mieux reconnaître le service ainsi rendu aux catholiques russes, rendu au pape lui-même, car la czarine prétendait connaître parfaitement la pensée intime de Pie VI, non seulement Catherine II avait adressé au délégué des remerciements officiels, mais encore elle avait ordonné à son ambassadeur près de la cour de Vienne, prince Galitzine, d'obtenir pour ce même délégué la pourpre cardinalice.

À ces nouvelles très certaines, que le provincial des jésuites conservés dans la Russie Blanche lui envoyait, comme à son ancien supérieur, l'ex-assistant de Pologne, l'abbé Charles Korycki, répondit le 6 novembre:

Voici maintenant une prière, que j'adresse à Votre Révérence, o mon cher P. Stanislas: Gardez, gardez avec le plus grand soin, tous

les originaux des lettres que vous avez écrites à Rome, et qui de Rome vous ont été écrites au non du pape. Faites cette même prière humble et ardente à Mgr l'évêque de la Russie Blanche. Ces lettres seront nécessaires et à nous, et à nos successeurs, soit pour défendre notre innocence, soit pour écrire notre histoire vraie, notre histoire authentique. Elles démontreront, en temps utile, avec la clarté de l'évidence, qu'en Russie, depuis l'heure de notre générale infortune, jusqu'à ce jour, nous n'avons rien fait par ruse, rien fait par malice, rien fait contre la volonté du pape. J'en dis autant des mémoires présentés par Votre Révérence à l'impératrice de Russie et des réponses de Sa Majesté Impériale. J'en dis autant des lettres écrites par les gouverneurs, par les ministres, etc. Sans de tels témoignages, il est impossible d'écrire quoi que ce soit de solide dans notre histoire.

Ce sage conseil fut-il suivi? Peut-être non. Combien d'autres soucis n'accablaient pas alors les jésuites de Polotsk! Peut-être oui. Dans ce dernier cas, la collection pourrait se retrouver un jour sous les ruines de quelques masures aujourd'hui délabrées, autrefois collèges plein d'animation, au milieu des plaines de la Russie Blanche.

Quant à nous, chercheur de profession, ce conseil nous a constamment guidé à travers toutes les archives, que nous avons compulsées, en vue de refaire sur les vicissitudes durant un demi-siècle les collections souhaitées, des collections probantes, des collections persuasives. Après les avoir refaites en grande partie, sinon en totalité, vraiment nous nous croyons en droit de conclure, nous aussi, que dans la conservation, ou pour la conservation de la Compagnie dans l'empire russe, les jésuites de Russie ne firent rien par ruse, rien par malice, rien contre la volonté du pape. Non, rien contre la volonté du Pape Clément XIV, du Pape Pie VI, du Pape Pie VII. Qu'ils ne firent jamais rien contre la volonté de Clément XIV, nous l'établirons sur les plus hauts témoignages. Qu'ils ne firent jamais rien contre la volonté de Pie VI, nous le prouverons surabondamment par une longue série d'autographes de Pie VI même. Qu'ils ne firent rien contre la volonté de Pie VII, quoique personne ne le contesta jamais, nous ne laisserons pas même sur ce point l'ombre d'un doute raisonnable.

Les pages, qui vont suivre, résumeront succinctement nos recherches et nos démonstrations sur la suppression, sur la survivance et sur le rétablissement de la Compagnie de Jésus. Elles embrassent l'époque que leur titre indique, c'est-à-dire un demi-siècle à peu près. Un résumé succinct, voilà ce qu'on nous a demandé; voilà ce que nous présentons.

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ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1001.

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ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1003.

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Appendix 3: François-Marie GAILLARD, “La XX Congrégation Générale S. J. de l’an 1820”. Introductory note and list of documents that Gaillard wanted to publish in this article. ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1009-X.

Septembre-octobre 1919

L.M.J.

De nombreux documents relatifs à la Congrégation Générale de 1820 sont tombés entre nos mains ce mois d’août; fortuitement du reste. Ces documents trop authentiques nous les avons jugés trop importants, surtout trop instructifs, pour les reléguer sans plus dans la poussière des archives. Nous en extrayons donc un exposé sommaire des péripéties de cette assemblée; péripéties qui évoqueront, bien sûr, à la mémoire certaines vicissitudes de la première. Comme celle-ci, celle-là n’était-elle pas destinée à corriger, à confirmer, à établir pour longtemps une série de résolutions fécondes? Mais en 1820, comme en 1558, que d’obstacles il fallut d’abord écarter ou surmonter, afin de pouvoir ensuite accomplir pacifiquement le travail de la consolidation! Or un siècle entier déjà écoulé atteste aujourd’hui, que la XXe Congrégation, elle non plus, ne bâtit point sur le sable mouvant.

List of documents that Gaillard wanted to publish in this article:

Extract of the letter from Tadeusz Brzozowski to Giuseppe Sineo della Torre, 22 I 1820 [f. 8r].

Letter from Sineo to Luigi Maria Rezzi, 13 II 1820 [ff. 4v-6v].

Letter from Rezzi to Annibale della Genga, 16 VI 1820 [ff. 9r-10r].

Letter from Mariano Luigi Petrucci to Charles Plowden, 1 VII 1820 [f. 10v].

Letter from Rezzi to della Genga, 24 VII 1820 [ff. 11r-12v].

Memorial by Rezzi to Pius VII, 24 VII 1820 [f. 13r].

Extracts of Rezzi’s *exposé* to Pius VII, 24 VII 1820 [ff. 13r-14v].

Letter from Petrucci to Plowden, 2 VIII 1820 [f. 15r].

Letter from Petrucci to Plowden, 9 VIII 1820 [f. 15rv].

Letter from della Genga to Petrucci, 1 VIII 1820 [f. 15v; letter antedated according to Gaillard].

Letter from Luigi Pancaldi to della Genga, 3 VIII 1820 [f. 16rv].

Letter from Pancaldi to della Genga, 5 VIII 1820 [ff. 17r-18r].

Extract of the letter from Rezzi to della Genga, 5 VIII 1820 [ff. 18r-20r].

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Letter from Rezzi to della Genga, 30 VIII 1820 [ff. 25v-26r].

Letter from Pietro Francesco Galeffi to della Genga, 12 IX 1820 [ff. 26v-27r].

Letter from Petrucci to [della Genga?, Galeffi?], 13 IX 1820 [f. 27v].

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Letter by Petrucci to della Genga, 19 IX 1820 [ff. 30v-31r].

Extract of the petition sent by some of the Assistants to Pius VII, after 14 IX 1820 [ff. 31r-32r].

Letter from Petrucci to della Genga, after 14 IX 1820 [f. 32rv].

Letter from Silvestro Belli to Petrucci, 27 IX 1820 [ff. 32v-33r].

Letter from Belli to Petrucci, 27 IX 1820 [f. 33r].

Letter from Belli to Pietro Pietroboni, 5 X 1820 [f. 33v].

Letter from four assistants and three Provincials to Petrucci, 5 X 1820 [ff. 33v-34v].

Letter from Rezzi to della Genga, 5 X 1820 [f. 35rv].

Letter from Galeffi to della Genga, beginning of October 1820 [f. 35v].

Letter from della Genga to Galeffi, beginning of October 1820 [f. 36rv].

Letter from "quelques religieux de la Compagnie" to the Pope asking him to proclaim a *sanatio* of all possible irregularities, 8 X 1820 [f. 37r].

Rescript by Belli according the papal approval of this request, 8 X 1820 [f. 37r].

Letter from Pancaldi to della Genga, 10 X 1820 [ff. 37v-38r].

Letter from Petrucci to della Genga, 10 X 1820 [f. 38rv].

Letter by Pietroboni to Rezzi, 11 X 1820 [f. 38v].

Memorial by Rezzi and Pancaldi to Pius VII, 11 X 1820 [ff. 38v-39r].

Letter from della Genga to Belli, 12 X 1820 [f. 39v].

Letter from Belli to della Genga, 12 X 1820 [f. 39v].

Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Belli, 12 X 1820 [f. 40r].

Letter from Belli to Consalvi, 12 X 1820 [f. 40r].

Letter from Rezzi to della Genga, 13 X 1820 [ff. 40r-41v].

Letter from Pietroboni to della Genga, 12 X 1820 [ff. 41v-42r].

Letter from Rajmund Brzozowski to Gerolamo Bonacchi, 14 X 1820 [ff. 42v-43r].

Letter from Rezzi to Pius VII, c. 14 X 1820 [f. 43rv].

Letter from Rezzi to [Antoni Korsak?], 21 X 1820 [f. 44r].

Sineo, Decree dismissing Rezzi from the Society, 26 X 1820 [f. 44v].

Letter from Rezzi to Luigi Fortis, c. 27 X 1820 [ff. 44v-45r].

Fortis, Declaration testifying that Rezzi could be employed as a priest, 2 XI 1820 [f. 46r].

Letter from Pancaldi to Rezzi, 30-31 X 1820 [ff. 46v-47v].

Letter from Rezzi to della Genga, 29 X 1820 [ff. 48r-50r].

Letter from Rezzi to Nicola Maria Nicolai, 10 XI 1820 [ff. 50v-51r].

Letter by Nicolai to della Genga, 11 XI 1820 [f. 51rv].

Memorial by Rezzi to Pius VII, 10 XI 1820 [ff. 51v-52r].

Letter from Rezzi to Benedetto Angiolini, ? XII 1820 [5 ff. inserted after f. 52v].

Letter from della Genga to Petrucci, 29 X 1820 [ff. 53v-54r].

Letter from Petrucci to della Genga, 29 X 1820 [f. 54r].

Letter from Petrucci and Pietroboni to della Genga, 31 X 1820 [f. 54v].

Letter from Petrucci and Pietroboni to Fortis, 31 X 1820 [ff. 54v-55v].

Letter from Korsak to Petrucci and Pietroboni, 31 X 1820 [ff. 55v-56r].

Letter from Petrucci and Pietroboni to Korsak, 1 XI 1820 [f. 56rv].

Letter from Petrucci and Pietroboni to della Genga, 3 XI 1820 [f. 56v].

Appendix 4: François-Marie GAILLARD, “Restauration du gouvernement général de la Compagnie à Polotsk *ad apicem juris Instituti*, 1779-1783”. Introductory note and list of documents included in the Appendix of the second part of Gaillard’s book.

ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1002 (typed copy); *Hist. Soc.* 1010-I (manuscript copy in Polish and three manuscript copies of the French translation).

Les documents réunis dans ce fascicule racontent la réorganisation du gouvernement général de la Compagnie, au sein de la petite *Curia* de Polotsk. C’est dire assez leur importance, pour l’Ordre entier. Alors surtout, qu’en les parcourant dans leur ordre chronologique, chacun de nous assiste à une véritable transmission des pouvoirs. Inutile de dire à l’avance avec quelle exactitude, avec quelle délicatesse, avec quel amour aussi, refirent l’œuvre huit ans détruite, le nouveau Vicaire Général, les anciens Assistants, les meilleurs théologiens ou canonistes de Rome et de Varsovie. L’âme de cette restauration, le vénérable octogénaire Charles Korycki dirigeait toutes les bonnes volontés. N’était-il pas, en sa qualité de dernier Assistant de Pologne, l’intermédiaire-né entre Rome et Polotsk? Le nouveau Vicaire Général, P. Stanislas Czerniewicz, n’avait-il pas, neuf années durant, comme Substitut de l’Assistance Polonaise, travaillé, à Rome, sous ses yeux, sous ses ordres? Honneur donc et reconnaissance à ces deux grands, à ces deux nobles fils de la Pologne!

Notre Très Révérend Père Martín avait lu, fait examiner, puis approuvé la collection totale. Après avoir conseillé de mettre à la marge de chaque document, comme un résumé rapide, en latin, il avait ordonné d’imprimer le tout, à 50 exemplaires, ni plus, ni moins, et pour les Supérieurs majeurs de la Compagnie exclusivement. Au moment, où on allait passer le manuscrit aux mains de l’imprimeur, Sa Paternité se ravisa. Elle craignait, qu’un exemplaire ne sortit à contretemps des archives réservées de quelque Province.

Sous la direction du R. P. Ledóchowski, la traduction française fut révisée, à Cracovie, avec le plus grand soin, par une personne digne de la plus parfaite confiance; personne bien connue du Révérend Père et du traducteur; personne, qui écrit et parle le Français aussi bien que le Polonais. Toutes les corrections notées à faire furent aussitôt faites que signalées.

Inutile d’ajouter, qu’en présentant cette traduction, le traducteur n’entend nullement prendre la responsabilité, ni des erreurs historiques, ni de certains jugements, que contiennent les textes originaux. D’ailleurs tels de ces jugements, les rejeta toujours la légitime et obéissante Compagnie de la Russie Blanche. Cette

dernière observation vise en particulier des jugements portés çà et là, en Italie, sur la *Memoria Cattolica* des ex-jésuites Martí et Borgo.

Documents (numbered with Roman numbers) included in the Appendix of the second part of Gaillard's book:

I: Letter from Karol Korycki to Stanisław Czerniewicz (Rome, 24 IX 1779); cf. the original of this letter in ARSI, *Russia* 1003-III-1.

II: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 6 XI 1779); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-2.

III: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 4 XII 1779); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-3.

IV: Extract of the letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz, [before 13 V 1780] and three other documents: 1) letter from Giovanni Andrea Archetti to Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini (21 VI 1780); 2) letter from Lewiński, archdeacon from Połock to Mgr Caleppi, auditor of the nunzio (4 VI 1780); 3) letter from an ex-Jesuit to Mgr Jason Smogorzewski (13 V 1780).

V: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 30 III 1780); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-4.

VI: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 15 IV 1780); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-5.

VII: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 26 IV 1780); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-6 (including a note "Evidente risoluzione teologico-canonica").

VIII: Letter from Korycki to Kazimierz Sobolewski S. J., [May 1780]; cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-7.

IX: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 28 VI 1780); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-8.

X: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 15 VII 1780); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-9.

XI: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 29 VII 1780); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-10.

XII: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 12 VIII 1780); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-11.

XIII: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 26 VIII 1780); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-12.

XIV: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 6 X 1780); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-13.

XV: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 23 I 1781); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-14.

XVI: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 7 IV 1781); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-15.

- XVII: letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 9 V 1781); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-16.
- XVIII: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 23 VI 1781); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-17.
- XIX: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 14 XI 1781); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-18.
- XX: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 3 VIII 1782); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-19.
- XXI: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 21 IX 1782).
- XXII: Letter from Gennaro Sanchez de Luna S. J. to Czerniewicz (Rome, 13 XII 1782); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1001-III-4.
- XXIII: Extract of letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 28 XII 1782); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-IV-7.
- XXIIIbis: Letter from Czerniewicz to Sanchez de Luna (Połock, 6 IV 1783).
- XXIV: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 13 IV 1783); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-20.
- XXV: Extract of letter from Stefan Łuskina S. J. (Warsaw, 14 IV 1783); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-V-1.
- XXVI: Extract of letter from Kazimierz Sobolewski S. J. (Warsaw, 21 IV 1783); cf. *Russia* 1003-V-1.
- XXVII: Extract of letter from Korycki (Rome, 10 V 1783); cf. *Russia* 1003-V-1.
- XXVIII: Extract of letter from Korycki (Rome, 15 V 1783); cf. *Russia* 1003-V-1.
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- XXXI: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 31 V 1783); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-22.
- XXXII: Extract of letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 31 V 1783); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-V-2.
- XXXIII: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 7 VI 1783); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-23.
- XXXIV: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 14 VI 1783); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-24.
- XXXV: Letter from Benisławski to Korycki (Połock, 31 VII 1783); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1001-VI-12.
- XXXVI: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 30 VIII 1783); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-25.
- XXXVII: Letter from Korycki to Czerniewicz (Rome, 2 X 1783); cf. orig. in *Russia* 1003-III-26.

Appendix 5: Correspondence

The transcription of the documents of this Appendix is made according to following rules:

1. The abbreviations are replaced, except some of the most obvious words, e.g. M. (= *Monsieur*), or P. (= *Père*).
2. Both punctuation and division into paragraphs are given to facilitate the reading and understanding of the text.
3. The same goal was the only criterion in proposing some footnotes.

1. Gaillard to ?

Naples, 23 April 1901

ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-1.

Gaillard informs the unidentified addressee of this letter about his research in Naples which he presents as part of a larger project that he has been putting in practice since 1895. He reckons he would leave Naples at the end of May.

Mon Révérend Père, *Pax Christi*.

Oh! non, soyez-en sûr, je n'irai pas me précipiter dans le *barathrum* contre lequel vous voulez bien me prémunir. J'ai de trop bonnes raisons pour me tenir à distance. D'abord Notre Père ne m'a point exprimé un tel ordre (et par votre lettre je vois combien Sa Paternité est loin de me le signifier!)¹²⁰, puis le P. Strickland¹²¹ a sondé ces profondeurs, enfin, j'ai vu combien de liasses j'ai esquivées: en y songeant un peu, je me sens tout léger... relativement du moins.

Vous le savez, mon but en proposant l'excursion à Naples, à Reggio et à Parme, avant de passer à Simancas, se peut exprimer ainsi: j'ai voulu ramasser en hâte assez de chevilles pour boucher le plus grand nombre possible de trous; béants encore, ces trous peuvent se fermer bien mieux dès maintenant que plus tard. N'en sais-je pas mieux la largeur et la profondeur aujourd'hui, après les avoir presque comptés, numérotés à loisir (presque sous vos yeux)

¹²⁰ Letter not found in ARSI.

¹²¹ Joseph Strickland * 18.VI.1864 ? (Malta), S.J. 15.X.1883 Roehampton (England), † 15.VII.1917 ? (Malta); member of Roman Province, from its beginning he participated in the project of Luis Martín being in charge to collect documents about the suppression (ARSI/*Memorias* II, pp. 766, 886, 893-894, 897, 916). He worked, among others, also in the archives in Naples and left in ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 299, with some material that he collected, also a list of the documents from these archives, a manuscript of the plan of his book and some notes seeming to be part of it.

durant cinq années et demie? À Simancas, je compte procéder de la sorte, remettant le nouveau travail après l'exécution de l'ancien, à moins qu'il ne plaise autrement à qui de droit. Ce procédé me paraît à la fois plus juste, plus clair, plus méthodique, plus exact; il va sans dire encore qu'il économise de l'argent, du temps, des forces. Autre eût été la méthode, s'entend, dans une autre hypothèse.

J'ai donc en vertu de ces principes commencé mon labeur napolitain en attaquant la correspondance du duc de Serracapriola.¹²² Vous savez pourquoi et vous n'ignorez pas combien ce ministre (de 40 ans!) à Pétersbourg fit pour toute la Compagnie en tant d'occasions. Si le dépouillement des liasses me fournit quelques heureux résultats, peut-être demanderai-je à notre R. P. Recteur¹²³ de me mettre en relation avec les héritiers. Le R. P. Degni est un ami des Serracapriola, des Belmonte,¹²⁴ etc. Sinon, non. Puis, je passerai aux papiers d'Acton,¹²⁵ Ruffo,¹²⁶ Consalvi, Angiolini. Voilà le principal. Maints vides plus petits se combleront par manière de distraction relativement à l'occupation plus absorbante.

Dans tous les cas je compte m'expédier et me libérer de Naples, que dis-je: délivrer Naples de ma présence, après un mois, un moi et demi au plus, c'est-à-dire fin de mai dernière limite. J'ai relevé dans les catalogues tout ce qui m'importe. Ainsi je ne m'éterniserai pas hors de propos, comme aussi l'excursion produira peut-être d'autres résultats que ceux d'une simple promenade. En vérité, je me rends le témoignage de n'avoir point visé à me procurer un tel agrément. D'autre part, à dépense faite, travail correspondant.

122 Antonio Maresca (1750-1822), duc of Serracapriola, ambassador of the Two-Sicilies in Petersburg from 1782 to his death (*DBI* 70 [2008], pp. 48-50).

123 Probably Gennaro M. Degni, * 12.VIII.1842 Naples, S.J. 16.I.1858, + 31.I.1909, vice-rector of the Sacred Heart College in Naples from 1900, or Eugenio Moscatto, * 9.XI.1855 Reggio Calabria, S.J. 28.VI.1880, + 27.IX.1915 Naples, rector of the convict of the same school from 1898 (*ARSI*).

124 Noble family from the south Italy. Gaillard probably had in mind Giuseppe Emanuele Belmonte (1716-1777) who did a brilliant career at the court of Charles III and Ferdinand IV of Naples (*DBI* 8 [1966], pp. 20-22).

125 John Francis Edward Acton (1736-1811), influent minister of Ferdinand IV of Naples (*Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* [from now on: *Enc. It.*] t. 1. [s. 1.], Istituto Giovanni Treccani, 1929, p. 451).

126 Italian noble family. Gaillard probably had in mind the cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo (1744-1827; cf. *Enc. It.* 30 [1936], p. 221), or Fabrizio Ruffo (1763-1832), minister of the foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies and ambassador in London and Paris (cf. *Enc. It.* 30 [1936], pp. 221-222).

Ayez la bonté d'exprimer à Notre Père ces quelques plans ou idées, ...si Sa Paternité désire une réponse! Puis, au cas qu'une autre résolution serait prise par lui, veuillez m'en écrire un mot, sinon le silence, votre silence, suffira.

Bonne, meilleure santé *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

Vous avez dû recevoir Mgrs Van Reeth et Zaleski; ici on les attendait au noviciat le jour même de mon arrivée.¹²⁷

In unione Sanctissimorum Sacrificiorum, Reverentiae Vestrae infimus in Christo servus,

F. Gaillard SJ

2. Edouard Fine to Gaillard

Rome, 30 March 1903

ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-2/1.

The Assistant informs Gaillard, in the name of the General, that his mission is to study the period of the Society's suppression, extending the research back to 1750. The General wishes to be kept up to date with the progress of his work.

Mon Révérend Père, *Pax Christi*.

J'ai soumis votre demande au P. Général, il me charge de vous répondre que le champ de votre travail est toujours le même, la suppression, tout ce qui la prépare, et rentre dans son histoire, choses et personnes. C'est dans ce sens qu'il vous a été dit ici de remonter non seulement jusqu'en 1764, mais jusqu'en 1750; c'est dans le même sens qu'actuellement, sans fixer de date, on vous dit de prendre tout ce qui peut éclairer l'histoire de la suppression, faire connaître les hommes qui y ont joué un rôle, les événements qui l'ont préparée, etc.

Le P. Général me charge d'ajouter que vos lettres lui feront toujours plaisir, qu'il aime à être tenu au courant des résultats de vos recherches.

Il me semble vous voir à Simancas comme un poisson dans la mer, vous délectant au milieu de toutes ces pièces auxquelles vos travaux précédents donnent un intérêt tout particulier. Bien que votre retraite à Manrèse en octobre dernier ait augmenté vos forces, n'en abusez pas cependant, contentez vous d'en user.

Je suis en union de vos Saints Sacrifices, mon Révérend Père, votre serviteur en Notre Seigneur.

Ed. Fine SJ

¹²⁷ Joseph Van Reeth, * 6.VIII.1843 Antwerp, S.J. 25.IX.1860, † 11.IX.1923 Galle (Sri Lanka), bishop of Galle from 1895 (*DHCJ* IV, p. 3889). Laudislaus M. Zaleski (1852-1925), titular archbishop of Tebe and apostolic delegate to India from 1892, in 1916 he became titular patriarch of Antiochia (*LThK* 10 [1965], col. 1306).

3. Gaillard to Achilles Gerste**Simancas, 21 March 1904**ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-9.

Gaillard answers what Gerste must have asked him in the name of Martín, i.e. to prepare an answer to Rousseau's article published at that time (cf. note 84): he cannot accomplish such a task because of the lack of sources and books not easily available in Spain. However, if that was the General's wish, he was ready to execute it.

Mon Révérend Père Gerste, *Pax Christi*.

Hier, dimanche, à mon arrivée au collège, le R. P. Recteur¹²⁸ me remit votre bonne lettre.¹²⁹ Dès la première lecture, cette lettre me remplit d'un profond étonnement. Aujourd'hui une seconde lecture, surtout après examen de mes paperasses, ici, près du *Castillo*, dans ma solitaire chambrette, me fait rire de moi-même.

Pour Notre Père, et afin de vous répondre, je vais brièvement exposer les grosses raisons soit de ma surprise d'hier, soit de mon sourire d'aujourd'hui.

Lors de ma première arrivée de France à Rome, ordre me fut donné d'étudier dans toutes les sources romaines l'histoire de la Compagnie depuis 1773 jusqu'à 1820, rien de plus. Mes schedes, les documents commis à votre garde peuvent vous dire que je n'ai fait, selon mon possible, rien de moins. Et vous savez tout ce que sur la même époque vous avez bien voulu tirer pour moi, fascicule par fascicule, de votre succursale d'Exaten.

Lors de mon premier départ de Rome pour l'Espagne, ma tâche fut étendue en amont des années jusqu'à la bulle *Apostolicum pascendi munus*.¹³⁰

Lors de mon séjour subséquent à la Place d'Espagne à Rome encore, la même tâche fut prolongée pour la durée de ce séjour jusqu'à 1750 ou environ. Ainsi avais-je compris.

Mais lors de mon entrée au *Castillo* de Simancas le R. P. Fine m'écrivit que le prolongement de *Piazza di Spagna* se devait

128 Given that there was no Jesuit community in Simancas, Gaillard writes most possibly about Hilario Sánchez, * 14.I.1844 Castil de Vela (Spain), S.J. 5.X.1861, † 13.IV.1925 Valladolid; rector of Saint Joseph College in Valladolid from September 1903 (ARSI).

129 Letter not found in ARSI.

130 The bulla of Clement XIII renewing the pontifical approval of the Society of Jesus was published 7 January 1765. Cf. The text in *Institutum Societatis Iesu I: Bullarium et compendium privilegiorum*, Florentiae, Ex Typographia A. SS. Conceptione, 1892, pp. 309-312.

entendre de toutes mes études ultérieures.

Vous le voyez, mon Révérend Père, c'est une maison à l'américaine, qu'il m'est ainsi commandé de bâtir. Laissons l'originalité du système. L'important consiste ou bien à descendre sans faute du toit aux fondements inclusive, ou à monter sans faute des fondements au toit, inclusive toujours.

Or en face du travail que me demande votre lettre, je me trouve vraiment déconcerté. Je vous exposerai trois ou quatre considérations capitales, supprimant les autres.

1. Je n'ai jamais dû étudier au Vatican dans les collections des diverses nonciatures, ni dans le trésor du *Castel S. Angelo* que Notre Père connaît bien, la meilleure défense autorisée de la Compagnie. J'ai disposé, ordonné tout cela; je n'ai étudié, selon mon devoir, que les pièces de date postérieure à 1773. Les schedes ne portent que de rapides indications sur les liasses ou pièces de dates antérieures. Après les derniers ordres reçus, je devrais épilucher tout cela.
2. Je ne suis jamais allé à Exaten entendre l'auto-défense de la Compagnie accusée. Après les derniers ordres, Exaten s'impose.
3. Je n'étudiai jamais à Paris, non plus qu'à Lisbonne, les correspondances des Pombal,¹³¹ des Choiseul,¹³² des Aiguillon¹³³ etc. avec leurs Almada,¹³⁴ Aubeterre,¹³⁵ Bernis¹³⁶ et autres ambassadeurs près des différentes cours conjurées ou indifférentes. Je suis donc

131 Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699-1782), Portuguese prominent minister in 1750-1777; he led the campaign against the Jesuits which concluded with their expulsion from Portugal in 1759; as recompense for his services he received the title of marquess of Pombal (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, t. 9, Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 151993, p. 587).

132 Étienne-François de Choiseul (1719-1785), appointed minister of foreign affairs in 1758 he was *de facto* the head of the politic of France under Luis XV until 1770 (*DBF* 8 [1959], col. 1219-1222).

133 Emmanuel-Armand de Richelieu, duke d'Aiguillon (1720-1788), French foreign minister in 1771-1774 (*DBF* 1 [1933], col. 914-916).

134 Francisco de Almada e Mendonça was the Portuguese ambassador in Rome during the time of anti-Jesuit campaign of Pombal and one of the protagonists of the break of the diplomatic relations between Portugal and Vatican in results of which he left Rome in 1760 (Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei Papi XVI/1*, Roma, Desclée & Ci Editori Pontifici, 1933, pp. 615-618).

135 Henri-Joseph d'Aubeterre (1714-1788), French military and diplomat, ambassador in Rome in 1765-1769 (*DBF* 4 [1948], col. 127-130).

136 François-Joachim de Pierre de Bernis (1715-1794), French cardinal (1758) and diplomat, he was ambassador in Rome after d'Aubeterre (*DBF* 6 [1954], col. 123-126).

incapable de juger de la valeur des armes tirées de ces deux arsenaux, surtout si ceux qui s'en servent en laissent aussi peu deviner la trempe ou la valeur que le fait M. Rousseau dans ses anecdotes et citations; citations, anecdotes retiennent aussi d'un vague désespérant.

4. Devant répondre sur des 'rapports d'ambassadeurs' et à des 'pamphlets', comme vous me le dites, je dois vous faire remarquer que je m'agite ici presque uniquement dans un milieu d'ambassadeurs hostiles, d'accusateurs acharnés, d'ennemis enfin. Il faut ajouter que je ne rencontre pas mal sur mon chemin, oui pas mal, de jésuites, ou turbulents, ou trompés, ou trompeurs, ou simplement misérables. Leur correspondance interceptée, leur correspondance avec d'autres semblables à eux, avec des supérieurs (des diverses hiérarchies) dit bien des choses lamentables. De défenses point.

Mon *palazzo* à moi, mon *palazzo* américain, dressé je ne sais comment, ne présente que des étages haut juchés, étages je ne dirai point capitonnés ni même meublés; disons les simplement habitables! Le *palazzo* de M. Rousseau s'élève seulement de la base aux *piani nobili* du mien! Jugez des deux.

Ne pourrais-je pas rester surpris sur de moindres motifs, en présence de la tâche toute neuve que vous me proposez?

Voici maintenant où je commence à rire de moi même. Pauvre Robinson de terre ferme, je n'ai ici sous la main, je ne puis avoir en aucune façon à Simancas:

1. ni les documents parisiens pour les confronter avec ceux de Simancas ou de la *Piazza di Spagna*;
2. ni tant d'ouvrages invoqués dans l'article de la *Revue*;
3. ni les collections les plus élémentaires de Carayon,¹³⁷ de Masson (sur Bernis),¹³⁸ ni Crétinau-Joly,¹³⁹ ni Zaleski,¹⁴⁰ ni aucun des

137 A French Jesuit Auguste Carayon (* 31.III.1813 Saumur, S.J. 28.XI.1841 Saint-Acheul, † 15.V.1874 Paris), published 22 volumes of *Documents inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus*, Poitiers, Henri Oudin, 1863-1870; the 23th volume was published posthumously: Paris, Ch. Taranne, 1874-1886 and *Bibliographie historique de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris, Auguste Durand, 1864 (DHCJ I, p. 648).

138 Frédéric Masson publia *Mémoires et lettres de François-Joachim de Pierre, Cardinal de Bernis (1715-1758)*, t. 1-2, Paris, E. Plon, 1878 and *Le Cardinal de Bernis depuis son ministère, 1758-1794. La suppression des jésuites. Le schisme constitutionnel*, Paris, E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1884.

139 *Histoire politique, littéraire et religieuse de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 6 vols. (Paris, Paul Mellier/Lyon, Chez Guyot, 1844-1846) and *Clément XIV et les jésuites* (Paris, Mellier Frères, 1847).

140 A Polish Jesuit Stanisław Załęski (* 11.IX.1843 Cracow, S.J. 15.XI.1857 Baumgartenberg [Austria], † 23.VIII.1908 Nowy Sącz [Poland]) was the author

adjumenta de ma chambre du *Pio Latino Americano* ou de France;

4. ni les *schede* et documents que vous détenez. Bon nombre de ces documents, quoique d'une date postérieure, éclaireraient fortement des faits antérieurs.

5. Je n'ai pas la libre disposition des pièces que vous savez ne pouvoir servir qu'à la condition de se trouver ici ou ailleurs en double. Et maintes de ces pièces, les plus importantes, resteront peut-être à toujours uniques.

6. Enfin me manquent: le plus élémentaire manuel d'histoire générale, le plus vulgaire dictionnaire de dates, etc., etc.

Et à Valladolid? À Valladolid, soit dans les bibliothèques publiques, soit dans diverses bibliothèques privées qu'un obligé P. Paz¹⁴¹ m'avait entr'ouvertes, j'ai cherché longtemps, comme une perle, un 'Danvila',¹⁴² un seul. Le croiriez-vous? Il m'a fallu recourir à Madrid. Le P. Rodeles¹⁴³ se dévoua et me prêta le sien.

Ainsi mélancolique pêcheur des bords d'un ilot dénudé du Rio Pisuerga, j'ai beau prendre dans mon filet menu fretin ou gros poissons, puis-je sans rien de plus vous préparer même une collation de Carême? Loqueteux boquillon, perdu dans la sombre forêt, puis-je avec ma hache ou ma serpe seules vous construire un... automobile? Noir mineur enterré dans la mine plus noire encore, puis-je avec mon pic seulement, puis-je vous...forger...une lame de Tolède?

of *Historia zniesienia zakonu jezuitów i jego zachowanie na Białej Rusi* (Lwów, Nakładem Autora, 1874) and *Historia zniesienia jezuitów w Polsce i ich zachowanie na Białej Rusi* (Lwów, Nakładem Autora, 1875). In 1886 the book was translated into French by Alexandre Vivier (*Les Jésuites de la Russie-Blanche*, vol. 1-2, Paris, Letouzey at Ané), and in 1888 from this French version an Italian translation was made by Antonio Buzzetti (*I Gesuiti della Russia Bianca*. Prato, Tipografia Giachetti). His main work was the history of the Jesuits in Poland from the 16th century to the beginning of the 20th century: *Jezuici w Polsce*, t. 1-5 (11 volumes; Lwów, Drukiem i nakładem Drukarni Ludowej/ Kraków, Drukiem i nakładem Drukarni W. L. Anczyca i Sp., 1900-1906) (DHCJ IV, pp. 4065-4066).

141 Marcelino de la Paz * 28.V.1842 Potes (Spain), S.J. 25.VII.1877, † 29.I.1932 Valladolid; in 1904 he was in Valladolid charged of the pastoral work (ARSI).

142 Manuel Danvila y Cellado (1830-1906), Spanish lawyer, politician and historian, author of the *Reinado de Carlos III*, t. 1-6, Madrid, El Progreso Editorial, 1892- [1894] (*Enciclopedia Vniversal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana XVII*, Barcelona, Hijos de J. Espasa, Editores, [n.d.], p. 960).

143 Cecilio Gómez Rodeles * 22.XI.1842 Olite (Spain), S.J. 18.II.1858 Loyola, † 31.XII.1913 Madrid; in 1895-1897 he worked in ARSI (at that time stored in Exaten, Low Countries) with the documents of the Spanish Assistance; later he became the second director of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (DHCJ II, pp. 1776-1777).

Telle est toute ma réponse dans la netteté, dans la simplicité des numéros d'un double catalogue, catalogue nécessairement, volontairement laissé incomplet. S'il en était besoin, vous le compléteriez si facilement!

Mais Notre Père a voulu ajouter deux mots de sa main à vos deux pages! Ces deux mots excuseront peut-être une lettre si longue.

Je remercie d'abord Notre Père de sa bonté. Puis-je lui faire humblement deux petites protestations très sincères.

La première, que peu de mains sont aussi habituées que la mienne à écrire; je ne dis pas à écrire bien. Chaque jour j'écris ici, à Simancas, du latin, de l'italien, de l'espagnol, du portugais, du français, etc. à raison de 6 heures (quand ce n'est pas 9 ou 10 heures) au *Castillo*, et de 6 autres heures (quand la journée est restée normale) dans ma chambrette.

La seconde, que je me crois prêt à me faire moquer de moi auprès de tout le genre humain pour l'amour de Notre Seigneur et de la Compagnie, avec la consolation d'un goût spécial que nul ne se moquerait de moi avec autant de raisons que moi même. C'est là dire à Sa Paternité qu'après avoir dûment fait les considérations très humbles de plus haut, je reste prêt à tels ordres que Notre Père voudra me donner, ou à aucun, si ainsi lui plait, sans restriction connue.

Enfin, je dois finir par une confidence à votre adresse, mon Révérend Père Gerste, sans exclure, bien sûr, qui peut m'en demander compte et raison. La voici. Tous les jours je m'arrache les cheveux en présence de pièces importantes dont je dois, dont je ne puis trouver des doubles. Je cours de ministères à ministères, de *legajos* à *legajos*, de petits *expedientes* à *expedientes* plus petits ou plus gros, sans numéros, sans titres, sans noms. Courses folles et rarement un *bravium*! Oui, je m'en arrache les cheveux! Je vous le dis parce que je vous sais compatissant sur ce mal comme sur tant d'autres! Mais comme tous les maux ne viennent pas pour nuire, j'ajoute pour vous faire aussi quelque plaisir, que dans ces excursions forcées il m'arrive de faire bien des découvertes. Soit dit pour en recauser un jour, si Dieu nous prête vie et causerie. Tout cela, s'entend, n'a rien à faire avec les catalogues, muets comme les poissons du Pisuerga, sur les trésors que cache Simancas, catalogues faits pour égarer plutôt.

Que de félicitations j'aurais à offrir à tels ou tels de là-bas, pour tel décret du 13 mars 1904!¹⁴⁴ *Deo gratias*!

144 I did not find any explanation of this point.

Assez, n'est-ce pas? Pardonnez les longueurs!
 Adieu donc, et merci! Je vous souhaite meilleure santé, printemps
 hâtif et mille autres biens plus précieux.

*In unione Sanctissimorum Sacrificiorum, Reverendi Patris infimus in
 Christo servus,*
 F. Gaillard SJ

4. Gaillard to Achilles Gerste

Simancas, 17 May 1904

ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-14.

Gaillard is preparing a refutation of Rousseau's article. He thinks that Miguel Mir has a bad influence on this author, but he hopes that his way of proceeding by laying out documents will remove all the prejudices. He asks Gerste to transmit to him the General's wishes regarding his work.

Mon Révérend Père Gerste, *Pax Christi*.

Vous avez dû recevoir hier au plus tard une carte postale importante.¹⁴⁵ Je n'ai rien à ajouter à la nouvelle qu'elle vous donnait, sinon ceci: tous les soirs, de 4 à 6 heures, je poursuis la réfutation non seulement de l'article publié, mais si je ne me trompe, de maints autres articles à venir. Je n'ai à lutter que contre certains préjugés sans consistance, et contre une ignorance que n'opiniâtre aucune mauvaise volonté. Il faudrait pourtant signaler à Notre Père, si vous le trouvez bon, quelque fâcheuse influence de Don Miguel Mir.¹⁴⁶ Celui-ci, en effet, non seulement a causé beaucoup à Madrid avec M. Rousseau, mais encore lui a formé toute une bibliothèque d'auteurs espagnols sur le sujet. Mais comme je procède par documents, c'est-à-dire par preuves solides, sur chaque point contesté, les vieilles légendes croulent vite. Dès que je rends service en diminuant le travail et la dépense, nos conférences prennent plus facilement le ton de la confiance, peut-être même de l'amitié; je ne dis ceci que sur preuves aussi guère en ma faveur.

Si je n'avais eu que cela à vous écrire, très probablement je ne vous aurais point dérangé pour si peu, une seconde fois. Mais vient

145 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-8/3.

146 Miguel Mir y Noguera * 11.XII.1841 Palma de Mallorca (Spain), S.J. 15.VII.1857 Loyola, † 29.XII.1912 Madrid; Jesuit until 1891, professor of philosophy and letters and member of the Real Academia Española, he was also one of the editors of saint Ignatius letters (project which eventually became *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*); having left the Society he became its strong adversary as prove his divers publications against the order (DHC) III, pp. 2684-2685).

de m'arriver du P. Frías la lettre ci-incluse.¹⁴⁷ Une accolade vous y marque l'alinéa qui m'a déterminé sur le champ à vous écrire. Ayez la bonté de demander à Notre Père et de m'envoyer tous les *desiderata* de Sa Paternité. Quoique j'aie donné déjà toutes les informations antérieurement ou demandées ou par moi jugées utiles, je suis toujours prêt, comme je dois l'être, à les répéter, dussé-je le répéter mot par mot. Et vraiment ainsi serais-je forcé de faire. En effet, rien n'est survenu ni de nouveau, ni d'important, sauf des découvertes qui élargissent plutôt le champ du travail, sur les missions d'Amérique en particulier.

Le P. Frías a touché pourtant, dans nos causeries de fin d'avril, la question de la photographie des documents. Notre Père connaît bien, vous connaissez aussi sans doute les avantages, les inconvénients, les difficultés de ce mode de relever les pièces utiles. Ici, à Simancas, toutefois le règlement (qui ne prévoit pas du tout une grande, une longue série d'épreuves à tirer, mais seulement une quantité très restreinte de clichés), le règlement impose un rigoureux dépôt de doubles! Pensez donc maintenant au destin de ces doubles! Leur sort m'apparaît, a paru au P. Frías immédiatement, net et clair. En échange d'une somme peut-être ronde et grosse, la collection passerait vite (bien avant de se faner!) aux mains de...?, de...?, de...? Voyez-vous les conséquences? Bref, S. J. paierait les bâtons dont les acquéreurs ne tarderaient pas à lui administrer les plus belles volées, soit dans des ouvrages vite brochés, soit même dans des journaux quotidiens. Quelle aubaine pour tel ou tel directeur à court de copie!

Mais j'attends des ordres. Veuillez bien me les communiquer, s'il vous plaît! Agrérez-en un *schönen Dank*!

Avant-hier, au Collège Saint-Joseph, le P. Martínez¹⁴⁸ allait un peu mieux, et tous les autres Pères, Frères et élèves allaient fort bien, Dieu merci. Quelle bonne année cette année-ci à Valladolid! Le Révérend Père Provincial¹⁴⁹ y était en visite: vous devinerez que

147 Letter not found. Lesmes Frías * 29.I.1870 Villadelmiro (Spain), S.J. 16.I.1885 Loyola, † 4.II.1939 Rome; from 1932 member of the Jesuit Historical Institute, author of the history of the Society in Spain: *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en su Asistencia Moderna de España*, t. 1-2, Madrid, Administración de Razón y Fe, 1923-1944 (DHCJ II, pp. 1528-1529).

148 Eleuterio Martínez * 20.II.1853 Zote del Páramo (Spain), S.J. 9.VII.1868, † 4.XI.1905 Valladolid, teacher of physics in the college of Valladolid (ARSI).

149 Since September 1903, the provincial of the Castilla Province was Ignacio Maria Ibero, * 15.XI.1858 Azpeitia [Spain], S.J. 5.VIII.1872 Poyanne (France), † 20.V.1942 Loyola (ARSI).

je lui ai exposé, par devoir aussi, toute ma situation et toutes *mis circumstancias*. Ni plus, ni moins qu'à Notre Père à qui de droit de juger, de commander!

In unione Sanctissimorum Sacrificiorum, Reverendi Patris infimus in Christo servus,

F. Gaillard SJ

5. Luis Martín to Gaillard

Mondragone, 13 August 1905

ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-2/2.

The General is pleased with the news about Gaillard's research in Simancas. His wish is that the results destined to enter the Roman archives of the Society should also help the Jesuit historians in Spain. Martín wants Gaillard to write the order's history in the time after the suppression and then of the suppression itself. He thinks that the French Jesuit is an ideal candidate for this task which must not be postponed too much.

Pax Christi. Muy amado en Cristo Padre Gaillard:

Con mucha satisfacción me he enterado de su última carta al P. Gerste.¹⁵⁰ Agradezco muy de corazón los trabajos de Vuestra Reverencia en servicio de la Compañía, y su puntualidad en darme cuenta de ellos, como sabe que yo lo deseo.

Veo con mucho gusto que ya va dando cima á su inmensa tarea de Simancas. Ya sabe Vuestra Reverencia que mi deseo es que á su tiempo todos esos documentos vayan á enriquecer el archivo general de la Compañía. Pero deseo igualmente que desde luego aprovechen los Padres de España la hermosa ocasión que ahora se les ofrece, para sacar copia de los documentos pertenecientes á la historia de su Asistencia, desde la expulsión con sus antecedentes á la restauración de la Compañía, los cuales podrán guardarse en el archivo de Madrid. Acerca de esto ya he escrito al P. Frías.

Cuando concluya ó esté para concluir sus trabajos de Simancas, escríbame Vuestra Reverencia lo que necesitará hacer para emprender cuanto antes la historia de la Compañía suprimida hasta su total restablecimiento. Pues soy de parecer que ese trabajo debe hacerlo Vuestra Reverencia y no aplazarlo mucho. Y si, como espero, Dios le da vida y salud, quisiera que más tarde escribiese la historia de la supresión, puesto que nadie se halla tan enterado como Vuestra Reverencia de todo lo concerniente á ese período. Por otra parte no conviene que dejemos pasar los años y se haga difícilísimo y punto menos que imposible escribir esa historia, para

150 Letter not found in ARSI.

la cual otro que Vuestra Reverencia necesitará años de preparación.

Al enviar al P. Frías á Simancas me propuse dos fines. El primero, que ayudase á Vuestra Reverencia en su larga y pesada tarea. El segundo, que él mismo se fuese enterando de todo lo perteneciente á España para emprender luego el trabajo de que estuvo encargado el P. Castillo.¹⁵¹ Confío que Vuestra Reverencia por su parte hará lo posible para que se cumpla este mi deseo.

Rogando al Señor que continúe favoreciéndole y bendiciendo los trabajos de Vuestra Reverencia, me encomiendo en sus oraciones y Santísimos Sacrificios.

Afectísimo siervo en Cristo,

L. Martín SJ

6. Edouard Fine to Gaillard

Rome, 20 May 1907

ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-2/3.

In continuation of the previous correspondence (not found in ARSI), the Assistant is giving Gaillard his opinion: the only answer to the books of Gendry and Rousseau would be to write a history of both the Society's suppression and survival. However, meanwhile some article would be necessary as an immediate answer. Fine thinks that Gaillard is the ideal person to do it. Thus he is asking for precise information concerning Gaillard's research in Simancas.

Mon Révérend Père, *Pax Christi*.

J'ai bien en mains vos trois lettres du 2, du 7 et du 16 mai, cette dernière que je reçois aujourd'hui.¹⁵²

Je vous ai dit dans ma lettre du 12 ce que je pensais de la réponse à faire à M. Gendry.¹⁵³ J'ai la même opinion sur celle qu'on réclame pour le 'Charles III' de M. Rousseau. La vraie réponse à faire à ces deux ouvrages, en tant qu'ils touchent la Compagnie, c'est d'écrire l'histoire de la suppression pour répondre au second, et l'histoire de la survivance pour répondre au premier. Mais en attendant, il semble utile, indispensable, de consacrer à l'un et à l'autre un article

151 José María Castillo * 19.VIII.1842 Tudela (Spain), S.J. 29.I.1882 Murcia, † 8.VII.1899 Chamartín; appointed to write a history of the 'new' Society in Spain, he died before accomplishing this task; his work – *Historia de la Compañía en España. 1.a época: 1767-1814 e El Restablecimiento de la Compañía en España. Notas y documentos para la historia. Primera época. 1767-1814* – remained unpublished in the Jesuit archives in Loyola (ARSI/Memorias I, p. 348/Memorias, II, pp. 849-881).

152 Letters not found in ARSI.

153 Letter not found in ARSI.

qui empêche les gens tant soit peu sérieux de juger que ces messieurs apportent sur les questions qu'ils touchent des documents écrasant; il ne faut pas que le silence de la Compagnie soit pris pour une confession qu'elle n'a rien à répliquer; il faut en dire assez pour montrer qu'on a en mains des documents à leur opposer, et de quoi renverser les affirmations qu'ils croient les plus solides.

Pour faire ce travail sur le livre de M. Gendry personne n'est outillé comme vous, et peut-être aussi pour celui de M. Rousseau.

Pour une réfutation en règle et complète, vous auriez à venir à Rome, je le comprends; pour deux simples articles, ne pouvez-vous pas les faire là où vous êtes? N'avez-vous pas entre les mains le suffisant? À vous de répondre.

Dans ma lettre du 12, je vous posais une question à laquelle vous ne répondez pas. Où en êtes-vous de vos recherches pour la période de la survivance et du rétablissement (1773-1820)? Avez-vous rassemblé les documents nécessaires pour écrire cette histoire? Vous voyez qu'il y a utilité de se presser, je vous en ai dit les raisons.

Pour l'histoire de la suppression, je vois par vos lettres au P. Gerste de 1904 (le P. Gerste les a retrouvées)¹⁵⁴ que votre documentation n'est pas encore complète. Veuillez dire cependant ce qui vous resterait encore à dépouiller à Simancas soit pour cette partie, la suppression, soit peut-être aussi pour l'autre partie, la survivance et le rétablissement. Ne manquez pas, s.v.p., de donner une réponse précise à ces deux questions, faute de quoi on échange des lettres sans arriver à aucun résultat. Ne répondez pas que vous êtes prêt à faire tout ce que l'on vous ordonnera, personne ne doute de cela. On vous demande: 1^o si vous vous jugez suffisamment outillé pour entreprendre d'écrire l'histoire de 1773-1820, et 2^o si vous avez encore des recherches importantes à faire à Simancas, recherches qu'il serait fâcheux d'interrompre, et dans ce cas, sur quoi portent ces recherches et combien de temps elles vous retiendraient encore.

Autre chose. Le P. Dudon travaille à une histoire des Pères de la

154 There are in ARSI four letters by Gaillard to Gerste from that year. Besides two of them published here (doc. 3 and doc. 4) there are also one post card from 10 May and one letter from 16 September 1904. In the first Gaillard was informing Gerste about Rousseau's arrival to Simancas. Since the French historian asked the Jesuit to indicate him all mistakes from his article and to help him in his research about Carlos III, Gaillard was quite optimistic as for their future collaboration (cf. *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-8/3). In the letter, he was giving further information about Rousseau as well as about his own research in Simancas, including indications of the archival series that he has seen (cf. *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-4).

Foi.¹⁵⁵ Il entre ainsi en partie sur votre terrain. Est-ce une chose qui vous gêne? Ou bien êtes vous bien aise au contraire qu'il traite à part cette question et celle des paccanaristes, ce qui vous déblairait le terrain et vous permettrait de ne toucher qu'en passant ces deux épisodes.

Je suis en union de vos Saints Sacrifices, mon Révérend Père, votre bien dévoué serviteur en Notre Seigneur.

Ed. Fine SJ

Pour les deux articles demandés, si vous préférez, après entente avec le P. Prélôt,¹⁵⁶ au lieu de composer les articles fournir seulement les matériaux et laisser la mise en œuvre à un autre, libre à vous.

7. Gaillard to Edouard Fine

Simancas, 24 May 1907

ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-6.

This letter is the answer to Doc. 6 of which it includes a copy. Gaillard says that he feels ready to write about the period 1773-1820 as requested. He has no more important research to do in Simancas and to finish what he is doing, he needs two or three months. Gaillard lays out his answer in such away that on the left side of the page there is a copy of the Assistant's letter, while on the right side there are his responses, point by point. Thus the letter is composed of separate paragraphs. In order to facilitate reading it, before each paragraph of Gaillard's answer I put the beginning of the corresponding paragraphs of Fine's questions in italics and in square brackets.

Mon Révérend Père Assistant, *Pax Christi.*

[*J'ai bien en mains vos trois lettres du 2, du 7 et du 16 mai...*]

Donc, avec les deux lettres par moi adressées au P. Gerste pour Notre Père défunt, Votre Révérence sera dûment informé de tout ce que je sais, fais, ai su, ai fait.

[*Je vous ai dit dans ma lettre du 12 ce que je pensais de la réponse à faire à M. Gendry...*]

155 No one of the publications of Paul Dudon catalogued by the National Library of France or those possessed by the library of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome is consecrated to this theme. Only in his article from 1939 there is briefly question of paccanaristes. Cf. Paul DUDON, "La résurrection de la Compagnie de Jésus (1773-1814)", *Revue des Questions Historiques* 133 (1939), pp. 45-47. About the paccanaristes, cf. Eva Fontana Castelli, *La Compagnia di Gesù sotto altro nome: Niccolò Paccanari e la Compagnia della fede di Gesù (1797-1814)*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., 2007 (*Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I.*, t. 62).

156 Hippolyte Prélôt, * 21.XI.1844, S.J. 5.X.1866 Lons-le-Saulnier (France), † ?, at that time he was director of the Études; he left the Society in 1908 (ARSI).

Pardonnez-moi si, du moment que vous voulez un double travail, et travail sérieux, tant pour répondre à M. le Chanoine Gendry, que pour répondre à M. Fr. Rousseau, je doute de la possibilité du succès avec deux articles seulement. Ici, en Espagne, après Río,¹⁵⁷ après Danvila, la question de la suppression (espagnole) s'est fort étendue. Et M. Rousseau, sur cette question, sera l'ex-jésuite Miguel Mir. Voir ou revoir mes informations au P. Gerste.

[Pour faire ce travail sur le livre de M. Gendry personne n'est outillé comme vous...]

Je crois fermement ce que vous me dites. Mais à Rome sont dans la proportion de 98 à 99% les documents qui font pour le livre de M. Gendry. Et contre M. Rousseau je ne puis, ne dois, ne veux user du Nr 6 sans autorisation:¹⁵⁸ il s'agit ici de tiers dignes de tous égards.

[Pour une réfutation en règle et complète, vous auriez à venir à Rome...]

Aussi pour deux articles seulement, étant la question non à éluder, mais à traiter.

[...pour deux simples articles, ne pouvez-vous pas les faire là où vous êtes?]

Non, absolument non: impossibilité physique. Puis tous *adjumenta* manquent totalement.

[Dans ma lettre du 12, je vous posais une question...]

Veuillez me prendre en pitié. Je lis, relis votre lettre du 12: je n'y découvre pas trace de cette question. Mais aujourd'hui dans la feuille ci-jointe je vous donne tous les renseignements possibles.¹⁵⁹

[Avez-vous rassemblé les documents nécessaires pour écrire cette histoire?]

Oui, les documents de Rome et de Simancas, mais presque tout est à Rome et de Rome, sur la période 1773-1820.

¹⁵⁷ Antonio Ferrer del Río (1814-1872), Spanish historian and journalist, author of *Historia del reinado de Carlos III en España*, t. 1-4, Madrid, Imprenta de los Señores Matute y Compagni, 1856 and member of the Real Academia Española (*Enciclopedia Vniversal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana XXIII*, Barcelona, Hijos de J. Espasa, Editores, [1924], p. 925).

¹⁵⁸ Probably reference to one of the not found letters mentioned in this correspondence.

¹⁵⁹ In the fascicule which contains this correspondence there are several lists with the titles of the archival series seen by Gaillard. It is not easy to know which one of them was the one which came with that letter. Possibly it is the doc. ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-10.

[*Pour l'histoire de la suppression, je vois par vos lettres... que votre documentation n'est pas encore complète...*]

Elle me paraît à peu près complète pour Simancas, comme le montre la feuille ci-jointe, mais pour Simancas seulement. Depuis 1904 j'ai travaillé [*sic*].

[...]

Ici, à Simancas, il ne me reste rien depuis longtemps à voir sur la survivance et le rétablissement. La feuille ci-jointe vous dira le peu qui reste à voir sur la suppression ou plutôt sur ses causes, dans le seul fond dit 'de Napoli'.¹⁶⁰

[*On vous demande: 1^e si vous vous jugez suffisamment outillé...*]

1. Suffisamment, oui; complètement? je n'oserais pas l'affirmer.
2. Recherches importantes, non. Recherches qu'il serait fâcheux d'interrompre, non. Je puis maintenant laisser à moitié un legajo, un document, un mot, une lettre, pourrais-je le dire. Pour tout achever ce que je sais, deux ou trois mois, sauf découvertes s'entend bien!

[*Le P. Dudon travaille...*]

J'ignorais tout ce projet; j'ignore encore le plan, le but, l'envergure du projet.

Sachez que sur la *bindoleria* malpropre du paccanarisme, paccanarisme qui embrassa vite tous les pays catholiques, j'ai vu tout ce qu'en disent les nonciatures, le Vatican, la Compagnie, la Corsini, Parme et Pianore, Simancas, le Nr 6, les archives privées des paccanaristes et enfin les procès secrets du Saint Office contre le fieffé polisson Paccanari; ajoutez quelques compagnons et compagnonnes!

[*Pour les deux articles demandés...*]

J'écris deux mots au P. Prélôt sur carte postale pour lui dire seulement que vous lui direz les ordres que j'ai à recevoir de Votre Paternité et de Notre Père. Ainsi pour plus d'ordre, de clarté, comme pour plus de respect de ma part envers tous les trois.

Infimus in Christo servus,
Fr.-M. Gaillard SJ

¹⁶⁰ It seems to be the document ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-10.

8. Gaillard to Edouard Fine**Simancas, 24 May 1907**ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-7.

Complement to the answer to Doc. 6. Gaillard insists on the need to come to Rome to accomplish the tasks given to him.

Mon Révérend Père Assistant, *Pax Christi*.

Il est huit heures du soir. Je reviens de Valladolid. Après la session du jour j'ai cru devoir aller présenter au R. P. Recteur du Collège,¹⁶¹ et votre lettre du 20, et mes réponses.

Non seulement le R. P. Sánchez a agréé le tout, mais encore m'a commandé de vous exposer une exposition que j'ai cru lui devoir faire également. Bien sûr, sans cet ordre nullement provoqué de ma part, j'aurais gardé le silence, soit par respect peut-être exagéré, soit par crainte de quelque présomption.

Voici en deux mots ce dont le P. Recteur croit, ce dont après lui je crois que Votre Révérence doit être dûment informé. Mon Révérend Père, les deux ouvrages de M. le Chanoine Gendry et de M. Fr. Rousseau nous fournissent, le premier plus particulièrement, une occasion magnifique de produire maintes pièces splendides. Ces pièces se trouvent surtout dans la collection de Pianore. Mais le Vatican m'en a fourni aussi un bon nombre, et j'en porte deux ou trois des archives de la Province de Tolède, etc. La Compagnie se défendant n'offensera personne par cette production nécessaire.

Dans une histoire tranquille, dans une histoire composée académiquement, sans nécessité apparente, la seule invocation de ces documents autographes, confidentiels, de Pie VI, de Pie VII, de tant de souverains, pourrait sembler un étalage à tout le moins exagéré.

D'autre part dans l'histoire de la suppression il y aura tant de taches vilaines à reconnaître sur le compte de trop d'individus, sur le compte de trop de supérieurs de la Compagnie! Veuillez m'en croire provisoirement, si je vous dis que j'en ai la mort dans l'âme! Mais les consolations du rétablissement projeteront quelques beaux reflets sur maintes scènes désolées de la destruction. Sachant à qui je parle, je regarde comme suffisants ces quelques mots.

Après avoir exécuté cette commission, car c'est bien une commission, je résume ma réponse à votre lettre du 20:

1. Je ne puis, ici, sans les documents de Rome, ni faire, ni aider à faire aucun, pas un seul article de ceux que Votre Révérence désire, demande. Mes lettres récentes, mes lettres anciennes à Notre Père Martín par la voie du P. Gerste l'affirment et le prouvent trop.

161 Hilario Sánchez. Cf. the note 128.

2. L'occasion est telle que nous ne devons pas la laisser courir inutile. Non seulement un, deux articles paraissent utiles ou nécessaires, mais plusieurs en sus, vu la délicatesse des questions, s'imposent. Je ferai tout, tout ce que vous verrez convenir, tout ce que je pourrai, selon l'obéissance oui, mais aussi selon l'ordre, la charité, la reconnaissance. Je vous prie et vous supplie de m'aider à garder tous les respectueux égards dus à Mgr le Duc de Parme¹⁶², dus à nos insignes bienfaiteurs du fonds Nr 6.

3. Donc non seulement je vous propose, mais je vous prie, vu votre lettre du 20, de me faire rappeler à Rome quand bon vous semblera, avec partie ou totalité de mes collections espagnoles, si tel est l'agrément de Notre Père. Un mot de cet agrément nécessaire, et je pars.

4. Supposé cet ordre de rappel, je vous conjure de présenter vos raisons, l'ordre de Notre Père, et toutes mes respectueuses explications au R. P. Abad, ou au R. P. Rota, ou au P. Gallo¹⁶³. J'aurai tant de choses à soumettre humblement à leur visa, c'est-à-dire à leur blâme ou à leur approbation, toujours à leur jugement. Je vous porterai Simancas, Madrid, l'Espagne et le Nouveau Monde Espagnol S. J. pour la période que vous savez.

Pour tout le reste je m'en réfère à mes brèves réponses de l'autre lettre également du 24 mai, et à mes lettres des 2, 7 et 16 mai, qui sont entre vos mains.

Si vous agréez mon rappel, et si Notre Père me rappelle, un mot, un seul mot suffira.

Si vous n'agréez pas mon rappel, et si Notre Père ne me rappelle point, votre silence me dira de continuer mon travail de Simancas jusqu'à la conclusion dernière et totale.

In unione Sanctissimorum Sacrificiorum, Reverendi Patris Assistantis infimus in Christo servus,

F. M. Gaillard SJ

9. Gaillard to Franz Xaver Wernz [Rome], 29-30 November 1907 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-5.

Gaillard summarizes his work from the beginning of the mission received

¹⁶² Roberto I Borbone-Parma, cf. the note 98.

¹⁶³ All three were Spaniards working in the General Curia in Rome: Matías Abad (* 24.II.1844 Quintanavides [Spain], S.J. 25.VII.1864 Loyola, † 23.I.1912 Deusto) was the Spanish Assistant of the General. Antonio Rota (* 24.IV.1838 Ripoll [Spain], S.J. 2.II.1857 Loyola, † 23.III.1914 Rome) was the Secretary of the Society of Jesus and Eduardo Gallo (* 13.X.1846 Céspedes [Spain], S.J. 27.XI.1860 Loyola, † 29.I.1912 Guadalupe) was his assistant (ARSI).

in 1895. Having finished the work committed to him, he asks what the new orders are and expounds two plans for the continuation of his historiographical activities.

Esposizione a Vostra Paternità da F. M. Gaillard SJ

Lavoro fatto, 1895-1907

I. Nostro Padre Martín mi chiamò a Roma nell'ottobre di 1895. In Roma, dopo averle baciato la mano sentì queste parole di Sua Paternità: «So che Lei può passare d'una lingua all'altra fra le principali lingue d'Europa. Prepari tutto per scrivere la storia della Compagnia, dalla soppressione in 1773 fino al ristabilimento universale». Qualche settimane più tardi, per la via del P. Ehrle ricevi anche altri lavori relativi a tutta la storia della Compagnia.

In conseguenza delle due disposizioni, io lavoravo per la prima commissione la mattina (durante le vacanze dalla mattina alla sera) nel Vaticano, e per la seconda la sera, in vari altri archivi, principalmente di Stato, Corsini, Vittorio Emmanuele, Propaganda, Chigi, etc. Feci anche per le due suddette commissioni parecchie gite a Fiesole, una di due mesi a Napoli, un'altra di 15 giorni a Modena, Reggio, Parma, Piacenza. Così lavorai da 1895 a 1901.

II. Nel febbraio 1901, prima d'andare alle Pianore (dal duca di Parma), fui chiamato da Nostro Padre. «Lei» – disse Sua Paternità – «ha buona salute, è avvezzo già al lavoro, quindi può lavorare più presto e meglio che non farebbe un altro principiante. Può Lei prendere tutto il pacco?» – cioè tutta la vicenda della soppressione – «Vi pensi, poi torni colla risposta, e se potrà, con un piano disteso!». Vi pensai e tornai colla risposta ed un piano. La risposta era che colla mia età, colla mia salute, colla consuetudine acquistata negli archivi, etc. io potrei forse senza troppa presunzione studiare la quistione fino da 1765, cioè dalla bolla *Apostolicam pascendi* in poi. Non ardivo passare più oltre. Subito la risposta fu accettata come anche approvato il piano del lavoro consecutivo. Bene, ora dacché non si può pubblicare niente sotto Papa Leone, disponga le sue cose per passare a Spagna!».

III. Tre mesi dopo il mio arrivo in Ispagna, nel novembre 1901 mi venne un telegramma di Nostro Padre: «Per buona fortuna, ci aprono qui l'archivio di Piazza di Spagna. Torni *illico, nec quidquam dicas aliis!*».

Un anno (meno un mese) lavorai nel Palazzo dell'Ambasciata prendendo o note, o analisi, o copie di tutto quanto ci interessa. Poi, nell'ottobre 1902 tornai a Spagna per continuare i lavori commendati nel febbraio 1901. Qualche settimane dopo il mio arrivo a Simancas

mi venne, per lettera del P. Fine,¹⁶⁴ l'invito schietto a 'prendere tutto il pacco', l'invito essendo di Nostro Padre! Regnava sempre Papa Leone.

Sul fine d'agosto 1907, tutto il lavoro di Simancas si finiva.

IV. Già nel maggio scorso il R. P. Fine, a nome di Vostra Paternità, m'aveva scritto di lasciare via il piano del febbraio 1901 (cioè di passare a Simancas, etc.) e di tornare, dopo lavoro conchiuso, a Roma. Allora si voleva da me una doppia risposta a due opere pubblicate in Parigi, sopra Pio VI l'una, sopra Carlo III la seconda.

Però, a 31 agosto, quando già prendevo congedo de' miei buoni signori archivisti di Simancas, ecco dal P. Assistente una nuova lettera, con due commissioni affatto nuove, da eseguirsi subito in Roma: la prima, positiva, relativa alla causa Pignatelli, l'altra, ipotetica sul principio, ma divenuta li 24 settembre anch'essa positiva, relativamente alla legittima sopravvivenza della Compagnia in Russia.¹⁶⁵

Come appendice, anche prima di finire quelle due commissioni, si aggiunse una terza, della quale Vostra Paternità ha avuto in mani la materia ancora un po' informe. Ora questo terzo lavoro, rifatto, pare in istato di potersi inviare a Cracovia specialmente per la revisione delle traduzioni eseguite sopra i testi manoscritti polacchi.¹⁶⁶

V. Adesso, dopo finiti i tre lavori e stando sugli ordini del maggio scorso non mai ritirati da Vostra Paternità, parrebbe che io dovrei passare alle risposte volute contra il Gendry e contra il Rousseau.

Ma giorni sono, da sé, mi disse il R. P. Fine di parlare con Vostra Paternità prima d'intraprendere qualunque nuovo lavoro. Dalla sua parte, anche il P. Beccari, dopo sentito il Promotore della Fede sopra certo silenzio da guardare sopra le quistioni portate alla Sacra Congregazione, vuole ch'io riceva da Vostra Paternità istruzioni, ordini, e forse anche orientazione differente.

Eccomi, Paternità, umilmente, di buon cuore, pronto a fare, pronto a mutare, pronto a lasciare, pronto a correggere tutto quanto Vostra Paternità mi dirà di correggere, lasciare, cambiare ovvero intraprendere. Non senza pregarla, con amore, a perdonarmi tanti

164 Doc. 2.

165 Letter not found in ARSI.

166 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1010-I contain a copy of several letters in Polish (mostly by Karol Korycki to Czerniewicz) from the end of the 18th century, as well as their translation into French. These letters were sent to Cracow in order to prepare their translation into French, as ordered by Martín (cf. Appendix 4).

difetti, errori, spropositi commessi già, e... purtroppo da rinnovarsi nell'avvenire!

Umilissimo servo e figlio amantissimo davvero,
F.M.G. SJ

Lavoro da fare, 1907-?

Piani umilissimamente proposti a Vostra Paternità da F.M. Gaillard SJ

Quanto può essermi permesso (e per evitarle altre molestie in quanto è possibile) ecco due piani.

Piano nr 1: Se Vostra Paternità mi dice di mettermi adesso al lavoro storico definitivo del periodo 1773-1814 a 1820, allora mi pare dover proporre con tutta sottomissione due o tre considerazioni:

1. Quale sviluppo, quale ristrettezza desidera Vostra Paternità?
2. Dove lavorare? La totalità de' manoscritti raccolti, delle schede fatte, sono nella camera del Germanico, ma la biblioteca della storia SJ è nell'Americano. Quindi debbo proporre a Vostra Paternità la difficoltà, la perdita di tempo, etc.
3. Lavorando in Roma, domando a Vostra Paternità il permesso d'andare le mattinate all'Archivio Vaticano all'effetto di studiare contemporaneamente anche il periodo 1750-1773. Faccio questa domanda per le ragioni seguenti: a) non ho mai toccata questa parte nel Vaticano, e vi debbo trovare soluzione di non pochi dubbi storici; b) in Simancas ho veduto, analizzato, preso, tanti dispacci intercettati, mutilati, interpolati; debbo ricorrere agl'originali; c) pare che debbo conservare la consuetudine, l'esercizio, il filo delle ricerche, dovendo, dopo finito il lavoro storico, tornare alla vita de' 12 anni scorsi.

Nota: Nessun altro sa meglio di me dove si nascondono i documenti capitali pontifici della soppressione (dispacci antecedenti alla medesima). Io stesso, durante tante vacanze passate (solo con Mgr Wenzel¹⁶⁷) ne ho ordinata la quasi totalità. Poi ho in mano la chiave del mobile di ferro, la chiave, sì, avendo ricevuta la confidenza della collezione preziosissima.

Piano nr 2: Se Vostra Paternità giudica che la domanda del Promotore della Fede (cioè che non si pubblichi niente delle cose relative alla duplice causa introdotta dalla Sacra Congregazione dei Riti) dee rinviarmi agli studi interrotti li 31 agosto scorso, allora io propongo, trovandomi in Roma e per utilizzare il viaggio fatto

167 Pietro Wenzel (1843-1909), archivist in the Vatican Archives since 1872 (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* X [1909], pp. 669-671).

da Simancas a Italia, di lavorare immediatamente: o in Roma (Vaticano, Casanatense, Chiesa Nuova, etc. o in Napoli; questi due centri sono (con Simancas) i più importanti; o in Exaten (viaggio necessario per questa parte, utile per l'altra); o in Parigi (salvo a passare da Parigi o a Lisbona o in Russia); o tutt'altro che piacerà più a Vostra Paternità, essendo questa parte (de 1750-1773) toccata solo in Simancas, come dice l'Esposizione', pp. 1 e 2.

Ma se Vostra Paternità vuole che io segua il P. Sopuch¹⁶⁸ a Cracovia per studiarvi le cose polacche S.J., mi protesto d'esser pronto a partire lunedì mattina!
F.-M. G. SJ

10. Gaillard to Franz Xaver Wernz [Rome], 2 December 1907
ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-19.

Wernz approved the first plan in Gaillard's previous letter, and asked for some more details concerning it; Gaillard answers with this explanation.

Paternità,

Ieri l'altro presentai a Vostra Paternità una 'Esposizione' del lavoro da me eseguito negli anni 1895-1907, con due piccoli piani del lavoro, che d'ora innanzi mi resterà da eseguire. Ieri Vostra Paternità ritenne i tre fogli. Ieri ancora parve Vostra Paternità approvare il primo de' due suddetti piani, dicendomi però di stenderlo un po' più chiaramente ed in iscritto.

Piano nr 1. Propongo due occupazioni simultanee:

I. Di stendere già la storia del periodo 1773-1814, essendo quasi tutto pronto.

II. Di continuare in Roma ed in Napoli gli studi del periodo 1750-1773, non essendosi studiata che la parte (predominante, è vero!) detta di Spagna.

I. Collo stendere la storia del periodo da lungo tempo studiato,

a) io ubbidisco, sì, alla volontà di N. P. Lud. Martín notificatami nell'annessa lettera;

b) io mi conformo alla volontà di V. P. significatami: dalle qui acchiuse lettere del R. P. Fine, dal fatto della mia chiamata;

c) e finalmente, tengo pronta l'opera *ad nutum Paternitatis Vestrae*, dopo decreto *Sacrae Congregationis*.

II. Quanto pare, le ricerche da farsi pel periodo 1750-1773 debbono

168 Stanisław Sopuch, * 22.IV.1869 Kozuchów (Poland), S.J. 24.VII.1884 Stara Wieś, † 26.II.1941 Warsaw; in 1907 he was superior of the Jesuit community in Lwów (DHCJ IV, p. 3611).

continuarsi dapprima in Roma (Vaticano, Chiesa Nuova, etc.) e poi, più tardi, in Napoli:

- a) perché i documenti pontifici sono più importanti dei napoletani;
- b) perché in Roma, non in Napoli, posso simultaneamente stendere;
- c) perché si può passare a Napoli nelle vacanze, quando si chiude il Vaticano.

Si ommettono i motivi secondari invocati *coram* ieri e nell'Esposizione' ieri l'altro. Come appendice ho creduto dover racchiudere un doppio schema de' lavori (spagnuoli) fatti in Madrid, Simancas e qui nell'ambasciata spagnuola.

E rispettando le feste de' 3, 4, 5 dicembre, rimetterò questi fogli solo a' 6 dicembre.

Umilissimo servo e figlio di Vostra Paternità,
F.-M. G. SJ

There follow two sheets (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-II-20 and 1011-II-21) written on 4 December 1907, with the table of the files seen by Gaillard in Spain and in the archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome, Piazza di Spagna:

I. *Lavoro fatto in Simancas e Madrid (d'ordine di N. P. Lud. Martín) negli anni 1901 (luglio-settembre), 1902 (ottobre)-1907 (agosto).*

II. *Lavoro fatto nell'ambasciata di Spagna (d'ordine di N. P. Lud. Martín) nell'anno: ottobre 1901-ottobre 1902.*

11. Gaillard to Edouard Fine

St. Petersburg, 9 January 1910

ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-IV-6.

Gaillard reports on his work from the beginning of his stay in St. Petersburg. He did research in the Imperial Library, in the archives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Education as well as in the ecclesiastical archives of the churches of Saint Catherine and Saint Stanislaus.

Mon Révérend Père Assistant et Supérieur, *Pax Christi.*

Puis donc que tel chemin de Bruxelles et tel autre de Toulouse ne mènent pas à Rome, je prends une troisième voie: celle de Cracovie; sûre celle-ci, car qui emporte jusque là ces informations mérite toute confiance. Je ne me fie pas trop à la voie de Vienne.

Le plus nettement, le plus brièvement possible, je vous exposerai d'abord le travail fait, puis vous conclurez vous même sur quelques données moins précises que j'ajouterai, quel travail reste à exécuter.

I. Depuis mon arrivée à St.-Petersbourg j'ai travaillé constamment dans la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique, près de deux mois aux Archives d'État, trois semaines au Ministère de l'Instruction

Publique. Voilà les trois fonds explorés et à explorer encore, fonds principaux, comme cela s'entend de soi. De plus, j'ai étudié (les dimanches et fêtes chômées) et la bibliothèque de Ste Catherine, et ce qui resté à St. Stanislas de la bibliothèque, des manuscrits, des collections de l'évêque Siestrzencewicz, premier archevêque de Mohilow. Enfin dans ma chambre, durant mes temps libres au cours d'environ trois mois et demi, j'ai fait l'extrait du 'Diaire' monumental que sait Votre Révérence par ma dernière lettre.¹⁶⁹ Quelques mots de résultats de ces travaux divers. Je n'ai rien à ajouter sur l'extrait du 'Diaire' et les 300 pages de cet extrait, sinon peut-être que c'est là une réduction au 10e environ, mais réduction qui emporte tout ce que les deux énormes volumes contiennent d'historiquement utile.

Mes courses et études de Ste Catherine, comme de St Stanislas n'ont presque rien donné d'important.

À la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique, où je travaille encore (de 10 h à 12 h chaque jour), j'ai trouvé bon nombre de mss et collections soit des anciennes provinces polonaises S.J., soit de la petite provinciola de Russie Blanche. La bibliothèque de Polotsk après 1820 fut versée dans ce grandiose palais déjà enrichi par les dépouilles de la Pologne. Je note en passant les livres des Ordinationes soit des généraux, soit des provinciaux jusqu'en septembre 1773, diaire des vœux prononcés à Polotsk jusqu'en 1820, les registres de l'Université de Vilna dans ses controverses avec les jésuites après 1803, un énorme dossier sur l'église catholique à Moscou, maintes correspondances utiles, celle du roi Stan. Poniatowski en particulier.¹⁷⁰ Je ne cite pas les ouvrages théologiques, philosophiques, ascétiques, littéraires etc. des Nôtres, même de Russie Blanche, ouvrages conservés dans leur forme originale de simples manuscrits. Je ne parle pas non plus des imprimés, catalogues, livres, manuels, brochures etc. gardés dans une autre Section de la Bibliothèque, où je n'ai fait que donner un coup d'œil rapide, mais où je reviendrai, quand je pourrai.

Les Archives d'État et du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, pour toute l'histoire antérieure à Nicolas I, se conservent presque dans leur totalité non pas ici, mais à Moscou. Aussi la permission

169 Letter not found in ARSI. The transcription of this 'Diary' is preserved in ARSI, *Fondo Gaillard*, file folder 31.

170 Stanisław Poniatowski (1732-1798), from 1764 he was the last King of Poland, having lost his crown in 1795, after the third partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Słownik władców polskich*, Poznań, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2001, pp. 336-344).

impériale que vous savez m'a-t-elle été concédée pour Moscou et non pas seulement pour la nouvelle capitale. Je pourrais demain partir et aller travailler à Moscou: j'y suis dûment annoncé, recommandé, autorisé. Cependant à Pétersbourg l'on m'a remis entre les mains (et j'y ai copié sur les originaux) bon nombre de documents impériaux, ministériels, épiscopaux, sur le maintien de la Compagnie en Russie Blanche, sur l'établissement du noviciat de Polotsk en 1779, sur la légitime conservation de la Compagnie en Russie Blanche, sur les tentatives de missions en Chine, sur l'envoi des jésuites de Russie à Parme, sur les expulsions, ou partielle de 1815, ou totale de 1820: toutes pièces de valeur, car toutes sont officielles, et bon nombre de Catherine elle même. Je dois bien vous signaler au moins les suivantes: l'engagement formel (signé par l'évêque et par le gouverneur – vrai vice-roi – de Russie Blanche) de Mgr Siestrzencewicz à l'effet de conserver la Compagnie perpétuellement; engagement pris, signé, ratifié non seulement avant l'arrivée des Pères de Polotsk à St. Pétersbourg, mais même avant la rédaction, *a fortiori* avant la publication de l'*oukase* qui le 22 novembre 1773 constitua l'évêché de Russie Blanche, pièce maitresse, si je ne me trompe pas, dans toute l'affaire. De plus maintes autres lettres, plaidoiries, justifications en faveur des jésuites, œuvres de l'évêque lui même. Rien de plus vif que les lettres, les rescrits de Catherine III! Par suite vous devinez quel langage parlent Czernitcheff, Potemkin, Passek, etc., etc.¹⁷¹

Notatur: Les premiers papiers officiels, diplomatiques, sur l'expulsion de 1815 ne reprochent aux Pères de Pétersbourg que d'avoir fait des conversions dans le monde orthodoxe, contrairement aux conditions de la Compagnie en Russie Blanche, soit lors de l'appel des Pères à Pétersbourg.

Le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique où je travaille de midi à 4 h chaque jour (c'est le seul des trois palais où l'on ait admis l'électricité dans les archives!) m'a donné déjà les registres de l'Académie de Polotsk, avec listes, diplômes, procès verbaux des

171 Zachar Černyšev/Захар Григорьевич Чернышёв (1722-1784) first general governor of Belarus after these territories became Russian as consequence of the first partition of Poland (*Enciklopedičeskij Slovar'*, t. 38A, Sankt-Peterburg, Brokgauz-Efron, 1903, p. 687). Grigorij Potëmkin/Григорий Александрович Потёмкин (1739-1791), states man and military commander, for many years he was favorite of Catherine II and as such very influent in Russia (*Enc.It.* 28 [1935], p. 107-108). Pëtr Passek/Пётр Богданович Пассек (1736-1804), general governor of Belarus in 1781-1796 (*Russkij Biografičeskij Slovar'*, [t. 13], Sankt-Peterburg, Tipografija I. N. Skorochodova, 1902, pp. 359-361).

sessions académiques, etc., etc. 50 docteurs S. J. et 50 diplômés, pas un de plus, pas un de moins; à 49 profès des 4 vœux et à un profès des trois vœux: en latin ou en russe presque tous ces actes, sauf un ou deux encore en polonais. Ainsi jusqu'à la Noël, court, a couru plutôt déjà mon premier semestre.

Avant de passer à l'exposition du travail à faire, il me faut bien vous dire quelques mots de Son Excellence M. Constantin Waënski, le directeur des Archives de l'Instruction Publique, petit-fils d'un élève des Pères de Ste Catherine, historiographe officiel de la campagne de 1812, etc., etc.¹⁷² Ou je me trompe fort, ou ce petit-fils d'un ancien élève de la Compagnie a pris envers moi le contrepied de la conduite tenue autrefois ou présentement par tant d'élèves ennemis déclarés ou sournois de leurs éducateurs et Pères! D'abord il m'a affirmé, en homme qui le sait mieux que personne (n'a-t-il pas, et il me les a montrées, toutes les sources et collections connues?), la parfaite, la constante fidélité des jésuites de Russie à leur nouvelle patrie dans des circonstances plus que tentatrices pour des cœurs polonais. Et ce, sans ambiguïté, sans restriction, sans la moindre exception? J'espère qu'il me donnera, ou me montrera les preuves de cette affirmation bien précieuse. Car il m'a promis, m'offre, me communique non pas seulement des informations, mais des démarches, des pourparlers, des instances sont déjà faites de sa part en ma faveur. Je ne dois pas taire des introductions déjà procurées, d'autres introductions annoncées, au Département, aux Cultes, au Saint Synode, etc., etc. Et il possède, il m'a montré toute une petite bibliothèque de la Compagnie!

Mais son bon vouloir m'a été plus clairement encore, plus effectivement aussi, manifesté à la dernière minute de la session qui précédait les vacances. Son Excellence rentrait d'une visite faite au frère de l'Empereur, je sortais du Ministère. Désespérant de le voir, j'avais déjà remis au directeur adjoint un billet destiné, non pas à souhaiter la bonne année, mais à rappeler certaine 'affaire Dashkoff'.¹⁷³ Son Excellence m'arrêtant sur le seuil me dit: «Comment, vous partez déjà? il n'est que trois heures!». «C'est

172 Konstantin Voenskiĭ/Константин Адамович Военский (1860-1928), general and historian, director of the archives of the Ministry of Education in 1905-1915 (*Novyj Enciklopedičeskij Slovar'*, t. 11, Sankt-Peterburg, Brokgauz-Efron, [n.d.], col. 244-245).

173 Pavel Daškov/Павел Яковлевич Дашков (1849-1910), Russian collector and owner of rich collection of books, manuscripts and objects of art (*Novyj Enciklopedičeskij Slovar'*, t. 15, Sankt-Peterburg, Brokgauz-Efron, [n.d.], col. 631).

vrai, Excellence, mais l'on m'a fait entendre gentiment dans la salle qu'il est d'usage, de tradition, de...de...de fermer en pareils jours un peu avant 4 heures. Donc à 3 heures sonnantes je laisse libre cours au règlement». Et de me pousser dans l'intérieur, non sans lancer un regard assez vif sur l'appariteur! Au mouvement je répliquai en riant par une poussée contraire. Celle-ci fut plus forte que l'autre. Son Excellence céda. «Mais j'ai vu Dashkoff! Tout est convenu. Dashkoff vous attend. Je vous conduirai à Dashkoff sitôt les vacances finies». «Et mon billet d'adieu vous recommandait cette petite affaire trainée en longueur par un autre!». «C'est affaire convenue. À bientôt! Puis Daschkoff est mon ami! Adieu! À bientôt! Je ne connais pas Mgr Godlewski». ¹⁷⁴

II. Qui est-ce donc que M. Daschkoff, ou le Prince Daschkoff, ou le Mécène par excellence à Pétersbourg et en Russie? C'est le personnage qui possédant les collections historiques (même S.J.!) les plus curieuses, sait le mieux où se cachent telles collections qu'il n'a pas pu atteindre, de sa main ou de son or, peu importe. En quoi donc M. Daschkoff peut-il tant m'aider? Voici: j'arrive à l'affaire désormais la plus importante.

Où sont passés les papiers confisqués à la Compagnie en 1815? Ils ne sont plus au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères où on les conserva 40 ou 50 ans. Si j'en crois toutes les informations que j'ai prises, y compris les récits de ces messieurs du Ministère, du directeur même, il comte Tolstoï, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, vers 1860 les aurait ou pris d'autorité, ou obtenus d'Alexandre II. Passés en héritage à la fille du ministre, comtesse Tholl, ces liasses compulsées par Morochkine seraient actuellement dans une maison de campagne (de la comtesse Tholl) appelle Machach [*sic!*], au gouvernement de Ryasan. ¹⁷⁵ Or si quelqu'un en Russie sait, ou peut

174 Michał Godlewski (1872-1956), Polish priest and historian, he worked at that time as professor and librarian of the Catholic Academy in Petersburg; later (1916) he shall be appointed bishop in Poland (*Encyklopedia Katolicka*, t. 5, Lublin, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1989, col. 1230-1231).

175 Dmitrij Tolstoj/Дмитрий Андреевич Толстой (1823-1889), Russian historian and states man, through many highest responsibilities that he was appointed to, there was also the Ministry of Education that he directed in 1866-1882. His daughter Sof'ja/Софья Дмитриевна Толстая (1854-1917), was wife of Aleksandr Tol'/Сергей Александрович Толь (1848-1918), another Russian states man (Denis Šilov, *Gosudarstvennye deateli rossijskoj imperii. Glavy vysšich i central'nych učreždenij 1802-1917. Biobibliografičeskij spravočnik*, Sankt Peterburg, Evropejskij Universitet v Sankt Peterburge, 2001, p. 659). The name of the family property in the area of Rjazan' was Makov. Michail Moroškin/Михаил Яковлевич

savoir, où s'est envolée la nichée, ce quelqu'un est M. Daschkoff. Il va sans dire que si ces données sont exactes, et que si la comtesse Tholl, née Tolstoï, a la bonté de permettre l'accès du trésor, j'aurai bientôt à vous l'écrire. Que dis-je, à vous l'écrire? À vous faire une exposition, à vous adresser des propositions fort nouvelles. Car personne ne doute, moins qu'un autre M. Waënski (moins même que Mgr Godlewski, le premier boute-en-train des recours à M. Dachkoff), que la Comtesse ne nous ouvre la porte de son castel à deux battants! Peut-être même, en digne fille des meilleurs amis de la Compagnie en Russie Blanche, peut-être fera-t-elle plus et mieux. Espoir qui ne saurait même poindre si ces archives étaient restées dans les collections d'État.

Ryasan, le gouvernement de Ryasan, s'étend un peu au sud-est de Moscou. Par conséquent Moscou et Ryasan pourraient ensemble former but double d'une autre gita ! Pour le moment, ces indications vous disent plutôt ce qui peut se présumer, que ce qui est une réalité acquise. Et si la Comtesse voulait faire revenir ici la collection entière?

Enfin, je ne dois pas oublier qu'invité gracieusement par l'un de nos deux évêques, ancien professeur de l'Académie et homme d'études, à lui faire de temps en temps visite, je compte fermement obtenir par son entremise l'accès des archives du Collège! Après les fêtes je saurai sans doute, si cette autre espérance peut aboutir à un effet tel que je le désire.

Je me tais sur les collections de familles russes: le P. Pierling agit. Mais je ne puis, je ne veux, je ne dois pas terminer ces longues pages sans affirmer à Votr Révérence que je ne saurais assez remercier de leur bonté, et les Messieurs des trois archives principales que j'ai citées, et le personnage russo-romain dont vous savez le nom pour moi cher à jamais, et le R. P. Paul Pierling. Que de services en bons conseils, en assistance charitable, n'ont pas rendu à la Compagnie en Russie les Messieurs et les Dames de la famille Pierling! Et les jésuites de la même famille encore donc!¹⁷⁶

Морошкин (1820-1870), Russian writer and publicist, author of *Jezuity v Rossii s carstvovanija Ekateriny II i do našego vremeni*, published in Petersburg in 1867-1870 (*Enciklopedičeskij Slovar'*, t. 19A, Sankt-Peterburg, Tipo-Litografija I. A. Efrona, 1896, p. 875).

¹⁷⁶ Besides Paul (cf. note 14), several other members of the Pierling family were Jesuits: Jacob (1784-1870), entered in 1803; Andreas (1782-1841), entered in 1804; Joseph (1837-1860), entered in 1857; Joseph (1810-1870), entered in 1862 (DANIELUK, *'Ecuménisme'*, p. 31).

Assez, assez! Du moins pour une information purement objective, et jusqu'à la date présente.

S'il vous plaît d'accuser réception de ces longues pages, par le F. Prieto et une carte postale de ce bon intermédiaire, veuillez ne faire aucune allusion à tout le contenu en icelles, jusqu'à l'arrivée de l'exposition annoncée pour bientôt.¹⁷⁷ Quoique je me soumette de bon cœur à décision même contraire, si décision même contraire vous plaît, ou plaît à Notre Père, cela va sans dire.

Un mot pourtant en plus me semble dû à Votre Révérence. Ce mot est celui-ci: «Si l'on ne me chasse pas, j'espère accomplir, Notre Seigneur aidant, toute ma petite commission!», c'est-à-dire, comme me dit Notre Père en me congédiant: «jusqu'à extinction du travailleur ou du travail!». Il n'y a pas si longtemps que cette espérance m'est née au cœur!!! Longtemps j'ai plutôt désespéré!

In unione Sanctorum Sacrificiorum, Reverendi Patris Assistantis et Superioris infimus in Christo servus,
F. M. Gaillard SJ

12. Gaillard to Edouard Fine 1910

St. Petersburg, 10 April

ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-IV-1 and 2.

This letter is a complement to the report that Gaillard sent to Fine in March 1910 (not in ARSI). Being allowed to do research in the archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, he finds documents concerning the survival of the SJ in Russia at the end of the 18th century and also material sent to the Russian capital by the ex-Jesuits from China. A librarian in St. Petersburg would have a precious collection of documents and books about Andrew Bobola and would be disposed to grant access to these documents; seeing that this was not Gaillard's aim, he is asking what to do. He is also asking permission to go to Moscow and maybe even to the area of Rjazan' in order to see other archives (see the previous letter). To show the results of his work he sends the transcriptions of three documents found in St. Petersburg (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-IV-3, 4 and 5).

Mon Révérend Père Assistant et Supérieur, *Pax Christi*.

Aussitôt après avoir appris la date précise du départ de la Révérende Mère Ledóchowska, je vous écris encore quelques

¹⁷⁷ Joseph Prieto * 28.XI.1857 Vega (Spain), S.J. 14.VIII.1880 Loyola, + 11.II.1939 Rome; Jesuit brother, in 1880 he was working in the general curia of the order in Rome (ARSI).

pages.¹⁷⁸ Peut-être vous arriveront-elles presque dans le même temps que le R. P. Theissling ou vous enverra, ou vous portera lui-même une plus ancienne relation écrite dès les premiers jours de mars.¹⁷⁹ Car j'ai appris que divers ordres du Très Révérend Père Général Cormier ont ralenti, peut-être même retardé considérablement l'arrivée du Révérend Père Visiteur à Rome.¹⁸⁰

Quoiqu'il en soit, persuadé que si ces retards deviennent trop nombreux, ma lettre vous sera adressée d'Autriche par voie postale, je prie Votre Révérence de tenir ces lignes-ci pour un complément naturel de la relation de mars.

Dans cette relation je vous annonçai déjà mon admission dans une des sections d'archives de l'Académie. Depuis lors, ces Messieurs m'ont introduit d'eux-mêmes dans deux autres petits sanctuaires réservés, où je travaille tous les jours. Je vous envoie ci-incluses les deux pièces officielles qui commencèrent la série des nombreuses, des importantes correspondances avec les Pères de Pékin, soit de la part des présidents ou secrétaires perpétuels de cette Académie, soit de la part d'académiciens particuliers. À ces communications multiples se rattache (de plus en plus clairement) la conservation de la Compagnie en Russie, et font suite certaine les trois tentatives de Catherine II et d'Alexandre I en vue de renouer les traditions interrompues vers 1780. C'est par centaines que les Pères de Pékin envoyaient ici, les volumes, les cartes astronomiques ou géographiques, les lettres, les collections de plantes, de graines, de raretés enfin. Vous devinez quels autres services ils rendirent encore à Pékin auprès des ministres, auprès des empereurs. Aussi vais-je profiter de tant d'obligeance, non pas certes pour prendre copie de tant et tant articles scientifiques; du moins pour noter les pièces et relever tout ce qui est historique. Notez-le: non seulement on me remet originaux, registres, liasses à feuilleter, à fouiller en liberté, mais en cherche même pour moi, dans la section

178 Urszula Ledóchowska (1865-1939), member of the prominent aristocratic family and sister of Włodzimierz, the Jesuits' general, she entered the Ursulines in 1886 and worked in Petersburg in 1907-1914; in 1920 she founded the Congregation of the Ursulines of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus; she was canonized in 2003 (*Polski Słownik Biograficzny* 16, Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków, Polska Akademia Umiejętności/PAN/Ossolineum, 1971, pp. 618-619).

179 Ludwig Teißling (1856-1925), Dominican in 1873, he was appointed visitor by the general of the order to visit the fellow brothers in Petersburg, Poland, Hungary, Dalmatia and America; in 1916 he became the general superior (*LThK* 9 [1964], col. 1342).

180 Hyacinthe-Marie Cormier (1832-1916), French, Dominican in 1856, general of the order in 1904 (*DBF* 9 [1961], col. 659-660).

asiatique et aux archives dites des conférences! Et quand on a trouvé, on veut bien m'appeler de l'une de ces sections à l'autre, soit par téléphone, soit par l'envoi d'appariteurs! Que les temps sont changés pour moi, depuis juillet, août, septembre derniers! Donc, espoir de faire bonne cueillette, si Notre Seigneur me prête vie, et si...la police ne me chasse pas!

À ce propos de mon travail dans les immenses dépendances de l'Académie, je dois vous soumettre une considération peut-être plus importante que je ne me l'imagine. Voyez, soit Votre Révérence seule, soit avec les yeux de votre voisin, R. P. Ledóchowski. À deux pas de l'Académie, tel bibliothécaire de l'Université possède en propre une bibliothèque complète ou bien peu s'en faut, de livres, de papiers, de travaux relatifs au bienheureux Bobola.¹⁸¹ On m'assure que ce personnage consentirait facilement à me, à nous communiquer sa collection, collection unique dans l'espèce. Mais ce travail n'entrant pas dans mon programme, je ne dois, je ne puis pas l'entreprendre de moi-même. La sœur du P. Wladimir acceptera de me transmettre vos ordres, avec autant d'obligeance que de prudente discrétion. Vous l'avez deviné, ce dernier travail peut intéresser la cause de canonisation du Bienheureux. Donc j'attendrai sans faire autrement connaître par ici cette visée particulière.

Riez un peu de moi: ma dernière lettre du 1er mars vous disait que j'avais dès lors 4 chantiers ouverts! Avec les trois qui m'occupent dans les dépendances de l'Académie, vous voyez le gros total. *Troppa grazia*, dirais-je, si je l'osais! Et je puis aller... quand je voudrai, je crois, au Saint-Synode, aux Cultes, à l'Intérieur... sans compter encore dans le nombre des sanctuaires... d'État, les chapelles privées! Comme je vous l'ai déjà écrit: celles-là doivent être visitées après ceux-là, tel est le bon ordre à garder. Mais je n'ai pas à répéter ici ma relation de mars. Passons à une proposition nouvelle, qui sera bientôt de saison, si je ne m'illusionne pas trop.

Je vous ai déjà dit un mot du voyage à Moscou et à Riazan. Le bon moment pour aller là et y travailler serait l'été; avec la lumière des longues journées de juin, de juillet et d'août! D'abord dès la fin de mai, l'Académie de Pétersbourg, nombre d'autres archives de Pétersbourg fermeront (dès lors!) leurs portes pour deux, pour trois, pour quatre mois. Puis, si le travail de Makoff (près Riazan) devenait considérable, la perspective de passer l'hiver dans un village perdu, ne me paraît

181 Andrew Bobola, * 30.XI.1591 Strachocina (Poland), S.J. 31.VII.1611 Vilnius, † 16.V.1657 Janów Poleski (Belarus), he was killed during one of his pastoral trips; beatified in 1853, he shall be canonized in 1938 (DHC) I, pp. 465-466).

guère pratique, laissant à part la considération que Pétersbourg, dès septembre rouvrira tous mes chantiers d'à présent. Or, même à Moscou, je n'aurai à fréquenter que les Archives d'État. La vraie capitale de Russie, surtout pour mon programme, est Pétersbourg.

Donc, je vous prierais de me transmettre vos ordres sur ces points encore, par la voie qui vous plaira, ou toujours par le moyen sûr de la Révérende Mère Ledóchowska:

a) Dois-je aller à Moscou en juin au plus tard?

b) Dois-je pousser jusqu'à Riazan (c. à d. Makoff)?

Dès aujourd'hui, et pour le cas d'une réponse affirmative, d'une double réponse affirmative, je vous sou mets un ou deux cas légèrement embarrassants. À Makoff (près Riazan), chez les Tolstoï-Katkov, je n'aurai ni chapelle catholique, ni autel, ni ornements, ni servants! À Moscou l'on me procurera bien tout ce qui est nécessaire pour célébrer le Saint Sacrifice, le matériel veux-je dire, mais je devrai recourir à Votre Révérence et par vous au R. P. Procureur Général pour les permissions ou dispenses nécessaires. À tout le moins: a) facultés de l'autel portatif; b) dispense de l'assistance d'un servent; c) permission de célébrer dans ma chambrette ou dans une chambre décente de l'habitation. Si vous le trouvez bon, je vous prierais de toucher ces questions soit avec le P. Wladimir, soit avec la Révérende Mère. La Mère Marie-Ursule m'a fait espérer qu'elle vous remettrait de la main à la main la lettre présente, chez vous, au Germanique, d'où pas d'autre embarras pour vous. Dès aujourd'hui, 28 mars/10 avril, j'écris sur ce dernier projet aussi au P. Pierling, sollicitant ses conseils, ses recommandations, sa direction, locale autant que direction il pourra me donner.

Si vous approuvez, aussitôt après avoir reçu cette approbation ou ces ordres, je ferai ici les démarches requises pour l'exécution, après quoi je vous adresserai par la voie postale, la demande explicite des facultés.

Aujourd'hui, dimanche, j'ai profité du loisir forcé pour écrire ces pages, mais je les porterai à la Révérende Mère Supérieure samedi soir prochain seulement.

Veuillez agréer les deux ou trois copies ci-jointes: elles peuvent intéresser les successeurs des Pères: de la Gorée, Dubois et Retz.¹⁸²

182 François La Gorée * 4.X.1662 Toulouse, S.J. 17.X.1677 Toulouse, + 28.VI.1733 Rome; he was general's French assistant from 1730 to his death (ARSI). Charles Dubois * 15.III.1666 Montpellier, S.J. 7.IX.1681 Avignon, + 30.VII.1751 Rome; he succeeded La Gorée as assistant and remained in this office until 1751 (ARSI). Frantisek Retz * 13.IX.1673 Prague, S.J. 14.X.1689 Brno (Czech Republic), + 19.XI.1750 Rome; he was elected general of the Society in 1730 (*DHCJ* II, pp. 1653-1654).

En souhaitant très respectueusement à Notre Père le rétablissement que le travail et les années de travail ont ralenti jusqu'à ces jours passées, à Votre Révérence et à tous les Nôtres, continuation d'une bonne santé, je reste, *in unione Sanctorum Sacrificiorum Reverendi Patris Assistantis et Superioris mei, infimus in Christo servus*,
F. M. Gaillard SJ

PS. Puisque deux visites quasi simultanées vous seront faites (de Saint-Petersbourg et de Rome), veuillez agréer tout ce que la Révérende Mère Ledóchowska et le R. P. Theissling vous diront de ma part, soit de leur charitable initiative propre, soit en réponse à vos questions. Je les ai déjà remerciés ici, je les remercie là bas de tant de bonté. L'un et l'autre complèteront de vive voix ce qui n'a pas été écrit, peut-être par excès de discrétion.

12 avril

Aussi longtemps qu'il y a eu ici qui pouvait ou devait même vous envoyer mes collections dans le cas de mort subite ou non subite du collectionneur, je me suis reposé sur ce quelqu'un de pareille sollicitude. Ce quelqu'un quitte Pétersbourg d'ordre inopinément venu. J'ai dû en conséquence prendre aussitôt la prudente détermination qui suit. Hier soir je remis au R. P. Amoudru OP actuellement curé de Notre-Dame de France, qui accepta, un billet écrit, signé, daté, dans les formes, pour le charger de suppléer, le cas trop possible échéant, le quelqu'un dont le départ est peut-être déjà chose faite.¹⁸³ Dans le billet j'ai écrit encore votre nom et votre adresse. Ensemble nous avons fait toutes les petites conventions corrélatives, et ensemble nous espérons que le consul de France ratifierait tout au besoin.

À Moscou, si vous m'envoyez à Moscou, et à Moscou pour Makoff, je prendrai, s'il plaît à Dieu, aussitôt arrivé, précaution semblable, n'en doutez pas, mon Révérend Père.

Then the transcriptions of the following letters from the archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences are given:

183 Jean-Maurice Amoudru (1878-1961), French Dominican, in Petersburg from 1907, he was for many years parish priest of the French church there, secretly ordained bishop in 1935, the same year he was expelled from Russia (*Katoličeskaja Enciklopedija*, t. 1, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Franciskancev, 2002, col. 217).

1) by Johann Korff to François La Gorée, from 6 January 1735 (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-IV-4);¹⁸⁴

2) by Charles Dubois to Korff, from 10 March 1735 (answer to the preceding letter; ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-IV-3);

3) by Korff to Frantisek Retz, from February 1738 (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 1011-IV-5).

13. Franz Xaver Wernz to Gaillard

Rome, 18 November 1912

ARSI, Registri, Prov. Rom., t. 11, pp. 43-44.

The General expresses his gratitude to Gaillard for the seventeen years of his research and asks him to use the results of it preparing a 'Chronicon' of the period 1772-1820.

Ho ricevuto in data del 10 corrente mese il promemoria sulle ricerche storiche della soppressione e del ristabilimento della Compagnia, cominciate da Vostra Reverenza per ordine del R. P. Ludovico Martín di beata memoria nel 1895 e continuate fino al presente anno 1912 volgente ormai al suo termine.¹⁸⁵ Fu cosa di mio sommo compiacimento e dei PP. Assistenti vedere il grande lavoro di quasi 17 anni di studi e di viaggi fatto da Vostra Reverenza con indefessa operosità, lavoro che adesso ci fa ricchi di una molto copiosa e preziosissima raccolta di documenti d'un periodo storico quanto interessante, altrettanto nella vera realtà dei fatti poco conosciuto perché spesso falsato. Per il fin qui fatto e per le ottime sue disposizioni riguardo a quello che resta a farsi, tutti le siamo riconoscenti, lieti di poterla chiamare benemerita della Compagnia e della sua storia. Prego Iddio Signore Nostro di dare la corona conveniente al merito di chi tanto lavorò per la Compagnia.

E ora venendo alle conclusioni che Vostra Reverenza stessa, giunta a questo punto delle sue ricerche, stabilisce e propone, a me e ai PP. Assistenti pare che la prima cosa a cui metter mano sia appunto il Chronicon di tutto il periodo che va dal 1772 al 1820, a cui si potrebbe mandare innanzi il Chronicon di Spagna, Napoli, Parma, Venezia dal 1765 al 1772. Per il Chronicon infatti Vostra Reverenza è ottimamente preparata e pronta, giovandosi della conoscenza ancor fresca dei documenti e delle circostanze dei medesimi. A questi vantaggi si aggiunge che non molto tempo si richiede nel mandare innanzi il

184 Johann Albrecht von Korff/Иоганн Альбрехт Корф (1697-1766), Russian diplomat, originally from Kurland, he was president of the Academy of Sciences in Petersburg in 1734-1740 (*Russkij Biografičeskij Slovar'* [t. 9]: *Knappe-Kjuchel'beker*, Sankt-Peterburg, Tipografija Glavonogo Upravlenija Udelov, 1903, pp. 277-282).

185 The document not found in ARSI.

Chronicon, col quale Vostra Reverenza potrà assicurare tutto il frutto de' suoi studi e delle sue indagini senza timore che parte ne vada perduta nell'indugio di scrivere l'opera più lunga della storia. Inoltre il Chronicon prepara e rende più facile lo scrivere la storia, perché tende l'orditura su cui lavorare il ripieno della storia medesima. Tanto più che questa pare che per ora non potrebbe essere completata mancando alla collezione di Vostra Reverenza i documenti di Portogallo e di Francia. Conchiudo questo punto col farle notare, che un pronto Chronicon, quale solo Vostra Reverenza può fare, appagherebbe più presto il lungo desiderio e l'aspettazione di tutti di conoscere quel travagliato periodo della nostra storia, e servirebbe poi sempre di fonte genuina e di scorta sicura agli storici futuri.

E giacché ho toccato di alcune lagune nella collezione di Vostra Reverenza, ella mentre stende il Chronicon avrà tempo di cercare chi potrebbe aiutarlo dipoi nelle ricerche di Portogallo e di Francia che ancora non sono fatte, pensando a un uomo non solo capace, ma di sua fiducia, che quasi si allevi alla sua scuola, e in ogni caso possa continuare l'opera di Vostra Reverenza. Ella ci rifletta, e poi a voce me ne parli opportunamente, dandomi così occasione di darle più chiare spiegazioni e determinare meglio le cose.

Finalmente all'occasione che Vostra Reverenza verrà da me, vorrei che mi dicesse, in quale stato abbia trovato il deposito delle sue carte e delle schede, e se durante la sua assenza se ne sia fatto uso da altri, e quale.

Finisco e ricordando quanto dissi da principio di nuovo la ringrazio per il molto che ha fatto, e perché ora sappia usare con successo ugualmente felice il frutto delle sue fatiche le impartisco di tutto cuore le mia paterna benedizione.

Appendix 6: List of documents published in the “Summarium additioale” of the *Positio* 1907 and of those published in the “Novum summarium additioale” of the *Positio* 1910.

Documents published in the *Positio* 1907:

Pars I

- I: Letter from Pius VI to Ferdinand I (Rome, 23 V 1793)
- II: Letter from Catherine II to Ferdinand I (Saint Petersburg, 24 XI 1793).
- III: Letter from Pius VI to Ferdinand I (Rome, 15 II 1794).
- IV: Letter from Ferdinand I to Pius VI [Parma, February 1794].
- V: Letter from Ferdinand I to Pius VI [Parma, 1794].
- VI: Letter from Francesco Antonio Zaccaria to Emanuele Azevedo (Rome, 3 V 1794).
- VII: Letter from Pius VI to Ferdinand I (Rome, 9 VIII 1794).
- VIII: Letter from Pius VI to Ferdinand I (Rome, 15 VIII 1794).
- IX: Letter from Pius VI to Ferdinand I (Rome, 20 IX 1794).
- X: Letter from Pius VI to Ferdinand I (Rome, 1 XI 1794).
- XI: Letter from Pius VI to Ferdinand I (Rome, 27 VII 1797).
- XII: Letter from Pius VI to Ferdinand I (Rome, 17 IX 1797).
- XIII: Letter from Lorenzo Litta to Giuseppe Marotti [without place or date].
- XIV: Letter from Giuseppe Marotti to Lorenzo Litta (Florence, 2 II 1799).
- XV: Letter from Giuseppe Marotti to Lorenzo Litta (Florence, 23 II 1799)
- XVI: Letter from Giuseppe Marotti to Lorenzo Litta (Florence, 2 III 1799).
- XVII: Letter from Giuseppe Marotti to Lorenzo Litta (Florence, 2 III 1799).
- XVIII: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Giuseppe Albani [Venice, 13 II 1799].
- XIX: Letter from Giuseppe Albani to Giovanni Francesco Albani [Vienna, 18 VIII 1799].
- XX: Letter from Giovanni Francesco Albani to Giuseppe Albani [Venice, 31 VIII 1799].
- XXI: Letter from Giovanni Francesco Albani to Ferdinand I (Venice, 20 III 1800).
- XXII: Letter from Franz Herzan von Harras to Ferdinand I ([without place], 25 IV 1800).
- XXIII: Letter from Pius VII to Ferdinand I (Venice, 5 IV 1800).
- XXIV: Letter from Luigi Panizzoni to Pius VII [Venice, 11 IV 1800].
- XXV: Letter from Pius VII to Ferdinand I (Venice, 25 IV 1800).

- XXVI: Letter from Pius VII to Ferdinand I (Rome, 20 VIII 1800).
- XXVII: Letter from Pius VII to Charles IV (Rome, 28 VII 1800).
- XXVIII: Letter from Paul I to Pius VII (Gatcina, 11 VIII 1800).
- XXIX: Letter from Pius VII to Charles IV (Rome, 24 I 1801).
- XXX: Letter from José Pignatelli to María Manuela Pignatelli [without place or date].
- XXXI: Letter from José Pignatelli to Gioacchino Tosi (Colorno, 17 XI 1801).
- XXXII: Letter from Tadeusz Brzozowski to Luigi Panizzoni (Polock, 2 IX 1802).
- XXXIII: Letter from Carlo Emmanuele IV to Gioacchino Tosi (Napoli, 12 XII 1801).
- XXXIV: Last will of José Pignatelli (Rome, 15 XI 1811).
- XXXV: Appendix of the last.

Pars II

- I: Circular letter of the Congregation for the Matters of the Suppression (Rome, 18 VIII 1773).
- II: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti (Rome, 9 III 1801).
- III: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti (Rome, 9 III 1801).
- IV: Letter from Franciszek Kareu to Pius VII (Polock, 31 VII 1800).
- V: Letter from Pius VII to Paul I (Rome, 9 III 1801).
- VI: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Gabriel Gruber (Rome, 10 III 1801).
- VII: Letter from Leonardo Antonelli to Ercole Consalvi (Rome, 31 I 1801).
- VIII: Letter from Gabriel Gruber to Alexander I [Polock, 1801]; published also in Michail MOROŠKIN, *Iezuity v Rossii s carstvovaniâ Ekateriny II i do našego vremeni*, t. 2, Saint Petersburg, 1870, p. 34.
- IX: Letter from Gabriel Gruber to Franciszek Kareu [Polock, 1801].
- X: Letter from Matteo Ordogno de Rosales to Luigi Panizzoni (Parma, 3 IV 1799).
- XI: Letter from Ignacy Jakub Massalski to the Jesuit superiors in Belarus' (Warsaw, 29 IX 1773).
- XII: Memorial by Stanisław Czerniewicz to Catherine II [1773].
- XIII: Letter from Stanisław Siestrzencewicz to Giuseppe Garampi (Saint Petersburg, 18 I 1774).
- XIV: Letter from Stanisław Czerniewicz to Stanisław Siestrzencewicz with the answers from the latter (Saint Petersburg, 1 II 1774).
- XV: Letters from Francisco Guillermo de Lacy to Jerónimo Grimaldi (Saint Petersburg, 8 XI, 9 XI, 10 XII, 15 XII 1773; 21 I, 4 II, 15 II 1774).

Letters from Jerónimo Grimaldi to José Moñino (El Pardo, 25 I and 1 II 1774).

XVI: Letter from Kazimierz Sobolewski to Stanisław Czerniewicz (Warsaw, 25 X 1773).

XVII: Decree from Stanisław Siestrzencewicz appointing Stanisław Czerniewicz Provincial (Mohylew, 12 XII 1774).

XVIII: Letter from Zacharij Černyšev to Stanisław Czerniewicz (without place, 7 XI 1775).

XIX: Letter from Zacharij Černyšev to Stanisław Siestrzencewicz (without place, 12 XII 1775).

XX: Letter from Stanisław Siestrzencewicz to Pius VI (without place or date [1775]).

XXI: Letter from Stanisław Czerniewicz to Giovanni Battista Rezzonico (Polock, 15 X 1775).

XXII: Letter from Giovanni Battista Rezzonico to Stanisław Czerniewicz (Rome, 13 I 1776).

XXIIbis: Letter from Luigi Felici to Carlo Benvenuti (without place or date [1776]).

XXIII: Letter from Francesco Carafa to Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini (without place or date).

XXIV: Letter by Michel Angelo Monsagrati to Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini (Rome, 11 II 1777).

XXV: Instruction by Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini to Giovanni Andrea Archetti (without place or date).

XXVI: Pastoral letter from Stanisław Siestrzencewicz (Mohylew, 29 VI 1779).

XXVII: Letter from Stanisław Siestrzencewicz to Giovanni Andrea Archetti (Mohylew, 13 IX 1779).

XXVIII: Letter from Otto Magnus von Stackelberg to Stanisław Siestrzencewicz (without place, 13 X 1779); published also in Michail OBOLENSKIJ, "Perepiska po delu ob otkrytii v Belorusii iezuitskogo noviciata", in *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoričeskogo Obščestva*, t. 1 (Saint Petersburg, 1867), p. 471.

XXIX: Letter from Stanisław Siestrzencewicz to Otto Magnus von Stackelberg (Mohylew, 1 XI 1779); published also *ibid.*, pp. 471-475.

XXX: Memorial by Jan Benisławski to Pius VI (March 1783).

XXXI: Testimony of Jan Benisławski concerning the oral approval of the Jesuits in Russia, given by Pius VI 12 March 1783 (Polock, 24 VII 1785).

XXXII: Circular letter from Stanisław Czerniewicz (Polock, 13 VIII 1783).

XXXIII: Letter from Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini to Nicola Colonna di Stigliano (Rome, 30 ? 1783).

XXXIIIbis: Letter from Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti to Lorenzo Litta (Saint Petersburg, 4 VII 1799) and letter from Lorenzo Litta do Leonardo Antonelli (Vienna, 17 VIII 1799).

XXXIV: Letter from Charles IV to Pius VII (San Lorenzo, 15 X 1800).

XXXV: Letter from Francis II to Pius VII (Vienna, 19 I 1804).

XXXVI: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Johann Emanuel Khevenhüller (without place, 1804).

XXXVII: Letter from Francesco di Paola von Colloredo to Johann Emanuel Khevenhüller (Vienna, December 1804).

XXXVIII: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Leonardo Antonelli (Rome, 25 I 1805).

XXXIX: Letter from Leonardo Antonelli to Ercole Consalvi (Paris, 2 III 1805).

XL: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Leonardo Antonelli (Rome, 27 III 1805).

XLI: Letter from Gaetano Angiolini to Pius VII (Naples, 22 I 1805).

XLII: Letter from Pius VII to Gaetano Angiolini (without place pr date [1805]).

XLIII: Letter from Michele Di Pietro to Leonardo Antonelli (Rome, 14 II 1805).

XLIV: Letter from Michele Di Pietro to Leonardo Antonelli (without place or date [1805]).

XLV: Letter from Filippo Casoni to Lorenzo Caleppi (without place, 15 VI 1807).

XLVI: Letter from Bartolomeo Pacca to Antonio Gabriele Severoli (without place, 16 VII 1814).

XLVII: Letter from Antonio Gabriele Severoli to Pius VII (Vienna, 24 XII 1813).

XLVIII: Letter from Antonio Gabriele Severoli to Bartolomeo Pacca (Vienna, 1 VIII 1814) and another one from Pacca to Severoli ([Rome], 1 IX 1814).

XLIX: Letter from Pius VII to Luigi Ercolani (Rome, 7 VIII 1814).

Documents published in *Positio* 1910:

I: Letter from Ferdinand I to Charles III (Colorno, 26 I 1787).

II: Letter from Charles III to Ferdinand I (Pardo, 20 II 1787).

III: Letter from Ferdinand I to Charles III (Colorno, 20 IV 1787).

IV: Letter from Charles III to Ferdinand I (Aranjuez, 8 V 1787).

V: Letter from Ferdinand I to Pius VI (without place or date [1788]).

VI: Letter from Ferdinand I to Catherine II (without place, 23 VII 1793).

VII: Letter from Ferdinand I to Gabriel Lenkiewicz (without place, 23 VII 1793).

- VIII: Letter from Gabriel Lenkiewicz to Pëtr Passek (without place, 24 XI 1793).
- IX: Letter from Gabriel Lenkiewicz to Ferdinand I (Polock, 22 XII 1793).
- X: Letter from Ferdinand I to Pius VI (without place, 20 del 1794).
- XI: Letter from Ferdinand I to Cesare Ventura (Colorno, 24 del 1794).
- XII: Letter from Ferdinand I to Carlo Borgo (Colorno, 24 del 1794).
- XIII: Letter from José Nicolás de Azara to Manuel de Godoy (Rome, 19 II 1794).
- XIV: Letter from José Nicolás de Azara to Manuel de Godoy (Rome, 26 II 1794).
- XV: Letter from Manuel de Godoy to Cesare Ventura (Aranjuez, 11 III 1794).
- XVI: Letter from Manuel de Godoy to José Nicolás de Azara (Aranjuez, 11 III 1794).
- XVII: Letter from Francesco Antonio Zaccaria to Emmanuele Azevedo (Rome, 19 III 1794).
- XVIII: Letter from Charles IV to Ferdinand I (Aranjuez, 29 IV 1794).
- XIX: Letter from Ferdinand I to Charles IV (Colorno, 23 V 1794).
- XX: Letter from Charles IV to Ferdinand I (Aranjuez, 17 VI 1794).
- XXI: Letter from Gabriel Lenkiewicz to Pëtr Passek (without place or date [1794]).
- XXII: Letter from Ferdinand I to Charles IV (Colorno, 25 VII 1794).
- XXIII: Letter from Charles IV to Ferdinand I (San Ildefonso, 2 IX 1794).
- XXIV: Letter from Charles IV to Ferdinand I (San Ildefonso, September 1794).
- XXV: Letter from Ferdinand I to Charles IV (Colorno, 10 X 1794).
- XXVI: Letter from Charles IV to Ferdinand I (San Ildefonso, 11 XI 1794).
- XXVII: Letter from Ferdinand I to Charles IV (Colorno, 1 XII 1794).
- XXVIII: Letter from Charles IV to Ferdinand I (Madrid, 30 XII 1794).
- XXIX: Letter from Ferdinand I to Charles IV (Colorno, 30 ? 1795).
- XXX: Letter from José Nicolás de Azara to Manuel de Godoy (Rome, 14 I 1795).
- XXXI: Letter from Manuel de Godoy to José Nicolás de Azara (Aranjuez, 10 II 1795).
- XXXII: Letter from Johann Amadeus Thugut to Franziskus Herzan von Harras (Vienna, 26 III 1800).
- XXXIII: Letter from Johann Amadeus Thugut to Franziskus Herzan von Harras (Vienna, 26 III 1800).
- XXXIV: Letter from Mariano Luis de Urquijo to Pedro Gómez Labrador (Aranjuez, 31 III 1800).

- XXXV: Letter from Franziskus Herzan von Harras to Johann Amadeus Thugut (Venice, 16 IV 1800).
- XXXVI: Letter from Franziskus Herzan von Harras to Johann Amadeus Thugut (Venice, 23 IV 1800).
- XXXVII: Letter from Ferdinand I to Charles IV (Colorno, 14 IX 1800).
- XXXVIII: Letter from Charles IV to Ferdinand I (San Lorenzo, 15 X 1800).
- XXXIX: Letter from Ferdinand I to Charles IV (without place, 13 XI 1800).
- XXXIXbis: Letter from Pius VII to Ferdinand I (Rome, 10 XII 1800).
- XL: Letter from Filippo Ghisilieri to Francesco di Paola von Colloredo (Rome, 3 I 1801).
- XLI: Letter from Pedro Gómez Labrador to Mariano Luis de Urquijo (Rome, 10 I 1801).
- XLII: Letter from Domenico Simone di Chialamberto to Ercole Consalvi (Naples, 10. 1801).
- XLIII: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Gabriel Gruber (Rome, 14-18 I 1801).
- XLIV: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti (without place, 9 III 1801).
- XLV: Letter from Charles IV to Pius VII (Aranjuez, 15 III 1801).
- XLVI: Letter from Maria Luisa, queen of Spain, to Pius VII (Aranjuez, 15 III 1801).
- XLVII: Letter from Pedro Cevallos to Miguel Cayetano Soler (Aranjuez, 25 III 1801).
- XLVIII: Letter from Pius VII to Charles IV (Rome, 10 IV 1801).
- XLIX: Letter from Pius VII to Maria Luisa, queen of Spain (Rome, 10 IV 1801).
- L: Letter from Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti to Ercole Consalvi (Saint Petersburg, 18 IV 1801).
- LI: Letter from Gabriel Gruber to Ercole Consalvi (Saint Petersburg, April 1801).
- LII: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Gabriel Gruber (without place, 8 V 1801).
- LIII: Letter from Charles IV to Pius VII (Aranjuez, 15 V 1801).
- LIV: Letter from Pedro Cevallos to Charles IV (without place, 15 V 1801).
- LV: Letter from Maria Luisa, queen of Spain, to Pius VII (Aranjuez, 15 V 1801).
- LVI: Letter from Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti to Ercole Consalvi (Saint Petersburg, 9 VI 1801).
- LVII: Letter from Franciszek Kareu to Ercole Consalvi (Polock, 26 VI 1801).

- LVIII: Letter from Franciszek Kareu to Pius VII (Polock, 26 VI 1801).
- LIX: Letter from Pedro Cevallos to Antonio Vargas (Trugillo, 12 VII 1801).
- LX: Letter from Antonio Vargas to Giuseppe Doria (Rome, 8 VIII 1801).
- LXI: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Antonio Vargas (without place, 13 VIII 1801).
- LXII: Letter from Gabriel Gruber to Ercole Consalvi (Saint Petersburg, 22 IX 1802).
- LXIII: Letter from Gabriel Gruber to Pius VII (Polock, 12 X 1802).
- LXIV: Letter from Gabriel Gruber to Ercole Consalvi (Polock, 27 X 1802).
- LXV: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Gabriel Gruber (without place, 6 XI 1802).
- LXVI: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Gabriel Gruber (without place, 15 I 1803).
- LXVII: Letter from Pius VII to Gabriel Gruber (without place, 15 I 1803).
- LXVIII: Letter from Antonio Vargas to Ercole Consalvi (Rome, 21 III 1804).
- LXIX: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Antonio Vargas (without place, 31 III 1804).
- LXIXbis: Letter from Leonardo Antonelli to Ercole Consalvi (without place, 30 III 1804).
- LXX: Letter from Marino Carafa di Belvedere to Pius VII ([Naples?], 12 V 1804).
- LXXI: Letter from Gaetano Angiolini to Pius VII (without place or date [1804]).
- LXXII: Letter from Ferdinand IV to Pius VII (without place or date [1804]).
- LXXIII: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Antonio Vargas (Rome, 16 V 1804).
- LXXIV: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Pietro Gravina (Rome, 16 V 1804).
- LXXV: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Pietro Gravina (Rome, 31 V 1804).
- LXXVI: Letter from Antonio Vargas to Ercole Consalvi (Rome, 5 VI 1804).
- LXXVII: Letter from Antonio Gabriele Severoli to Ercole Consalvi (Vienna, 5 V 1804).
- LXXVIII: Letter from Antonio Gabriele Severoli to Ercole Consalvi (Vienna, 16 VI 1804).
- LXXIX: Letter from Pietro Gravina to Ercole Consalvi (Aranjuez, 15

VI 1804).

LXXX: Letter from Pietro Gravina to Manuel de Godoy (Aranjuez, 11 VI 1804).

LXXXI: Letter from Antonio Vargas to Ercole Consalvi (Rome, 6 VII 1804).

LXXXII: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Pietro Gravina (without place, 15 VII 1804).

LXXXIII: Letter from Gaetano Angiolini to Ercole Consalvi (Naples, 21 VII 1804).

LXXXIV: Rescript of Ferdinand IV re-establishing the Jesuits in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies ([Naples?], 1 VIII 1804).

LXXXV: Letter from Ferdinand IV to Pius VII (Naples, 14 VIII 1804).

LXXXVI: Letter from Pius VII to Ferdinand IV (without place, 21 VIII 1804).

LXXXVII: Letter from Gabriel Gruber to Pius VII (Saint Petersburg, 15 IX 1804).

LXXXVIII: Letter from Gabriel Gruber to Ercole Consalvi ([Saint Petersburg], 15 IX 1804).

LXXXIX: Letter from Ercole Consalvi to Gabriel Gruber (without place, 10 XI 1804).

XC: Letter from Ferdinand VII to Pius VII (Madrid, 15 VII 1814).

XCI: Letter from Bartolomeo Pacca to Ercole Consalvi (Rome, 8 X 1814).

XCII: Letter from Pius VII to Ferdinand I (Rome, 15 XII 1814).

XCIII: Letter from Pius VII to Ferdinand VII (Rome, 15 XII 1814).

XCIV: Letter from Pius VII to Ferdinand VII (Rome, 15 XII 1814).

XCV: Letter from Ferdinand VII to Pius VII (Madrid, [15] I 1815).

XCVII: Letter from Pietro Gravina to Bartolomeo Pacca (Madrid, 31 V 1815).

XCVIII: Letter from Ferdinand VII to Pius VII (Madrid, 1 VI 1815).

XCIX: Letter from Pius VII to Ferdinand VII (Rome, 2 VII 1815).

C: letter from Carlos Martínez de Irujo y Tacón to Francisco Zea Bermúdez (Madrid, 25 I 1819).

CI: Letter from Antonio Vargas to Ercole Consalvi (Rome, 5 III 1819).

CII: Letter from Tadeusz Brzozowski to the Jesuits in Belorus' (without place, 7 VII 1819).

CIII: Letter from Francisco Zea Bermúdez to Karl Robert Nesselrode (Saint Petersburg, 16 VII 1819).

CIV: Letter from Tadeusz Brzozowski to Felipe Montoya Díez (without place, 29 VII 1819).

Matteo Ricci nel Collegio Romano (1572-1577): cronologia, maestri, studi.

Ugo Baldini*

La storiografia su Ricci¹ ha ormai ricostruito e interpretato quasi tutti i numerosi aspetti della sua azione missionaria e dei suoi scritti, e quasi in ogni dettaglio.² Rimane però una lacuna marcata quanto ai tempi e modi della sua formazione scolastica superiore, e particolarmente di quella “scientifica”, che pure fu l’origine di tanti di quegli aspetti.³ Biografi e storici della scienza nelle missioni hanno considerato in varia misura i suoi studi nel Collegio Romano e, in particolare, il discepolato con Cristoforo Clavio,⁴ il patriarca della tradizione matematica della Compagnia

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1 Matteo Ricci, * 6.X.1552 Macerata, S.J. 15.VIII.1571 Roma, + 11.V.1610 Beijing (DHCJ IV, pp. 3351-3353).

2 Elenchi estesi dei lavori su Ricci sono in László POLGÁR, *Bibliographie sur l’histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus 1901-1980, III*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1990, pp. 65-78; László POLGÁR, Nicoletta BASILOTTA, “Bibliography on the History of the Society of Jesus”, *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, LXX/140, 2001, pp. 509-510 [per gli anni 1981-2000]; Matteo RICCI, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*, a cura di Maddalena DEL GATTO, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2000, pp. XLI-LII. Per i numerosi contributi successivi vedi la bibliografia annua nell’*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* e Paul Begheyn, “Current bibliography on Jesuit history” (<http://www.jesuitica.be/bibliography/>), *sub nomine*.

3 Dati gli interessi, competenze e produzione di Ricci, l’aggettivo “scientifico” designa qui l’insieme di una componente filosofico-naturale e di una (prevalente in lui) matematica, nella estensione e nei rapporti che esse mantennero fino alla rivoluzione scientifica secentesca e, per certi aspetti, fino al Settecento. Sulla demarcazione tematica e metodologica tra le due aree si tornerà più avanti, in quanto utile a caratterizzare la fisionomia di Ricci “scienziato”.

4 Christophorus Clavius, * 1537/1538 Bamberg, S.J. II.1555 Roma, + 6.II.1612 (DHSJ I, pp. 825-826).

di Gesù, che tra 1562-1563 e 1610 formò quasi tutti i suoi futuri insegnanti nei collegi europei dell'Ordine e i missionari in Asia provvisti di competenze scientifiche.⁵ Tuttavia lo sviluppo concreto di quegli studi resta in gran parte oscuro, perché mancano analisi di dettaglio sui metodi e contenuti dell'insegnamento di Clavio, in quanto distinto dalle sue opere, e per una reale carenza di dati sulle attività di Ricci negli anni in cui fu in rapporto col gesuita di Bamberg.⁶ Un fattore aggravante è poi la sostanziale assenza, negli scritti scientifici del missionario, di citazioni di opere o autori (a parte Clavio e ovviamente, tra i classici, Euclide o Tolomeo), in quanto nomi e titoli avrebbero rivelato certi tramiti della sua formazione. Sebbene del tutto spiegabile, perché la destinazione di quegli scritti ad un pubblico non europeo ed il loro carattere prevalentemente introduttivo o manualistico non comportavano riferimenti a opere o risultati individuali, l'assenza è comunque un ulteriore ostacolo per la ricostruzione d'un retroterra sufficientemente dettagliato.

L'esigenza di precisare le conoscenze esistenti non deriva solo da curiosità erudita. Poiché i lavori di Ricci in matematica (in un senso di questo termine che si preciserà, includente l'astronomia) segnarono tutta la prima fase del processo di diffusione in Cina del modello europeo di scienza, chiarire il loro *humus* d'origine è un passaggio obbligato per comprendere modalità e limiti di un processo il cui significato storico va oltre quello del suo periodo e della sua persona. Tra i missionari che svolsero attività

5 Per gli studi su Clavio vedi POLGÁR, *Bibliographie*, e POLGÁR - BASILOTTA, "Bibliography" *sub nomine*. La monografia più ampia (James M. LATTIS, *Between Copernicus and Galileo. Christoph Clavius and the Collapse of Ptolemaic Cosmology*, Chicago, University Chicago Press, 1994), riguarda soprattutto il suo lavoro in astronomia, anche in conseguenza dei rapporti con Galileo; tuttavia, come mostrano ad evidenza i cinque tomi delle *Opera mathematica* (Moguntiae 1611-1612) Clavio fu tendenzialmente un matematico "puro", cui gli oneri didattici e i servizi prestati al papato impedirono di coltivare al meglio gli interessi di ricerca più vivi. Per una sintesi biografica e sugli studi vedi UGO BALDINI, "Clavius, Christopher", in: Paul F. GRENDLER (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, New York, Charles Scribner's Son, 1999, II, pp. 17-18.

6 Sul piano strettamente biografico – e in particolare per la formazione e il periodo giovanile – l'opera più dettagliata ed attendibile su Ricci resta quella di Fernando BORTONE, *P. Matteo Ricci S.I., il «Saggio d'Occidente». Un grande italiano nella Cina impenetrabile (1552-1610)*, Roma, Desclée & C. - Editori Pontifici, 1965. Il suo notevole lavoro sulle fonti sottrasse l'autore a molti dei fraintendimenti e assunti puramente ipotetici nei quali sono incorsi altri, che in parte si verrà discutendo assieme ai pochi casi nei quali anch'egli derogò dall'abituale acribia.

lato sensu scientifiche in Cina fino a circa il 1620, alcuni (Michele Ruggieri,⁷ Diego Pantoja,⁸ Niccolò Longobardi⁹) si formarono in Asia nella collaborazione con Ricci e sui libri di Clavio, mentre i più tra gli altri (non Giulio Aleni¹⁰ e Francesco Sambiasi¹¹ ma Muzio Rocchi,¹² Sabatino De Ursis,¹³ Johann Wremann¹⁴) venivano dal Collegio Romano; così definire tempi e modi dell'insegnamento nel collegio è decisivo per comprendere i connotati della cultura scientifica di quasi tutti i missionari giunti a Macao tra l'arrivo di Ricci e quello (1619) del gruppo di "matematici" guidato da Nicolas Trigault¹⁵ (Johann Schreck¹⁶ (*Terrentius*), Johann Adam Schall,¹⁷ Giacomo Rho,¹⁸ Wenceslas Pantaleon Kirwitzer¹⁹), il più importante tra quelli che la Compagnia inviò in Estremo Oriente fino alla

7 Michele Ruggieri, * 1543 Spinazzola, S.J. 27.X.1572 Roma, + 11.V.1607 Salerno (DHCJ IV, pp. 3433-3434).

8 Diego Pantoja, * 1571 Valdemoro, S.J. 6.IV.1589 Villarejo de Fuentes, + 9.VI.1618 Macao (DHCJ III, pp.2966-2967).

9 Niccolò Longobardi, * 10.IX.1565 Caltagirone, S.J. 1582 Messina, + 11.XII.1655 Beijing (DHCJ III, pp.2411-2412).

10 Giulio Aleni, * 1582 Brescia, S.J. 1.XI.1600 Novellara, + 10.VI.1649 Yaping (Fujian) (DHCJ I, pp. 72-73).

11 Francesco Sambiasi, * 1582 Cosenza, S.J. 20.X.1602 Napoli, + gennaio 1649 Guangzhou (DHCJ IV, p. 3481).

12 Muzio Rocchi, * 1572 Siena, S.J. 8.XI.1590 Roma, + 7.XI.1605 Macao (Joseph DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Roma-Paris, IHSI-Letouzey & Anè, 1973, p. 222).

13 Sabatino De Ursis, * 1575 Lecce, 6.XI.1597 Napoli, + 1606? Macao (DHCJ II, pp. 1063-1064).

14 Johann Wremann (Ureman), * 6.IV.1583 Spalato, S.J. 1.II.1600 Roma, + aprile 1621 Nanchang (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 277).

15 Nicolas Trigault, * 3.III.1577 Douai, S.J. 9.XI.1594 Tournai, + 14.XI.1628 Hagzhou (Zhejiang) (DHCJ IV, pp. 3838-3839).

16 Johann Schreck, * 1576 Costanza (Germania), S.J. 1.XI.1611 Roma, + 11 o 13.V.1630 Beijing (DHCJ IV, p. 3533).

17 Johann Adam Schall von Bell, * 1.V.1592 Colonia, S.J. 21.X.1611 Roma, + 15.VIII.1666 (DHCJ IV, pp.3514-3516).

18 Giacomo Rho, * 1592 Milano, S.J. 24.VIII.1614 Milano, + 26.IV.1638 Beijing (DHCJ IV, p. 3342).

19 Wenceslas Pantaleon Kirwitzer, * 1588 Kadaň (Repubblica Ceca), S.J. 2.III.1606 Brno, + 22.V.1626 Macao (DHCJ III, pp. 2199-2200).

sua espulsione dai territori portoghesi a metà Settecento.²⁰

Il caso di Ricci è però peculiare, non solo per il suo rilievo storico ma perché, più di ogni altro, si presta a verifiche. La sua formazione scientifica avvenne in un contesto ambientale e istituzionale unico e delimitato, per un tempo ridotto, avendo praticamente un solo maestro e utilizzando quasi solo le sue opere; così il suo rapporto con la cultura matematica del suo tempo non fu diretto ma quasi interamente mediato e filtrato, avvenendo attraverso un unico canale d'informazione molto ricco e di alto livello ma in qualche misura selettivo negli orientamenti e nei temi.²¹ La partenza di Ricci dall'Europa immediatamente dopo gli studi, il numero ristretto dei libri scientifici che portò con sé (quasi tutti opere di Clavio) e il fatto che in Cina ne ricevette solo pochi altri (quasi tutti, di nuovo, del maestro) gli impedirono anche in seguito di formarsi sulle fonti primarie e di superare certi limiti tematici: la sua formazione non sembra aver riguardato certi settori (ad esempio, la meccanica del tardo Cinquecento o l'ottica) che furono poi al centro della "nuova scienza" del secolo XVII. Dunque, la scienza europea che attraverso lui iniziò a circolare in Cina nei primi anni del Seicento fu, eminentemente, una scienza clavigiana, e questo rende la conoscenza dei tempi e modi dei suoi studi una via obbligata per comprendere quel processo.

Tuttavia, sulla cronologia di quegli studi e sui suoi docenti (eccettuati Clavio e il meno noto Fornari²²) mancano riferimenti precisi,

20 Per i nomi e i luoghi di formazione dei missionari "matematici" nel periodo Ugo BALDINI, "The Jesuit college in Macao as a meeting point of the European, Chinese and Japanese mathematical traditions. Some remarks on the present state of research, mainly concerning sources (16th-17th centuries)", in: LUÍS SARAIVA, Catherine JAMÍ (eds.), *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science*, Singapore, World Scientific Publishing, 2008, pp. 55-56, tabella 2. Nello stesso gruppo di Trigault, Schall si era formato nel Collegio Romano con Cristoph Grienberger, (* 1564 Hall (Austria), S.J. 6.VIII.1580 Brno, † 11.III.163, *DHCJ* II, pp. 1814-1815) allievo e successore di Clavio, che aveva in gran parte mantenuto i metodi e contenuti didattici del maestro, mentre Schreck – dopo aver studiato in Germania e poi in Francia, con François Viète (1540-1603) – era stato in stretto rapporto con Clavio e gli allievi.

21 Pur estendendosi a gran parte dell'insieme delle scienze matematiche del tempo, la produzione e l'insegnamento clavigiani non inclusero settori quali la statica e idrostatica archimedee (se non per alcuni temi di centrobarica), la stesura di tavole astronomiche, la geometria superiore del tempo (di tipo sia archimedeo, per la misura di aree e volumi di figure complesse, che apolloniano, per la rettificazione di coniche e curve non elementari), le prime forme di applicazione dell'algebra alla geometria.

22 Martino Fornari, *21.VIII.1547 Brindisi, S.J. 6.IV.1564 Napoli, † 22.IX.1612 Roma

sia di Ricci che di contemporanei. Quasi tutti i gesuiti destinatari delle sue lettere dall'Asia e quelli che vi ricordò come conoscenti degli anni romani sembrano essere stati superiori o condiscepoli, non suoi insegnanti.²³ Inoltre si vedrà che anche l'attestazione esplicita e reiterata da parte di Ricci del rapporto didattico con Clavio trova solo conferme limitate o indirette nella documentazione attinente alla carriera del maestro: dunque molto è ignoto, e quanto si suppone noto è in parte problematico. Ciò che segue è un tentativo di fissare alcune fondamentali circostanze di fatto (soprattutto i docenti e corsi seguiti da Ricci, con relativi tempi e programmi), ignorando le quali ogni ricostruzione risulta generica, se non errata e fuorviante.

La cronologia degli studi di Ricci e il curriculum del Collegio Romano nei suoi anni

Alla mancanza di attestazioni precise si unisce il fatto che nell'intera storia del Collegio Romano gli anni dal 1572 al 1577 sono quelli per i quali si è avuta la perdita maggiore di catalogi dei docenti e degli studenti: si passa da uno del 1571, che elenca solo i professori dei quattro voti e così esclude buona parte di coloro che avevano insegnato, o insegnavano, retorica o filosofia,²⁴ ad uno relativo all'anno scolastico 1571-1572, ad uno della fine del 1574 (ma, si vedrà, ri-

(Mario SCADUTO, *Catalogo dei gesuiti d'Italia 1540-1565*, Roma, IHSI, 1968, p. 59).

23 Le eccezioni sono Fabio de' Fabii (* 1543 Roma, S.J. 17.II.1567, † 19.XI.1615, *DHCJ* II, p. 1367), rettore del noviziato romano negli anni in cui vi era stato Ricci, Martino Fornari e Antonio Maria (* 1552/1553 *romanus*, S.J. novembre 1572, † 2.XI. 1612 Fermo, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (d'ora in poi ARSI), Ven. 37, f. 150 e *Hist. Soc.* 43, f. 5.) Orazio Torsellini (* novembre 1544 Roma, S.J. 15.VIII.1562 Roma, † 6.IV.1599 Roma, *DHCJ* IV, p. 3827) che Ricci menzionò più volte nelle lettere, quasi certamente non era stato suo docente di retorica. In generale, i riferimenti ricciani a gesuiti dell'ambiente romano non introducono mai - o quasi - distinzioni di importanza, età e ruolo, avendo di solito la forma di semplici saluti a conoscenti; questo esprime, più che un atteggiamento "democratico" o informale, la realtà di una comunità ancora piccola e con una scala gerarchica relativamente fluida, nella quale inoltre, come si vedrà, per la penuria dei ranghi a fronte dell'arco crescente di impegni alcune funzioni didattiche decisive erano attribuite anche a giovanissimi.

24 Tranne eccezioni come quella rappresentata da Fulvio Cardulo (* 1529 Narni, S.J. agosto 1546 Roma, † 15.V.1591 Roma, *DHCJ* I, pp. 658-659) - sul quale si tornerà - nel collegio in quegli anni la retorica fu insegnata da giovani gesuiti in un intervallo "vuoto" tra gli studi di filosofia e quelli di teologia, o durante questi ultimi e comunque prima della professione dei voti finali (che cadeva mediamente attorno ai 35 anni di età). Lo stesso è vero per gran parte di coloro che vi insegnarono filosofia prima del 1590.

guardante l'anno scolastico 1573-1574) e a due altri, rispettivamente del 1577-1578 (incompleto) e del 1579.²⁵ Quindi il più cui si possa aspirare è una ricostruzione parziale ottenuta intrecciando i pochi dati documentali superstiti (oltre ai catalogi, esiguissimi cenni memorialistici) con i ritmi del *curriculum studiorum* gesuitico, che suggeriscono di porre lo studio di una singola disciplina - da parte di Ricci o altri - in un determinato anno scolastico. Oltre ad essere solo parziali, i risultati ottenibili in tal modo sono soggetti ad un grado di incertezza non contingente ma strutturale: la prassi didattica nei primi anni del Collegio Romano non sempre corrispose al curriculum definito, tra 1586 e 1599, nella *Ratio studiorum*, soprattutto quanto ai tempi; anche in aspetti per i quali quel curriculum era già consolidato vi furono scostamenti di entità e durata variabili, dovuti a carenza di docenti o ad altre circostanze.²⁶ Perciò ogni rico-

25 I cataloghi del 1571 e 1579 sono in ARSI, *Rom.* 53 I; quello per il 1571-1572 è nel codice *Rom.* 78b; quello per il 1574-1575, relativo all'intera Compagnia, nel codice *Hist. Soc.* 41; quello per il 1577-1578 ancora in *Rom.* 78b, f. 110r e ss. Certi dati che forniscono su singole persone sono considerati nel seguito. Ogni provincia della Compagnia doveva inviare alla curia dell'Ordine a Roma due tipi di catalogi (elenchi dei membri). Uno, annuo, indicava i gesuiti presenti in una certa sede e le mansioni di ciascuno in quell'anno. L'altro, redatto ogni tre anni, indicava pure i religiosi sede per sede, fornendo per ognuno una sintesi della vita e della carriera precedente (inclusi gli incarichi didattici, senza però indicare gli anni relativi), ma non specificando l'incarico o impegno di studio in atto. Così i cataloghi triennali sono una fonte insostituibile per la biografia di un gesuita, ma non offrono il quadro dei docenti in un collegio in un certo anno e non permettono di stabilire con certezza le relazioni docente-allievo. Dunque, se per un collegio rimangono, per un certo periodo, solo - o quasi - cataloghi di questo tipo, non integrati da fonti d'altro genere, la successione dei docenti nelle singole discipline (e spesso anche la gamma di quelle insegnate) è ricostruibile in modo solo congetturale e incompleto. Alla perdita dei cataloghi dei primi anni del Collegio Romano si somma quella di gran parte delle carte di coloro che allora vi operarono (ad esempio, la corrispondenza di Clavio resta a partire dal 1582, benché siano noti non pochi suoi corrispondenti degli anni precedenti e perfino date di lettere); si deve perciò pensare a fattori comuni di dispersione, quali le precarie condizioni logistiche del collegio prima del passaggio (1583) nella sede definitiva fatta erigere da Gregorio XIII. In ogni caso le perdite furono anteriori alla soppressione del 1773: un catalogo dei superiori e professori del Collegio Romano dai suoi inizi, precedente a quell'anno e redatto in base alla documentazione d'archivio esistente allora (Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (d'ora in poi BNCR), *ms. Gesuitico* 1666), per solito quasi completo, non indica nomi per quegli anni (ff. 5v-6r).

26 Le liste correnti dei docenti nei corsi superiori del Collegio Romano tra l'inizio nel 1553 e circa il 1580 presentano lacune e contraddizioni che non sembrano spiegabili solo con la perdita di non pochi elenchi del personale del collegio per quegli anni (nota 37). Certe sovrapposizioni tra docenti o incongruenze nella successione degli impegni di alcuni impongono di pensare che vi fossero sostituzio-

struzione degli studi di Ricci basata sull'assunto di un'esatta corrispondenza al *curriculum* - anche e soprattutto quanto ai tempi - non si può considerare come senz'altro certa.

La successione delle discipline che, dopo una fase di assestamento nei primi anni dell'esperienza didattica della Compagnia, fu costante nella *paideia* gesuitica, è ben nota agli specialisti, tuttavia è utile ricordarla in breve perché essa fissa dei punti di riferimento per ogni ricostruzione biografica. Coloro che entravano nelle scuole dell'Ordine - gesuiti e non - dovevano aver già seguito la "scuoletta" (la scuola primaria, dove si apprendeva a leggere, scrivere e far di conto); la prima fase dell'istruzione (astruendo dal noviziato - di uno, poi anche di due, anni - ovviamente richiesto ai soli gesuiti) consisteva in tre annualità (talora, in situazioni locali meno organizzate, due) di "grammatica" (lingua latina); la seconda fase, di "umanità" (esercizi di traduzione da storici, oratori e poeti latini e greci, con elementi di metrica e lettura di un manuale classico di retorica), ne comprendeva una (talora due), e la terza di "retorica" (studio stilistico e contenutistico di classici più impegnativi ed esercizi di composizione in stile latino) solo una. In linea di principio, dunque, il corso di *humanae litterae* includeva cinque classi, numerate in senso discendente dalla quinta (prima della grammatica) alla prima (di retorica), che potevano però durare da cinque a sette anni, a seguito delle ripetizioni imposte agli studenti meno capaci o carenti per qualsiasi ragione (forse, si vedrà, anche a Ricci).²⁷ Il successivo corso - detto, secondo tradizione, di "arti" o "filosofia" - includeva le tre classi di logica, *physica* o filosofia naturale, metafisica (corrispondenti a tre annualità perché, diversamente dal corso precedente, non era previsto che fossero ripetute). In seguito, nel Collegio Romano e in altri maggiori della Compagnia vi fu anche un insegnamento annuo di etica, contemporaneo a quello di *physica* o di metafisica, ma si vedrà che probabilmente negli anni di Ricci esso non esisteva

ni prima del completamento di un ciclo didattico, o - meno probabilmente - che la lunghezza stessa dei cicli subisse occasionali variazioni.

27 Il sistema educativo descritto (con l'inclusione della filosofia e teologia), reso definitivo dalla *Ratio atque institutio studiorum* del 1599, si era però già delineato attorno al 1550. Per il Collegio Romano esso si trova già descritto in numerosi documenti programmatici degli anni 1565-1572, che nell'insieme offrono un quadro vivo e dettagliato delle modalità degli studi negli anni di Ricci: vedi i testi *Mon. paed.* II, pp. 170-287. Una sintesi di norme e usi è in Mario Fois, "Il Collegio Romano ai tempi degli studi del P. Matteo Ricci", in: Maria CIGLIANO (ed.), *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi ricciani, Macerata-Roma, 22-25 ottobre 1982*, Macerata, Centro Studi Ricciano, 1984, in particolare alle pp. 212-214.

ancora a Roma. Al termine della filosofia, ottenuto il baccellierato in arti con un esame la cui preparazione richiedeva ancora alcuni mesi dopo il triennio, un gesuita era spesso destinato ad insegnare, da due a quattro anni (normalmente grammatica o umanità, più di rado retorica). Infine, solo i migliori erano scelti per frequentare il corso di teologia, solitamente di quattro anni, nel terzo dei quali normalmente un gesuita giungeva al sacerdozio e al cui termine – ormai quasi trentenne – iniziava la sua vera attività nell'Ordine. In seguito – mediamente circa cinque anni dopo – poteva essere ammesso a professare i tre, o quattro, voti finali; solo i professi dei quattro voti andavano a formare la “punta di lancia” della Compagnia ed entravano nel suo livello di governo.²⁸

Di fatto gli anni romani di Ricci, escludendone il triennio di grammatica (seguito a Macerata), la parentesi didattica (dalla quale fu esentato, come quasi tutti i gesuiti destinati alle missioni) ed il corso teologico, che seguì poi a Coimbra e a Goa, risultano sufficienti a contenere l'intero curriculum di studi secondari superiori, ma non un corso di perfezionamento nelle matematiche successivo a quello di filosofia, che pure la preparazione che mostrò in seguito e la biografia di altri allievi di Clavio in anni successivi potrebbero far postulare. Egli entrò nel noviziato romano nell'agosto 1571 e ne uscì dopo la pronuncia dei voti semplici, il 25 maggio 1572;²⁹ passò nel

28 Gli scopi di questo saggio non richiedono di delineare gli antecedenti storici del modello (fin dal trivio e quadrivio della tarda classicità) né i programmi delle discipline, eccetto che per la matematica e in parte per la filosofia naturale. Per il primo aspetto la sintesi più chiara e attendibile resta Gabriel CODINA MIR, *Aux sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites. Le «Modus parisiensis»*, Roma, IHSI, 1968. Per i programmi si veda l'edizione critica delle tre versioni della *Ratio: Mon.paed.* V.

29 L'abituale “esame” per l'ammissione formale al noviziato (che si svolgeva pochi giorni dopo che un giovane vi era entrato) avvenne il 17 agosto 1571: ARSI, *Rom.* 171c, f. 119. Nei primi decenni della Compagnia il noviziato – che in seguito poté durare due anni – fu di regola di uno, particolarmente per chi aveva già progredito negli studi prima di entrarvi, e questo appunto avvenne per Ricci (vedi infra). Da ciò, tuttavia, sorge un problema quanto ad uno dei pochi dati sugli anni immediatamente successivi che la storiografia ha considerato certi. Il citato catalogo dell'intera Compagnia (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 95r) lo dice studente del primo anno di retorica, cosicché si è creduto che studiasse questa disciplina ancora nell'anno scolastico 1574-1575. Di fatto, però, il catalogo riuni quelli di gran parte delle sedi che la Compagnia aveva allora, ma per il Collegio Romano non fu inserito quello del 1574-1575, come suggerirebbe il titolo, ma quello del 1573-1574, come mostrano concordemente tutti i dati biografici controllabili che vi compaiono. Perciò non si è costretti a ritenere che Ricci studiasse le lettere per quattro anni (inclusendo quello di umanità seguito a Macerata), cioè per un tempo doppio di quello ordinario, e soprattutto non v'è necessità di limitare i suoi studi di filosofia – e conseguentemente,

Collegio Romano il 15 settembre 1572³⁰ e partì da Roma per Lisbona nel maggio 1577. L'estensione massima dei suoi studi superiori fu quindi di quattro annualità e circa due terzi di una quinta. Poiché prima di entrare nella Compagnia, tra 1561 e 1565, Ricci aveva percorso il triennio di grammatica e seguito un anno di umanità nel collegio gesuitico di Macerata (l'ipotesi che vi studiasse fino al 1568 appare infondata, mentre tra 1568 e 1571 studiò le leggi nell'università di Roma),³¹ e se, come pare corretto assumere, negli anni succes-

si vedrà, quelli di matematica - ai soli due anni scolastici 1575-1576 e 1576-1577: una limitazione che talora è stata presentata come certa (BORTONE, *P. Matteo Ricci*, p. 39, dal quale dipende Fois, "Il Collegio Romano", pp. 216 e 221), senza percepire pienamente la difficoltà di conciliarla con la cultura che poi mostrò.

30 Matteo RICCI, *Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, a cura di Pasquale M. D'ELIA, II, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1949, pp. 556-557, n. 1. Nell'anno scolastico che iniziava allora, tuttavia, Ricci fu inviato nel collegio di Firenze; tornò in quello di Roma nel 1573 (vedi *infra*).

31 Nell'agosto 1571 l'esame di ammissione al noviziato di Ricci - tacendo, in quanto scontati, gli studi di grammatica - dirà di lui: "Ha studiato humanità et doj anni di legge" (BORTONE, *P. Matteo Ricci*, p. 25). L'inizio dei suoi studi a Macerata è stato collocato nel 1561 perché: il collegio fu attivo da quell'anno; la biografia ricciana di Sabino De Ursis, poi inserita nel capitolo XXI del libro V di Ricci, *Della entrata*, afferma che Ricci ne era stato uno dei primi allievi (RICCI, *Storia dell'introduzione*, II, pp. 551-552); nel Natale del 1563 (dunque nell'anno scolastico 1563-1564) Ricci vi era studente della terza classe (l'ultima di grammatica), perciò doveva aver iniziato il corso nel 1561 (BORTONE, *P. Matteo Ricci*, p. 16). De Ursis scrisse che a Macerata Ricci aveva studiato anche "umanità e retorica", il che porterebbe al 1566. Tuttavia nel 1565 l'insegnamento della retorica nel collegio fu sospeso, per evitare la concorrenza con un corso comunale avviato in quell'anno (BORTONE, *P. Matteo Ricci*, pp. 18-19). Questo falsifica l'asserto (ripetuto di frequente almeno a partire da Antonio HERCOLANI, *Biografie e ritratti di uomini illustri piceni*, I, Forlì, tip. Luigi Bordandini, 1837, p. 86), che egli studiasse nel collegio fino al passaggio nella Sapienza romana nel 1568. Quanto ai docenti, è noto che quello di grammatica fu Niccolò Serangeli, detto anche Bencivegni (* 25.XI.1532 Siena, S.J. 15.XII.1559 Roma, † 27.VIII.1608 Siena, SCADUTO, *Catalogo*, p. 138), mentre è ignoto quello di umanità (i due corsi avevano sempre insegnanti diversi); sarebbe suggestivo identificare il secondo con Giovanni Botero (* 1544 Bene Vagienna (Cuneo), S.J. 1559 Palermo, † 12.XII.1580 Torino, *DHCJ* I, pp. 502-503) che in quegli anni fece parte del personale del collegio e ne lasciò una relazione, ma le esatte mansioni svolte allora dal futuro teorico della ragion di stato sono ignote. Dopo il 1565 Ricci potrebbe aver seguito lezioni private con qualcuno dei docenti gesuiti (prassi non insolita) o anche seguito il corso comunale di retorica, ma nessuna delle due possibilità ha dati a sostegno e la seconda contrasta col fatto che dopo l'entrata nella Compagnia dovette seguire un corso nella disciplina. Perciò l'ipotesi del Bortone che il padre lo tenesse a far pratica nella spezieria che gestiva, in attesa che raggiungesse l'età per gli studi universitari, sebbene anch'essa priva di ogni riscontro, si può considerare plausibile.

sivi al noviziato fu impegnato solo negli studi,³² si deve assumere che prima del triennio di filosofia seguisse un biennio di umanità e retorica (ripetendo dunque la prima, già studiata a Macerata).³³ I suoi studi di matematica avvennero interamente durante il triennio filosofico, sia per ciò che riguarda il corso curricolare, previsto nel secondo anno di filosofia, sia per un eventuale corso avanzato (sul quale si tornerà), ovviamente successivo al primo; e si noti che, se anche egli non avesse lasciato Roma e l'Italia al termine di quel triennio, le biografie di tutti coloro che seguirono il corso avanzato in quegli anni mostrano che avrebbe potuto frequentarlo non come impegno esclusivo, ma solo perché trattenuto nel collegio per seguire il corso di teologia.³⁴ Infine, poiché Ricci partì da Roma in maggio (mentre le lezioni terminavano a fine giugno o ai primi di luglio) e nei mesi precedenti la partenza i missionari si preparavano

32 Eventuali attività diverse – che, in senso lato, sarebbero potute essere solo religiose o didattiche – non sono attestate e ipotizzarle è problematico per più ragioni, sintetizzabili nel fatto che di regola la Compagnia non ne affidava a chi non avesse ancora compiuto il corso filosofico: un corso che Ricci concluse solo nel 1577. Naturalmente questo non esclude la partecipazione saltuaria ad attività pastorali o assistenziali: ad esempio, nell'anno giubilare 1575 gli scolastici del Collegio Romano furono attivi nel ricevimento e nell'assistenza spirituale ai pellegrini (Manuel RUIZ JURADO, "Jesuit Formation during Mercurian's Generalate", in: Thomas M. McCoog (ed.), *The Mercurian project. Forming Jesuit culture 1573-1580*, St. Louis-Roma, The Institute of Jesuit Sources-IHSI, 2004, p. 406).

33 Che dopo il triennio di grammatica Ricci seguisse sia il corso di umanità che quello di retorica sarebbe certo anche indipendentemente dai riscontri d'archivio, dati la padronanza del latino mostrata in seguito e il fatto che nel 1579-1580 a Goa e Cochín egli insegnò lettere latine: queste erano parte intrinseca della formazione di ogni gesuita, cosicché i superiori non si sarebbero valse di lui se non ne avesse avuto una conoscenza approfondita.

34 Le biografie dei frequentanti fino al 1593 (sulla demarcazione costituita da quest'anno vedi la nota seguente) mostrano che tutti erano ancora studenti di filosofia o teologia: vedi i nomi (cui va aggiunto Luigi Odescalchi * 1548 Como, S.J. 24.VIII.1562, † 21.X.1585 Napoli, SCADUTO, *Catalogo*, p. 107: nota 55) e i dati biografici essenziali in Ugo BALDINI, "The Academy of Mathematics of the Collegio Romano from 1553 to 1612", in: Mordechai FEINGOLD (ed.), *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*, Cambridge Mass., MIT Press, 2002, pp. 47-98, in part. p. 72. Questo non fu casuale ma derivò direttamente dallo status privato di quei corsi, che esponenti autorevoli della Compagnia ritenevano inutili o dannosi alla formazione intellettuale dei suoi membri e tolleravano più per l'esigenza di formare docenti di matematica per un numero di collegi sempre crescente che per la loro utilità in prospettiva missionaria (l'importanza della matematica per questo aspetto fu asserita solo a partire da Ricci). In un tale clima ambientale lo studio della matematica non giustificava ancora l'esenzione da altre incombenze, di studio o religiose.

– spiritualmente e logisticamente – al viaggio ed ai loro compiti futuri, si deve supporre che seguì solo parte del terzo anno filosofico, quello di metafisica.

In totale, dunque, egli potrebbe aver seguito lezioni di matematica per un anno nel corso ordinario e – poiché nel terzo anno di filosofia non era prevista la frequenza al corso pubblico della disciplina – per un secondo (incompleto) nel corso avanzato detto poi “accademia di matematica” di Clavio; la sua eventuale frequenza a quest’ultimo fu quindi più breve di quella, biennale o triennale, divenuta abituale dopo che l’accademia fu costituita in livello didattico ufficiale e distinto.³⁵ Essa va considerata molto più una necessità che una possibilità, perché già all’arrivo in Cina la preparazione matematica di Ricci era ben superiore a quella (modesta) fornita nelle lezioni pubbliche, ed egli non poteva averla incrementata mentre seguiva il corso di teologia a Coimbra o a Goa;³⁶ questo però non è un dato documentario ma solo il risultato di un’inferenza fondata su fatti normativi e consuetudini, perché né le sue opere e lettere, né

35 Ricci non poté seguire il corso avanzato fin dal primo anno di filosofia, perché sprovvisto delle basi che solo il corso pubblico poteva fornirgli; quanto a quest’ultimo, le norme della Compagnia lo ponevano nel secondo anno, ammettendo però occasionali anticipazioni (nota 52), che potrebbero avergli consentito uno studio triennale della matematica. Nel 1593 l’accademia, prima corso privato frequentato in margine a quelli “ufficiali”, divenne un’istanza didattica autonoma, i cui frequentanti (di regola studenti che avevano terminato il corso filosofico e non ancora iniziato quello teologico) erano esentati da ogni altra incombenza ed equiparati a quelli dei corsi pubblici (dal 1593 i catalogi del collegio aggiunsero una sezione relativa ai *mathematici* a quelle preesistenti degli *humanistae*, *rhetores*, *logici*, *physici*, *metaphysici*, *theologi*). Oltre che per questo diverso “tasso di istituzionalità”, importante nell’organismo nettamente gerarchizzato che era la Compagnia, le due fasi differirono quanto all’area di provenienza dei candidati: nella prima essi furono sempre studenti del Collegio Romano (pur se non sempre italiani), mentre nella seconda tutte le province dell’Ordine poterono inviare giovani promettenti, anche se per ragioni non chiare, alcune (come quelle dell’Assistenza di Francia) preferirono preparare in proprio i loro futuri specialisti. Per un’analisi di maggior dettaglio: BALDINI, “The Academy of Mathematics”, in part. pp. 51-52.

36 In questi due collegi la matematica, tranne parentesi brevissime (nota 74), non fu insegnata fino a secolo XVII inoltrato, e almeno fino al 1590 tra i religiosi che vi operarono non vi fu alcun esperto della disciplina: Ugo BALDINI, “As Assistências Ibéricas da Companhia de Jesus e a actividade científica nas missões asiáticas (1578-1640). Alguns aspectos culturais e institucionais”, *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* LIV (1998), 2, pp. 195-246 (in part. 203-206); Id., “L’insegnamento della matematica nel collegio di S. Antão a Lisbona, 1590-1640”, in: Nuno DA SILVA GONÇALVES (ed.) *A Companhia de Jesus e a missão no Oriente*, Lisboa, Broteria-Fundação Oriente 2000, pp. 267-310 (in part. 279-288).

le testimonianze di altri su di lui alludono all'uno o all'altro tipo di corso, parlando solo genericamente di studi col maestro del Collegio Romano.

I maestri e il rapporto didattico con Clavio

Si può ora cercare di tracciare la successione degli studi e dei maestri di Ricci a partire dal 1571, quando entrò nel noviziato romano di Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, distinguendo la fase del noviziato e degli studi letterari da quella corrispondente al corso filosofico ed agli studi di matematica.³⁷

Anno	Disciplina	Docente
1571-1572	noviziato	Fabio de' Fabii ³⁸
1572-1573	umanità (a Firenze)	Martino Fornari ³⁹

³⁷ La lista "standard" dei docenti nel collegio di Roma è quella del p. Ignacio Iparaguirre, pubblicata in Riccardo GARCÍA VILLOSLADA, *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)*, Roma, PUG, 1954, p. 322 ss. Causa il metodo adottato nel costruirla, però, essa non è sempre affidabile per gli anni anteriori al 1590 (vedi Ugo BALDINI, *"Legem impone subactis". Studi su filosofia e scienza dei gesuiti in Italia, 1540-1632*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1992, pp. 565-567); inoltre, per il motivo anzidetto, per gli anni 1571-1577 indica pochi nomi e per di più incerti, perché desunti dall'ipotesi che chi risultava aver insegnato una certa materia sia nel 1571 che nel 1578 - come Clavio nel caso della matematica - l'avesse insegnata anche negli anni intermedi. Si mostrerà che per la matematica - ma anche per la retorica e la filosofia - almeno alcune delle indicazioni che hanno questa base sono errate. Non offre novità apprezzabili, per questo aspetto, la più recente storia del collegio: Philip CARAMAN, *University of the Nations: The Story of the Gregorian University with its associated institutes, the Biblical and Oriental, 1551-1962*, New York, NY - Ramsey, NJ, Paulist Press, 1981.

³⁸ L'identificazione di Fabii quale rettore del noviziato (o, nell'uso corrente, "maestro dei novizi"), proposta prima con considerazioni convincenti, ma solo indirette ma (Matteo Ricci, *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.* a cura di Pietro TACCHI VENTURI, 2 vv., Macerata, tip. F. Giorgetti, 1911-1913, ad indicem "Fabii"), fu riproposta più esplicitamente in Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione*, I, p. CIII ed è confermata da più fonti, sebbene un catalogo del noviziato del gennaio 1572 non la confermi né smentisca perché, a seguito di una sua assenza momentanea, indica solo il suo assistente (un «Sebastianus socius praefecti Novitiorum»: ARSI, *Rom.* 78b, f. 93v). Va però ricordato che il vice di Fabii era Alessandro Valignano: Ricci conobbe così molto presto colui che sarebbe poi divenuto il superiore della sua provincia missionaria.

³⁹ Ricci ricordò gli studi con Fornari in una lettera che gl'inviò nel 1580: «in Goa l'anno passato lessi quel poco che V.R. mi insegnò; hora sto in Coccino facendo il medesimo» (Ricci, *Opere storiche*, II, p. 11). Questo chiarisce che a Goa e Cochín Ricci non

1573-1574

retorica

Fulvio Cardulo⁴⁰

insegnò retorica (come spesso si è asserito), ma umanità, perché nell'ottobre 1572 fu inviato a Firenze a seguire appunto questo corso sotto Fornari, secondo una politica di ripartizione degli studenti dell'Ordine che la Compagnia attuò spesso, per ragioni economiche, logistiche e di equilibrio complessivo tra le sedi, anche su scala internazionale (nel 1555, dopo pochi mesi di noviziato a Roma, Clavio era stato inviato a studiare nel Colegio das artes di Coimbra). Il dato è confermato da una lettera di Alberto Laerzio (* 1557 Orte, S.J. 8.IX.1576 Roma, † 11.IX.1630 Conchin, *DHCJ* III, pp. 2257-2258) a Giovanni Francesco Carettoni (* 1556 Roma, S.J. 1575 Roma, † 21.VII.1639, *Sommervogel* II, coll. 746-747) (Goa, 21 ottobre – 11 novembre 1579, in *Doc. Ind.* XI, pp. 638 e 640): Ricci leggeva la «prima di humanità», ed era stato destinato a leggerla a Conchin l'anno successivo. I biografi – inclusi quelli gesuiti, sebbene edotti del fatto che il programma di umanità era svolto in un solo anno, tranne che nel caso degli studenti peggiori – non si sono chiesti perché i superiori decisero di far ripetere a Ricci a Roma uno studio già svolto a Macerata (forse per l'assunto implicito che una grande personalità culturale, e di apparenza così ordinata e sistematica come quella di Ricci, non può aver mostrato carenze neppure nelle fasi iniziali della sua formazione). Si vedrà che un giudizio sulla sua preparazione espresso nell'anno successivo la qualifica “mediocre”; questo però contrasta col fatto che De Ursis scrisse che a Macerata Ricci aveva conseguito «notevole successo sopra i suoi compagni», ciò che poteva aver appreso solo da lui (Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione* I, p. CII e II, pp. 551-552). Una spiegazione plausibile è che, dopo sette anni, la sua preparazione era in parte cancellata. Su Fornari, poi professore di teologia morale (casi di coscienza) a Padova, Napoli e Roma, vedi l'elenco delle opere in *Sommervogel* III, coll. 889-891 (agli inediti ivi menzionati sono però da aggiungere almeno un *Tractatus de cambiis seu de pecuniae permutazione* in Roma, Bibl. Casanatense, ms. 63, e un corso di lezioni di casi di coscienza: *ibid.*, ms. 1434), e il recente Robert Alexander MARYKS, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits. The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabilism*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008, *ad indicem*.

40 Nel 1573 Ricci fu richiamato a Roma, forse perché a Firenze non era ancora attivato l'insegnamento di retorica o, più probabilmente, perché anche Fornari tornò a Roma per gli studi di teologia (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 95r). Secondo Iparaguirre (nota 37), nel periodo la retorica fu insegnata dal 1553 al 1575 da Cardulo (note biografiche in *Mon. paed.* I, p. 7 e II p. 515), e dal 1570 al 1584 anche da Orazio Torsellini, una delle figure fondanti della tradizione letteraria della Compagnia (per le opere vedi *Sommervogel* VIII, coll. 138-157 e IX, coll. 877-878. Tuttavia il già citato catalogo del gennaio 1572 (ARSI, Rom. 78b, ff. 94v-95r e 107v) indica come docente Torsellini e, invece di Cardulo, un «Sebastianus florentinus», cioè Sebastiano Berettari (* Castel Fiorentino 1542, S.J. 1565, † 22.VII.1622 Roma, ARSI, Rom. 53, f. 60v e *Sommervogel* I, coll. 1325-1326); mentre in quello pure citato di fine 1574 – ma in realtà relativo all'anno scolastico 1573-1574 (nota 29) – che presenta Ricci come studente di retorica, Torsellini è detto ex-docente della disciplina (f. 91v) e il solo docente di essa risulta un «P. Fulvio», cioè Cardulo. Quest'ultimo insegnò fino al 1576 (non al 1575, come in Iparaguirre), quando lo sostituì Torsellini: vedi la lettera di Ludovico Maselli (* 1539 Prata (Caserta), S.J. maggio 1558 Napoli, † 25.VII.1604 Roma, SCADUTO, *Catalogo*, p. 94), rettore del Collegio Romano, al generale Everard Mercurian (* 1514 Marcourt (Lussemburgo), S.J. 8.IX.1548, † 1.VIII.1580 Roma, *DHCJ* II, pp. 1611-1614) in *Mon. paed.* IV,

Fu di Cardulo, con molta probabilità, un giudizio sostanzialmente limitativo su Ricci, almeno in quanto umanista: «Risultati mediocri; buona salute; atto ad insegnare nella seconda classe [umanità], ma non a Roma, e a suo tempo a predicare».⁴¹ Lo si potrebbe interpretare come frutto dell'angustia specialistica d'un docente, che valutò una personalità forse esteriormente poco "letteraria" (nel senso di non faconda o incline all'esibizione retorica) come – tout court – intellettualmente modesta; tuttavia la ripetizione del programma di umanità imposta a Ricci l'anno precedente potrebbe indicare che la sua preparazione e/o profitto non erano ottimali, sebbene ciò contrasti con la sua successiva designazione a docente di lettere in India e con quanto egli stesso disse a De Ursis circa il proprio successo negli studi a Macerata.⁴²

Si è detto che una anticipazione al 1573-4 degli studi di retorica, che il catalogo datato a fine 1574 pare attribuire all'anno 1574-5, non è solo suggerita da dati ma risponde alla necessità di un intervallo di circa tre anni (dall'autunno 1574 alla primavera del 1577) nel quale Ricci potesse seguire un corso filosofico completo, includente cioè l'anno di metafisica. Il suo studio di questa disciplina, non attestato esplicitamente, è reso necessario dal suo successivo studio della teologia: la *paideia* della Compagnia legava quest'ultimo a quello filosofico mediante l'anello concettuale della

pp. 657-659. Ricci dunque studiò con Cardulo, e il dato è rilevante, perché identifica l'autore di un giudizio non lusinghiero sulle capacità dell'allievo, riportato nello stesso catalogo (vedi la nota seguente). Mario SCADUTO, *L'epoca di Giacomo Lainez (1556-1565). L'azione*, Roma, Edizioni "La Civiltà Cattolica", 1974, pp. 295-296, ripreso in Fois, "Il Collegio Romano" p. 216) indicò come docenti di Ricci per la retorica sia Cardulo che Torsellini, evidentemente seguendo Iparraguirre e non considerando che un allievo seguiva una disciplina sotto un solo insegnante. Ancora secondo Scaduto-Fois (*ibid.*) Ricci contemporaneamente studiò il greco con Giovanpietro Maffei (* 1538 Bergamo, S.J. 26.VIII.1565 Roma, † 19.X.1603, SCADUTO, *Catalogo*, p. 88) in questo caso l'asserto sembra basato direttamente sul catalogo del 1573-1574, che dice appunto Maffei lettore di greco (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 91r); va però considerato che il greco era già parte usuale dei corsi di retorica e che quindi, se non si ammette che Cardulo ne delegasse l'insegnamento a Maffei, quest'ultimo potrebbe aver tenuto una sorta di corso avanzato, che non è detto che Ricci seguisse.

41 «Fructu mediocris; valetudo bona; talentum docendi 2. am extra Romam, concionandi suo tempore»: ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 95r. Il giudizio (già riportato in BORTONE, *P. Matteo Ricci*, p. 36 n. 4) alludeva all'insegnamento temporaneo che Ricci, come quasi tutti i giovani gesuiti, avrebbe potuto tenere al termine del corso di filosofia, e dal quale fu esentato quando fu destinato alle missioni.

42 Nota 39.

metafisica scolastica, cosicché mancando questa non poteva darsi passaggio da un corso all'altro. Sebbene le fonti non siano concordi, appare probabile che Ricci frequentasse il primo anno di teologia già a Coimbra, nei mesi tra l'arrivo dall'Italia (estate 1577) e la partenza per l'India (primavera 1578), come scrisse al Fabii e come conferma la sua dichiarazione che vi era stato condiscipolo di João Alvares,⁴³ poi provinciale e Visitatore del Portogallo.⁴⁴ Perciò a Roma doveva aver seguito l'intero corso di filosofia, con

43 João Alvares, *1548 Parada (Portogallo), S.J. 8.VII.1562 Lisbona, † 10.III.1623 Evora (DHCJ I, p. 89).

44 Vedi la lettera al Fabii in Ricci, *Opere storiche*, II p. 90. Ricci disse Alvares suo "condiscipolo" a Coimbra in quella a G. Costa del 15 ottobre 1596: Matteo Ricci, *Lettere (1580-1609)*, a cura di Francesco D'ARELLI, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2001, p. 344. A Coimbra Alvares studiò teologia tra 1573 e 1577 e vi prese gli ordini nel 1578, vedi DHCJ, I, p. 89 e i cataloghi in ARSI, *Lus.* 43, 508v-509r, 514v; *Lus.* 39, 3r. Questi cataloghi riguardano gli anni scolastici 1575-1576, 1576-1577 e 1578-1579, e Ricci non vi compare perché fu a Coimbra solo nel 1577-1578, un anno per il quale il catalogo sembra perduto. Lo studio della teologia a Coimbra sembra invece smentito da una lettera del p. Martin da Silva (* 1535-1538 Portogallo, S.J. 1554 Goa, dimesso dalla Compagnia nel 1579, *Doc. Ind.* IV, p. 288 n. 54) il superiore del gruppo di missionari che includeva Ricci, al Generale Mercurian (Lisbona, 18 marzo 1578, in *Doc. Ind.* XI, p. 156). Silva scrisse che Ricci non era stato ordinato prima della partenza dall'Europa, al contrario di quasi tutti gli altri suoi compagni: «porque era ainda moço, como porque não tienha ouvido nenhuma theologia e, como fosse Padre, creio que a não poderia ouvir bem: e porque parece que á-de a vir ser bom theologo não o quis impedir, maxime que não perde por isso tempo e a toda a hora que o quisermos fazer, se poderá ordenar que elle de sua parte parece que cada vez o vai merecendo mais». Questa spiegazione non solo contrasta con i testi citati di Ricci ma sembra autocontraddittoria, affermando prima che il giovane missionario non aveva seguito lezioni di teologia, e poi che non si era dedicato ad essa quanto i superiori desideravano e che si sperava che si applicasse di più in seguito. Forse Silva e i superiori del collegio di Coimbra, non essendo soddisfatti di lui e volendo convincere il generale che la loro decisione era fondata, tentarono di occultare la sua frequenza di quasi un anno al corso (l'apparente incoerenza di Silva è stata rilevata anche in Ronnie Po-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City. Matteo Ricci 1552-1610*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 28). Va considerato che è documentato che Ricci a Goa studiò teologia nel 1578-1579, mentre nel 1579-1580 vi insegnò umanità tenere lo stesso insegnamento (vedi nota 39). Anche ammettendo che a Goa continuasse a seguire il corso di teologia nel 1579-1580, mentre già insegnava (cosa non frequente, seppure non eccezionale), non poté poi farlo a Cochín, dove quel corso non esisteva. Perciò, se si esclude che iniziasse a seguire il corso a Coimbra, si dovrebbe ammettere che lo seguisse solo per un anno o due, rispetto ai quattro previsti dalla *Ratio* e ai tre cui poteva essere ridotto per varie evenienze. Astruendo da ipotesi, resta il giudizio limitativo di Silva su Ricci, il secondo dopo quello di Cardulo a Roma: entrambi in qualche senso contribuiscono a "umanizzare" la sua figura rispetto a tante esaltazioni iperboliche e spesso generiche.

l'eccezione già segnalata della parte finale del terzo anno.⁴⁵

Il D'Elia, dando per scontato che lo studio della filosofia da parte di Ricci fosse stato triennale, indicò quali suoi professori un Lorenzo «*Romanus*» (Tasca) in logica, Antonio Lisi in filosofia naturale e Giacomo Croce (Crusio, Croci) in metafisica.⁴⁶ Questi nomi, spesso

45 Tra 1576 e 1579 i professori di materie teologiche a Coimbra furono: Cipriano Soares (* 1524 Ocaña, S.J. 21.IX.1549 Lisbona, † 19.VIII.1593 Plasencia, *DHCJ* IV, p. 3593) per la S. Scrittura; Pedro Luis (in realtà Pedro Beuther, * 1538 Valencia, S.J. febbraio 1555 Valencia, † 13.III.1602 Coimbra, *Sommervogel* V, c. 185; *DHCJ*, I, p. 434), Francisco Cardoso (* 1547 Fornos de Algodres, S.J. 15.III.1562 Coimbra, † 20.IX.1604 Lisbona, *Sommervogel* II, c. 742; *DHCJ*, I, p. 658) e Fernão Rebello (* 1547 Prado, S.J. 10.III.1562 Lisbona, † 20.XI.1608 Évora, *DHCJ* IV, p. 3303; *Sommervogel* VI, cc. 1559-1560) per la teologia scolastica. Diversamente che in filosofia, nel corso di teologia uno studente seguiva al contempo più docenti, per l'intero quadriennio: il lettore di Scrittura era unico, ma due o tre lettori commentavano in successione parti della *Summa* dell'Aquinate, e dopo di essa altri classici della scolastica (nel primo anno, che Ricci dovrebbe aver seguito a Coimbra, erano lette usualmente le parti *prima*, *prima secundae* e *secunda secundae* della *Summa*: vedi le regole del professore di teologia nella *Ratio studiorum* del 1599 in *Mon. paed.* V, pp. 386-7). Merita attenzione il rapporto didattico di Ricci con Soares, autore del *De arte rhetorica*, il trattatello del genere più diffuso nelle scuole della Compagnia (e non solo) fino a Seicento inoltrato, già docente di retorica di Clavio a Coimbra tra 1556 e 1557 (*Sommervogel* VII, coll. 1331-1338: vedi ai numeri 3 e 4 e alle lettere A-B le parti conservate dei suoi corsi di esegesi scritturale).

46 Ricci, *Storia dell'introduzione* I, p. CIV; D'Elia è seguito – tra gli altri – da Fors, “Il Collegio Romano” p. 221 e da Peter M. ENGELFRIET, *Euclid in China. The Genesis of the First Translation of Euclid's Elements in 1607 and its Reception up to 1723*, New York – Leiden, Brill, 1998 (in part. p. 19). Nella stessa edizione della *Storia dell'introduzione* II, p. 557 n. 1, il D'Elia identificò erroneamente Tasca con Lorenzo Terzo (* 1550 Brescia, S.J. 27.V.1568, † 24.IV.1620 Imola, ARSI, Schedario unificato Lamalle, *sub* Terzo (*Tertius*) *Laurentius*) poi rettore a Brescia, Bologna, Padova, Imola e provinciale veneto, che però era bresciano e insegnò filosofia a Roma solo dal 1579 (ARSI, Rom. 53 I, f. 46r). Di Tasca (* 1542 Roma, S.J. 16.IX.1558, dimesso dalla Compagnia 6.XII.1588, SCADUTO, *Catalogo*, p.144) restano le lezioni per l'intero triennio (*Sommervogel* VII, c. 1888, dal quale dipende Charles H. LOHR, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries. II. Renaissance Authors*, Firenze, Sismel - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1988, p. 449; entrambi però ignorano il ms. delle lezioni di logica in Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, ms. 1742, che potrebbero essere del 1571-1572 ma anche del 1568-1569, perché probabilmente Tasca aveva già tenuto il corso dal 1568 al 1571: nota 57). Lisi e Croce sono meglio noti. Il primo (* aprile 1546 Fondi, S.J. 1.IX.1564 Napoli, † 24.III.1618, SCADUTO, *Catalogo*, pp. 85-86), terminato il corso nel 1573, seguì nel collegio il quadriennio di teologia (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 91r); passò poi stabilmente nella provincia di Napoli, con incarichi didattici e di governo. Croce (* 1545, Nocera Umbra, S.J. 25.XII.1559 Messina, † 15.XII.1637, Roma), gesuita dal 1560, insegnò poi teologia a Milano, fu superiore in varie sedi e assistente d'Italia; per le opere, incluso il ms. di parte delle sue lezioni di *physica* del 1570-1571, vedi *Sommervogel* II, c. 1700 e LOHR, *Latin Aristotle*, p. 119.

ripetuti in seguito, destano però perplessità per tre ragioni importanti: D'Elia non indicò fonti; dei tre, nel citato catalogo del 1574 il solo Tasca risulta docente d'una materia filosofica (che però è la metafisica), mentre Lisi risulta studente al primo anno di teologia e Croce non compare;⁴⁷ infine, essi appaiono con le stesse mansioni didattiche riportate dal D'Elia nel catalogo per l'anno 1571-1572, che verosimilmente fu la sua fonte e che egli ritenne di poter estendere agli anni successivi.⁴⁸ Ma a questa identificazione dei docenti di Ricci si oppone una quarta ragione, decisiva ed evidente, sebbene essa stranamente sia sfuggita ad uno storico che era gesuita e conoscitore degli usi della Compagnia: il corso filosofico era seguito sotto un solo docente, che nel primo anno insegnava logica, nel secondo filosofia naturale e nel terzo metafisica; perciò, anche se i tre sopra indicati avessero tenuto un ulteriore corso completo (e non si fossero suppliti in successione nel triennio iniziato nel 1573, cosa del tutto improbabile e non documentata), avrebbero trattato le tre materie nell'ordine anzidetto solo nell'anno scolastico 1574-1575: nel quale, ovviamente, Ricci avrebbe studiato solo una delle tre, e dunque seguito solo uno dei tre docenti.⁴⁹

Occorre quindi ripensare l'intera questione, assumendo come punto di partenza il catalogo di tutta la Compagnia che una nota iniziale data *sub finem* 1574. Questa dizione portò il Bortone a valersene in modo contraddittorio: prima datando nella primavera

47 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 91r-v.

48 ARSI, *Rom.* 78b, f. 94v. Fonte di D'Elia poté anche essere il ms. *Fondo Gesuitico* 1666 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma ("Catalogo dei superiori e professori del Collegio Romano 1551-1773"), che però per l'anno scolastico 1571-1572 dipende interamente dal precedente. Di Croce restano lezioni di filosofia naturale datate 1570 (Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. BV 433), che così confermano l'attestazione del catalogo.

49 Nel 1574-1575 i tre avrebbero di nuovo insegnato, rispettivamente, logica, *physica* e metafisica; nel 1575-1576 Tasca avrebbe insegnato *physica* e Lisi metafisica, mentre Croce avrebbe cessato la docenza (come Lisi nel 1576-1577). Questa regola, che permette di pensare al solo Tasca come possibile professore di Ricci, fu pressoché costante nella Compagnia (come in quasi tutti gli ordini religiosi fin dal medioevo); la conferma il catalogo del gennaio 1572, che indica che in quell'anno i tre insegnarono altrettante discipline (dunque agli studenti di tre diversi corsi). Non si considera qui l'insegnamento dell'etica da parte di un docente apposito, che poi la *Ratio* porrà nel secondo o terzo anno, perché non è certo che negli anni di Ricci essa fosse insegnata nel Collegio Romano: nota 85. Inoltre, ovviamente, sebbene essa avesse un posto importante nei suoi interessi e nelle sue opere, lo studio che ne fece non è un nodo essenziale per ricostruire la sua formazione strettamente scientifica.

del 1574 la parte della sezione relativa al Collegio Romano contenente i giudizi sui singoli gesuiti che vi si trovavano (incluso quello citato di Cardulo su Ricci, che così riferì all'anno scolastico 1573-1574);⁵⁰ poi datando a fine 1574 – in accordo con l'annotazione all'inizio del catalogo – la stessa intera sezione, che in tal modo riferì al 1574-1575.⁵¹ L'aver datato un giudizio sul profitto d'uno studente di un corso in un tempo anteriore a quello in cui si svolse il corso è sintomo che il biografo aveva colto nel catalogo un'incoerenza interna, che non aveva trovato il modo di sciogliere. Di fatto Cardulo, pur non elogiando Ricci, non condizionò il suo impiego futuro come insegnante ad una sua ripetizione del corso: perciò, se lo si riferisce al 1573-1574, il suo giudizio sembra escludere che Ricci studiasse la retorica anche nel 1574-1575; se invece lo si data in questo secondo anno, esso impone di ammettere che Ricci rimase uno studente mediocre anche da ripetente (cosa che nel suo caso sembra poco plausibile).

Un'ultima ragione per escludere che egli iniziasse il corso di filosofia nel 1575 è la sua dichiarazione d'aver studiato con Clavio per «alcuni anni»;⁵² una locuzione non propria per un rapporto che, in quel caso, sarebbe durato al più meno di due anni, avendo Ricci lasciato Roma prima di terminare l'anno scolastico 1576-1577, oppure meno di uno: le regole del 1566 per il corso di matematica nel Collegio Romano, poi integralmente riprese dalla *Ratio* del 1599, lo prescrivevano per i *physici* - gli studenti del secondo anno - ma ne consentivano la frequenza ai *dialectici*, cioè quelli del primo, solo in casi particolari e previa autorizzazione.⁵³

Il catalogo indica come docente di logica Claudio Acquaviva⁵⁴ (il futuro generale della Compagnia), di filosofia naturale Luigi Odeschalchi e di metafisica il «Romanus», cioè Tasca;⁵⁵ questa fu appun-

50 Nota 41.

51 BORTONE, *P. Matteo Ricci*, rispettivamente a pp. 36 n. 4 e 39. Come rilevato in nota 29, l'incongruenza nasceva dal fatto che, mentre l'intero catalogo risultò da una raccolta effettuata appunto alla fine del 1574, alcune delle parti fuse in esso erano preesistenti (e tra esse quella relativa al Collegio Romano).

52 RICCI, *Della entrata* pp. 143-4.

53 *Mon. paed.* II, p. 179: «aliquando ex dispensatione dialectici».

54 Claudio Acquaviva, * 14.IX.1543 Atri, S.J. 22.VII.1567 Roma, 1574 Roma (*DHCJ* II, pp. 1614-1621).

55 ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, ff. 91v-92r. Odeschalchi, oggi dimenticato anche per la morte precoce, rimase però nella memoria dei confratelli come esempio di spiritualità

to la situazione nell'anno scolastico 1573-1574, perché le lezioni di logica di Acquaviva, conservate, sono datate in quell'anno,⁵⁶ e perché, avendo insegnato logica nel 1571-1572, Tasca dovette insegnare metafisica dall'autunno 1573. Perciò quanto segue delinea gli sviluppi di un solo scenario: quello di un Ricci studente di retorica nel 1573-1574 e di filosofia dall'autunno del 1574.⁵⁷

Se i docenti del corso filosofico fossero rimasti quelli che erano stati nel 1571-1572, seguendo la rotazione triennale degli insegnamenti, Ricci sarebbe stato allievo di Tasca, che nel 1574-1575 sarebbe tornato ad insegnare la logica; tuttavia in quegli anni nel Collegio Romano pochi docenti ripeterono il corso,⁵⁸ e un documento che

e finezza intellettuale (vedi ad es. VILLOSLADA, *Storia del Collegio Romano*, p. 60). Lavorò ad una grande sintesi delle dottrine filosofiche classiche, rimasta inedita e ora apparentemente perduta (*Sommervogel* V, cc. 1870-1; XII, c. 614). Aveva seguito il corso di filosofia di Achille Gagliardi (* 1539 Padova, S.J. 29.IX. 1559 Roma, † 6.VII.1607 Modena, *DHCJ* II, pp. 1547-1548) nel Collegio Romano dal 1563 al 1566; fu quindi uno dei primi allievi di Clavio (docente dal 1563), probabilmente anche nel corso avanzato, perché prima del 1572 insegnò per circa un anno matematica (o a Bologna, dove fu dal 1566, o dopo il ritorno a Roma, probabilmente nel 1571). Nel 1578 fu inviato in Polonia per dirigere gli studi del principe Sigismondo Bathory, e da lì in Transilvania, avendo un ruolo nell'avvio dei collegi gesuitici nella regione; dovette però tornare quasi subito in Italia per un'infermità che lo portò presto alla morte. Nel Collegio Romano tenne due corsi di filosofia, dal 1572 al 1578 (*ARSL, Rom.* 78 B, f. 110r), ed è così possibile che continuasse a seguire Clavio. Ricci certamente lo conobbe, ma il livello dei loro rapporti non può essere precisato (Odescalchi non fu destinatario di sue lettere né è mai tra i destinatari di saluti, ma questo si spiega perché aveva lasciato Roma e l'Italia, senza dire che in seguito Ricci poté sapere della sua morte).

56 Roma, Archivio della Pontificia Università Gregoriana (d'ora in poi APUG), ms. *Fondo Curia* 734; Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 1294; un altro esemplare, forse parziale, è a Würzburg (*Sommervogel* I, c. 491 lett. F). Solo il primo è noto a Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, p. 16.

57 Nell'ipotesi che Ricci seguisse il corso dal 1575 il suo docente sarebbe stato Odescalchi, del quale non restano lezioni ma che i contemporanei presentano come figura non inferiore a Menù. Come già detto (nota 53) il silenzio di Ricci su lui non esclude né accredita un rapporto didattico e neppure una conoscenza, che pure si deve considerare certa.

58 Vedi l'elenco di Iparraguirre per gli anni fino al 1590. Se l'iterazione del corso non fu frequente, fu eccezionale il tenerlo per tre volte di seguito, come sarebbe dovuto avvenire per Tasca, che quasi certamente l'aveva già tenuto dal 1568 al 1571 (così suggeriscono sue lezioni sul *De coelo*, datate 1570: *Sommervogel* VII, c. 1888; per quegli anni l'elenco di Iparraguirre propone altri nomi, quasi certamente errati). Il caso di Menù, considerato nella nota che segue, fu anomalo perché nel 1577 dovette riprendere l'insegnamento per supplire il titolare del corso. Nei suoi primi decenni di storia, la Compagnia dovette destinare il numero ancora esiguo

sembra inequivocabile indica un nome diverso:

1574-1575

logica

Antonio Maria Menù⁵⁹

di esperti dei quali disponeva ai compiti focali del governo, della predicazione e delle missioni, e considerare l'insegnamento (talora anche per le materie teologiche: vedi la nota seguente per il caso di J. de Mariana) come incombenza transitoria per giovani freschi di studi e non ancora maturi per compiti "*extra Societatem*". Solo dopo, quando i ranghi si infoltirono, il numero dei colleghi crebbe molto e la loro fama impose una costante tensione qualitativa, l'insegnamento superiore (non quello inferiore) tese a divenire una funzione relativamente stabile.

- 59 Antonio Maria Menù, * 1552? Roma, S.J. 1571 Roma, † 2.XI.1612 Fermo (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 43 f. 5v). Il catalogo del Collegio Romano per il 1578-1579 precisa su Menù: «Legit semel cursum philosophiae, physicam deinde, nunc metaphysicam» (ARSI, *Rom.* 53 I, f. 16r). Lo conferma quello per il 1577-1578, nel quale Menù risulta insegnare *physica* (ARSI, *Rom.* 78b, f. 11v), essendo subentrato a Giovanni Bruno (* 1544, Colonnella (Teramo), S.J. 23.VIII.1571 Roma (ARSI, *Rom.* 172a f. 225v-226), † 12.X.1623 Roma) che nel 1576-1577 aveva insegnato logica (le lezioni di Bruno, iniziate *XI Kal. Novembris* 1576, sono in Roma, Biblioteca Storica ARSI, Arm. C4; sull'autore – che dopo la logica cessò il corso, per motivi ignoti - vedi S. Bono in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (d'ora in poi *DBI*) XIV, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1972, pp. 665-666). L'insegnamento triennale *ante* 1577 è pure confermato dal rinvio a proprie lezioni di logica (perdute) fatto da Menù in quelle di *physica* del 1577-1578 (William A. WALLACE, *Galileo and his Sources. The Heritage of the Collegio Romano in Galileo's Science*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 61-62). Non poteva aver iniziato quel corso prima del 1574: per l'età (era più giovane di Ricci, seppure di poco, essendo nato a Roma, da padre francese "scrittore" in Curia, a fine 1552 o all'inizio del 1553 ed era entrato in noviziato nello stesso suo anno, il 1571: ARSI, *Rom.* 112, pp. 19-21) e per la precisa affermazione del catalogo del 1573-1574, che lo dice ancora studente al secondo anno di teologia (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 92r). Il fatto che gli fosse affidato un insegnamento come quello di filosofia quand'era ancora ventiduenne è spiegabile perché Menù era più avanzato di Ricci negli studi, avendo completato nel 1571 il corso di filosofia come interno del Collegio Germanico, i cui convittori seguivano le lezioni del Collegio Romano (ARSI, *Rom.* 130, n. 429). L'incarico, dovuto alla scarsità di quadri insegnanti già descritta, lo rese maestro di studenti che erano in parte suoi coetanei e perfino ex compagni di noviziato (nel gennaio 1572 i novizi – incluso Ricci - erano 43: ARSI, *Rom.* 78b, f. 93v). Già nel 1561, sempre nel Collegio Romano, la Compagnia aveva già dovuto affidare la fondamentale lettura di teologia, per solito riservata a docenti maturi, all'appena venticinquenne Juan de Mariana, che molti anni dopo in una dedica a Bellarmino si esprime così: «in Italia non aveva il nostro chi potesse assumersi questo incarico» (VILLOSLADA, *Storia del Collegio Romano*, p. 59). Nel 1562 la Compagnia non aveva potuto accogliere la richiesta d'un lettore di filosofia nel nuovo collegio di Macerata (BORTONE, *P. Matteo Ricci S.I.*, p. 13): un'evenienza forse provvidenziale, perché altrimenti Ricci avrebbe forse seguito il corso nella città natale, senza incontrare Clavio né studiare matematica (insegnata solo nei collegi maggiori), ma non per questo meno indicativa d'una situazione di difficoltà. Dopo aver insegnato a Roma, probabilmente fino al 1582, Menù passò ad insegnare teologia a Padova

1574-1575	matematica	[Bartolomeo Ricci o C. Clavio] ⁶⁰
1575-1576	<i>physica</i>	A.M. Menù
	matematica	[C. Clavio o B. Ricci]

e vi fu prefetto degli studi (ca. 1586-1599); con l'arrivo in città di Galileo nel 1592 egli potrebbe aver avuto un ruolo nella trasmissione al matematico di testi delle lezioni di fisica del Collegio Romano (BALDINI, *Legem impone subactis*, pp. 370-375, 388 n. 100, 393 n. 117, 570, 580 n. 27). Tornò poi a Roma, dove fu tra i superiori del collegio; morì a Fermo il 2 novembre 1612. Sui contenuti del suo insegnamento vedi *infra*. Nelle lettere dall'Asia Ricci lo salutò con accenti confidenziali che non sembrano pertinenti verso un docente, ma che si può spiegare con la vicinanza d'età e la comune esperienza di noviziato, precedente al rapporto didattico.

60 Nel febbraio o marzo del 1574 Clavio lasciò Roma, andando prima a Napoli e poi a Messina, per incarichi affidatigli dal P. generale Mercurian; a Messina incontrò più volte Francesco Maurolico, e l'anziano matematico ne fece una sorta di erede scientifico, affidandogli anche suoi inediti, in parte poi pubblicati dal gesuita o da suoi allievi. Clavio tornò a Roma solo dopo il settembre (vedi le fonti in Christoph CLAVIUS, *Corrispondenza*, a cura di Ugo BALDINI e Pier Daniele NAPOLITANI, Pisa, Università di Pisa, 1992, II, 2, p. 11 n. 8). Durante la sua assenza, il corso di matematica fu tenuto da Bartolomeo Ricci (* 1542 Castelfidardo, S.J. 1566 Roma, † 12.I.1613 Roma, *Sommervogel* VI, coll. 1782-1784) (nota 65), il primo – dopo Odeschalchi – tra i suoi allievi italiani noti di quegli anni che avesse già terminato gli studi con lui, e che è indicato come docente di matematica nel citato catalogo di fine 1574 (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 92r). Questo conferma il fatto che esso si riferisce alla situazione del 1573-1574, perché Clavio fu appunto assente nella seconda metà di quell'anno scolastico. Forse la supplenza non iniziò con la sua partenza ma già dall'inizio di quell'anno, perché nel 1574 Clavio pubblicò a Roma la propria edizione degli *Elementa* euclidei ed è possibile che chiedesse un distacco per seguire la stampa, partendo solo quando fu conclusa. Non risulta se la supplenza proseguì nell'anno successivo, e l'incertezza riguarda anche il 1575-1576: nell'agosto del 1576 il rettore del Collegio Romano, Ludovico Maselli, scrisse al Mercurian che «In la mathematica il P. Clavio seguita la sua academia che si fa dentro del collegio et si fa frutto. La quale [matematica] l'anno che viene leggerà pubblicamente il fratello Ferrante Capeci, poiché nel secolo la sapeva a sufficienza et ne faceva professione» (*Mon. paed.* IV, pp. 657-659); dato che la «academia» non era il corso pubblico di base, ma uno privato avanzato, sul quale si tornerà, non si può escludere che il primo fosse ancora affidato a Ricci, che lasciò Roma per Napoli nell'estate del 1576 (*ibid.*, p. 657). Quanto a Capece, un catalogo successivo del Collegio Romano afferma che aveva insegnato matematica per un anno (ARSI, *Rom.* 53, f. 32r), mentre uno per il 1577-1578 lo dice ripetitore di matematica nel Collegio Germanico, indicando Clavio come titolare del corso pubblico (ARSI, *Rom.* 78b, f. 110r): dunque nel 1576-1577 Capece supplì Clavio, essentato nuovamente dall'insegnamento probabilmente per il suo impegno nella commissione gregoriana per la riforma del calendario, che tra fine 1576 e inizio 1577 mise a punto il testo con i principi base della riforma, il *Compendium novae rationis restituendi Kalendarium* (sul ruolo di Clavio e sul *Compendium* vedi i saggi in *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar. Proceedings of the Vatican Conference to commemorate its 400th Anniversary, 1582-1982*, George V. COYNE, Michael Antony HOSKIN and Olaf PEDERSEN, Città del Vaticano, Specola Vaticana, 1983).

1576-1577	metafisica matematica	A.M. Menù Ferdinando Capece ⁶¹
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Non sono noti manoscritti con lezioni di Menù del triennio 1574-1577, mentre restano quasi tutte quelle di filosofia naturale che tenne nel 1577-1578, tutte (o in buona parte) quelle di metafisica del 1578-1579 e quelle di filosofia naturale di un suo terzo ciclo didattico (1579-1582), limitatamente al commento alla *Physica* aristotelica ed all'inizio di quello al *De coelo*, da porre entrambi nel 1580-1581.⁶² La circostanza ha però scarso peso perché – come mostrano moltissimi corsi di lezioni gesuitici – i docenti erano soliti dettare testi scritti in anticipo, che utilizzavano senza sostanziali mutamenti in eventuali corsi successivi, specie se compresi in un breve giro di anni; perciò le lezioni di *physica* di Menù nel 1577-1578 e 1580-1581, le più rilevanti quanto a contenuti scientifici, si possono assumere come identiche o largamente corrispondenti a quelle ascoltate da Ricci nel 1575-1576. Ai loro contenuti si accennerà nel paragrafo che segue, ma va osservato sin d'ora che l'indisponibilità di quelle di

⁶¹ Capece (Capacci, Capaccio, di Capoccia), nato a Napoli o Salerno tra 1545 e 1549, era entrato nel noviziato di Roma solo nel 1571, essendo così compagno di Ricci e Menù (ARSI, *Rom.* 112, pp. 19-21; *Rom.* 78b, f. 93v). La notizia del Maselli (vedi nota precedente) è la sola sulla sua vita prima dell'ingresso nella Compagnia; dal 1572 al 1575 studiò la filosofia nel Collegio Romano (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 41, f. 93r); nel 1575-6, come detto, fu ripetitore nel Collegio Germanico e dal 1576 al 1580 seguì il corso di teologia (ARSI, *Rom.* 78b, f. 111r). Insegnò poi filosofia nel Collegio Romano (1580-1583 o 1581-1583: nel secondo caso lasciò al termine del secondo anno, senza insegnare la metafisica), come mostrano le sue lezioni di logica e quelle sulla *Physica* di Aristotele (datate rispettivamente 1581 e 1582: Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (d'ora in poi BAV), ms. *Barb. Lat.* 232; Fano, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. *Collegio Nolfi* 67). Nel 1583 fu inviato a dirigere il collegio appena fondato a Cluj, in Transilvania, dove morì nel 1586. Capece è personalità poco studiata (*DBI* 18, pp. 416-418; *DHCJ* I, p. 643), pervasa da una religiosità ascetica che destò rispetto tra i confratelli, ma – negli anni di Cluj – anche accuse di scarsa concretezza e poca attitudine a mansioni direttive; della sua attività in matematica nulla è noto, a parte la fiducia che gli mostrò Clavio.

⁶² Ueberlingen, Leopold-Sophien-Bibliothek, ms. 138 (lezioni sugli aristotelici *Physica*, *De coelo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Metaphysica*); Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, ms. *Fondo Chiappelli* 235 (lezioni sulle Meteore); L'Aquila, Biblioteca Provinciale, ms. 633 (*Physica*, *De coelo*). Il manoscritto aquilano, relativo al secondo anno dell'ultimo corso (1580-1581), è ignoto al LOHR, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries. II.* e al Wallace (nota 59). Molti archivi e biblioteche, non solo romani, conservano manoscritti con lezioni filosofiche gesuitiche databili tra tardo '500 e primo '600, attribuibili al Collegio Romano ma prive del nome del docente; una loro analisi – che si prospetta però impegnativa – potrebbe giungere in certi casi ad attribuzioni certe e forse individuare lezioni di Menù per gli anni mancanti.

logica, grave in assoluto, lo è meno per una ricostruzione del retroterra degli scritti di Ricci, perché le questioni di tipo ontologico-categoriale o le regole inferenziali che costituivano il nucleo della disciplina vi hanno spazio ed attenzione relativamente ridotti.⁶³

Forse più complessa, e certo più focale di quella dell'insegnamento filosofico è una ricostruzione dell'iter formativo di Ricci in matematica: non solo perché nella sua produzione i temi matematici – intesi latamente – hanno più estensione e rilievo di quelli che possono dirsi filosofici, anche quanto al ruolo nel promuovere le relazioni intellettuali tra Europa e Asia, ma perché anche gran parte dei contenuti che oggi si tenderebbe ad attribuire a studi filosofici (nel senso della filosofia naturale o della fisica *stricto sensu*), va fatta derivare dai suoi studi e letture matematici, in forza di una demarcazione tra le due aree che era nettamente diversa da quella moderna. Basti qui ricordare che la grandiosa sintesi operata dalla Scolastica tra il modello aristotelico di *scientia* e la tradizione delle *mathematicae scientiae* classiche (includente non solo la matematica pura e l'astronomia puramente misurativa, ma applicazioni in ottica e meccanica fondate su premesse, e afferenti a risultati, che in parte divergevano da tesi dello Stagirita), recepita nelle linee strutturali – se non tutti i dettagli – nell'insegnamento gesuitico, era avvenuta attraverso una serie di aggiustamenti, limitazioni reciproche e demarcazioni d'ambito tematico e metodologico. Da un lato certi presupposti non aristotelici dell'ottica, meccanica e astronomia euclidee, archimedee e tolemaiche erano stati mantenuti nell'insegnamento di queste discipline distinguendone l'utilità euristica dalla verità fisica; dall'altro, le loro dottrine e risultati erano stati interpretati come funzionali ad un cosmo aristotelico in quanto spiegazioni tecniche di certe sue parti, cosicché il loro insegnamento aveva incorporato un certo numero di categorie e premesse estranee alle loro formulazioni originarie. Queste categorie e premesse di matrice aristotelica erano quindi presenti in tutta la manualisti-

63 Le lezioni logiche di Menù – se conservate – sarebbero importanti non solo per illustrare un momento della formazione di Ricci, ma come documento sull'autore e sulla prima fase dell'insegnamento della logica nel Collegio Romano e come arricchimento della base documentaria rispetto alla quale valutare la tesi di Wallace di un influsso decisivo di tesi epistemologiche proprie dell'insegnamento gesuitico sulla metodologia scientifica di Galileo (vedi *infra*). Quanto ai corsi di logica, non conoscendo le lezioni di Bruno del 1576-1577 (nota 59), per anni precedenti al 1589 Wallace ha potuto basarsi solo su quelle di Francisco Toledo (* 4.X.1532 Cordoba, S.J. 3.VI.1558 Salamanca, † 14.IX.1596 Roma, *DHCJ* IV, pp. 3807-3808) nel 1559-1560 (vedi il suo *Galileo and his sources*, p. 9).

ca: la teoria dei quattro elementi era alla base della descrizione del mondo sublunare nel manuale di astronomia più diffuso per secoli, la *Sfera* di Giovanni di Sacrobosco (sul quale ancora si formò Ricci attraverso il commento di Clavio), e quelle della centralità della Terra nell'universo e del "luogo naturale" venivano proposte come spiegazioni del peso dei gravi, la cui legge matematica era indagata dalla statica archimedeica. Così, dato che come si dirà le parti "fisiche" degli scritti ricciani vanno poco oltre l'enunciazione generale di quelle categorie e premesse e degli argomenti tradizionali a loro sostegno, pure frequentemente esposti nella manualistica ottica, meccanica e astronomica, è possibile spiegarle quasi interamente come un portato dei suoi studi matematici.

Come in tutte le scuole religiose medievali e rinascimentali, in quelle dei gesuiti lo studio della matematica fu introdotto soprattutto per fornire nozioni preliminari allo studio del *De coelo* aristotelico. Data questa finalità l'insegnamento fu posto nel secondo anno del corso – che nella seconda metà prevedeva appunto lo studio del *De coelo*, come parte costitutiva della disciplina di filosofia naturale – ed il programma fu modesto (i libri I-VI degli Elementi di Euclide e pochi teoremi dei successivi; alcune questioni di geografia e «sfera»; una selezione di problemi applicativi): due scelte mantenute nella *Ratio studiorum*.⁶⁴ Stando a queste regole, Ricci non dovrebbe aver seguito le lezioni di matematica nel 1574-1575 ma solo nel 1575-1576, sotto l'omonimo e quasi conterraneo Bartolomeo o sotto Clavio;⁶⁵ e nel terzo anno (1576-1577), invece di seguire il corso ordinario – cosa non prevista dal *curriculum* e inutile, dato che il programma rimaneva sostanzialmente identico – dovrebbe aver frequentato l'accademia che, come detto, Clavio teneva da almeno un decennio.⁶⁶ Nel Rinascimento il termine "accademia" ebbe uso polisemo; nel caso specifico, però, indicò un corso superiore cui si

64 Vedi le *Regulae professoris mathematicae* della *Ratio* del 1599 in *Mon. paed.* V, p. 402.

65 Bartolomeo Ricci fu nell'Ordine una figura più significativa di quanto risulti negli studi. Novizio a Roma dal 1566, da circa il 1568 al 1571 studiò filosofia nel Collegio Romano e fu, al contempo, uno dei primi allievi a specializzarsi con Clavio; da circa il 1571 al 1576 studiò teologia, e dal 1576 resse il noviziato di Nola; in seguito fu rettore del noviziato romano, provinciale di Sicilia, superiore nel collegio di Napoli e nella casa professa di Roma (notizie in CLAVIUS, *Corrispondenza*, I 2, pp. 85-86 e in BALDINI, *Legem impone subactis*, p. 573 n. 5). Non sono noti suoi scritti scientifici, ma solo devozionali o teologici (*Sommervogel* VI, cc. 1782-1784). Matteo lo conosceva, perché gli inviò saluti in una lettera del 1592 (RICCI, *Opere storiche*, II, p. 95; RICCI, *Lettere* (1580-1609), p. 163); questo, naturalmente, non prova che fosse stato suo allievo.

66 Vedi note 34 e 35.

accedeva su parere del docente, caratterizzato dall'esame di testi e questioni eccedenti di molto l'arco e il livello di quelli del corso ordinario, nonché da forme didattiche e di accertamento diverse.⁶⁷ Questo livello d'insegnamento non era l'unico che integrasse il corso pubblico di matematica: accanto (e forse talora sovrapposti ad esso) v'erano corsi informali tenuti da Clavio o dai suoi collaboratori nelle residenze di campagna del collegio durante le vacanze estive, ai quali è del tutto possibile che Ricci partecipasse;⁶⁸ e forse, in certi casi, ebbe un ruolo simile anche l'attività dei "ripetitori" operanti nei convitti collegati al Collegio Romano.⁶⁹

Circa due anni di studio di una disciplina quale la matematica, partendo *ab imis fundamentis*, possono apparire del tutto insufficienti a spiegare la preparazione poi mostrata da Ricci. Si vedrà che questa impressione si attenua in base ad un esame dei contenuti delle sue opere, ad una considerazione ravvicinata dello sviluppo della disciplina negli anni '70 del secolo XVI ed ai modi della sua trattazione nelle scuole della Compagnia. Tuttavia l'affermazione di

67 BALDINI, "The Academy of Mathematics", pp. 49-50.

68 Una copia del *Commentarius* di Clavio alla *Sphaera* di Sacrobosco, conservata nella biblioteca del Seminario di Padova, reca l'annotazione: «Il Padre Cristophoro Clavio cominciò a dichiararmi la sphaera in Tivoli, addì 19 agosto 1578» (Claudio BELLINATI, "Il «Dialogo» con postille autografe di Galileo. Precisazioni sul cod. 352 del Seminario di Padova", in: *Novità celesti e crisi del sapere. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi galileiani*, a cura di Paolo GALLUZZI, Firenze, Giunti Barbera, 1983, p. 127); ma di questa consuetudine restano altre tracce. Difficilmente Ricci poté conseguire la preparazione matematica che appare nei suoi scritti solo seguendo un corso annuo; si può supporre che Clavio, avendone colte le capacità mentre era ancora studente nel corso pubblico, lo chiamasse nell'accademia di matematica già nella primavera del 1576, curandone poi la preparazione anche nelle vacanze estive di quell'anno (la residenza estiva di Frascati fu appunto attivata nel 1576: BORTONE, *P. Matteo Ricci*, p. 38).

69 Tra '500 e '600 la Compagnia gestì il Seminario romano e convitti per studenti di varie nazionalità o gruppi religiosi (i collegi Greco, Irlandese, Germanico, Maronita ecc.). Un quadro della loro situazione negli anni di Ricci è Francesco C. CESAREO, "The Jesuit Colleges in Rome under Everard Mercurian", in: McCoog, *The Mercurian project*, pp. 607-644. In diversi di questi istituti gli studenti delle discipline superiori erano supportati da "ripetitori", giovani gesuiti che avevano terminato di recente i corsi relativi con giudizi di eccellenza e che divennero spesso docenti; questi ripercorrevano con gli studenti i passi ardui delle lezioni e oviavano a carenze. Nel 1575-1576 il ripetitore di matematica nel Collegio Germanico fu Capece (ARSI, *Rom.* 78b, f. 242r), il quale l'anno dopo – si è visto – supplì Clavio nel corso pubblico. Niente esclude che i ripetitori introducessero gli studenti più interessati e dotati a temi e testi che andavano oltre l'insegnamento ufficiale.

Ricci di essere stato discepolo di Clavio per «alcuni anni»⁷⁰ sembra alludere a un rapporto più durevole di quello accennato. Escludendo, in quanto discordante dalle regole e dalla prassi delle scuole gesuitiche, che egli seguisse il corso ordinario di matematica (per non dire quello avanzato) già da studente di retorica, nel 1573-1574, si può ammettere che – a seguito di un interesse precedente o per una scoperta subitanea della disciplina – iniziasse a seguire le lezioni di matematica fin dall'anno di logica, nel qual caso avrebbe potuto seguire il corso avanzato nel 1575-1576 e 1576-1577. Si mostrerà tra breve che quest'ipotesi è ampiamente sufficiente a dar conto della preparazione che mostrò in seguito, e che lo sarebbe forse anche l'ipotesi minimale di uno studio di due anni (se si astrae da un'accezione letterale del significato di "alcuni").

In entrambe le eventualità, se si esclude che la naturale attitudine di Ricci alla matematica l'avesse portato ad interessarsene già prima, negli anni "vuoti" 1565-1568 o nel triennio in cui seguì i corsi di legge nella Sapienza romana (ma di questo manca ogni indizio), la sua formazione nella disciplina si svolse in anni segnati da tre eventi significativi per lo sviluppo della scuola matematica del Collegio Romano: la pubblicazione nel 1574 del commento di Clavio agli *Elementa* euclidei, che fu il riferimento immancabile di Ricci in tutti gli anni successivi; la costruzione nell'anno giubilare 1575, sempre per iniziativa di Clavio, di una sfera celeste di elevata precisione e qualità estetica, ora conservata nella sala Rari e Manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma; un corso accademico del maestro nel 1576-1577 sulla *theorica planetarum*, del quale restano le lezioni sul moto del Sole e parte di quelle sul moto della Luna.⁷¹ Il secondo evento fu significativo perché Clavio disegnò la sfera adottando alcuni parametri che provano che aveva avviato una riflessione approfondita sull'opera di Copernico, forse provocata anche dal suo ruolo nella

70 Nota 52.

71 Sulla sfera cf. Ugo BALDINI e Juan CASANOVAS, "La sfera celeste di Cristoforo Clavio", in: *Almanacco 1996 dell'Osservatorio astronomico di Capodimonte*, Napoli, F. Fiorentino 1996, pp. 175-182. Sul corso di *theorica planetarum*: BALDINI, *Legem impone subactis*, pp. 123-153 e 469-564. Alcuni accenni nel testo sembrano datarlo nel marzo 1577; tuttavia quelle sui moti solare e lunare non erano gli argomenti d'inizio della *theoricae planetarum*, perciò il corso doveva essere iniziato prima. In seguito Clavio, nel suo programma per il corso di matematica, fissò in circa quattro mesi la durata della parte sulle *theoricae*, collocandone lo svolgimento tra marzo e fine giugno (si veda, più avanti nel testo, il suo "programma minimo"), ma non v'è prova che seguisse questa scansione già nel 1577. Se lo fece, Ricci non poté seguire l'intera trattazione, dato che partì nel maggio.

riforma del calendario e sfociate poi in una sezione apposita nella terza edizione del *Commentarius* a Sacrobosco (1581). Infatti, oltre ad essere uno dei migliori esemplari del genere prodotti nel secolo XVI, quella sfera fu il primo strumento astronomico italiano – ed uno dei primi in assoluto – progettato in parte secondo misure tratte dal *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*.⁷² Ricci poté non solo ammirarla ma anche, probabilmente, vederla in uso o usarla egli stesso, perché permetteva calcoli di tempi e trasformazioni di coordinate.

Del terzo evento egli invece dovette essere partecipe, con altri validi discepoli di Clavio: verosimilmente Capece, Luca Valerio⁷³ e Giulio Fuligatti,⁷⁴ e forse Odescalchi, Richard Gibbons e Paul Pistorius.⁷⁵ Le due parti superstiti del corso, sui moti del sole e

72 Le posizioni delle stelle vi furono determinate aggiornando al 1575, con l'aggiunta della precessione, quelle misurate da Copernico per l'anno 1525. Su caratteristiche e scopi dello strumento: BALDINI e CASANOVAS, "La sfera celeste", pp. 175-182.

73 Luca Valerio (* 1553, S.J. 1570 Roma, † 1618) fu scientificamente il maggiore tra gli allievi italiani di Clavio. Entrato nel noviziato di Roma nel 1570, anticipò di un anno Ricci negli studi nel Collegio Romano; dal 1577 seguì il corso di teologia, che però non completò perché nel 1580 (per ragioni non chiare, forse familiari) lasciò la Compagnia. Insegnò poi greco, etica e matematica nella Università di Roma; come Galileo, che lo stimò moltissimo come matematico, fu nell'Accademia dei Lincei, che però lo espulse per essersi rifiutato di sostenere il collega nella querelle sull'eliocentrismo. Sugli studi e la carriera: Ugo BALDINI e Pier Daniele NAPOLITANI, "Per una biografia di Luca Valerio. Fonti edite e inedite per una ricostruzione della sua carriera scientifica", in: *Bollettino di storia delle scienze matematiche*, XI/1, 1991, pp. 3-157.

74 Giulio Fuligatti (* 1550 Cesena, S.J. 1569 Roma, † 1633), entrato nel noviziato romano nel 1569 (ARSI, *Rom.* 169, f. 10v; non fu quindi compagno di Ricci, come talora si è scritto), studiò nel collegio dal 1570 al 1575 umanità, retorica e filosofia, e dal 1576 o 1577 teologia. Perciò la sua amicizia con Ricci, che gli scrisse più volte dalla Cina (RICCI, *Opere storiche*, I, p. XLIII e II, pp. 60, 66, 122, 213-218) non nacque da un condiscopolato negli studi ordinari, ma dalla residenza di entrambi nel collegio e dalla frequenza al corso di Clavio. Dal 1586 al 1588 (o 1589) supplì il maestro nel tenere il corso pubblico; in seguito fu con incarichi di governo in convitti romani e in collegi nelle Marche e in Toscana. Il suo lavoro scientifico, non di rilievo, riguardò soprattutto la gnomonica. Su di lui: BALDINI, *Legem impone subactis*, ad indicem; CLAVIUS, *Corrispondenza*, II, 1, pp. 47-49.

75 Su Odescalchi vedi nota 57. Gibbons (* 1549 Wells (UK), S.J. 1.IX.1572, † 28.VI.1632, Douai) studiò filosofia nel Collegio Romano dal 1573 al 1576, nel corso precedente a quello di Ricci; si formò in matematica con Clavio, ma è incerto se lasciasse Roma nel 1576 o 1577. In seguito insegnò a lungo filosofia e matematica nel collegio di Bordeaux, seguì il corso teologico a Roma (l'Ipparraguirre, in VILLOSLADA, *Storia del Collegio Romano*, p. 335, lo fa insegnare matematica nel collegio nel 1584-1585, probabilmente fraintendendo una fonte: BALDINI, *Legem impone subactis*, p. 575); fu poi in collegi iberici (insegnò matematica dal 1590 al 1592 a Coimbra, dove

della luna, sostanzialmente riproducono la trattazione nelle *Theoricae novae planetarum* di G. Peurbach;⁷⁶ se però, come probabile, Clavio tenne il corso per ripercorrere i fondamenti concettuali della tradizionale astronomia geocentrica, la cui crisi era sempre più evidente anche indipendentemente dalla sfida copernicana, dovette approfondire particolarmente le teoriche dei pianeti – e soprattutto di Marte – che presentavano le discordanze più ampie rispetto alle osservazioni e per questo furono poi centrali nelle ricerche di Brahe e Kepler.

I contenuti «fisici» del corso filosofico

Si è già ricordato che nell'insegnamento di tradizione scolastica la demarcazione tra temi fisici e matematici era molto diversa da quella odierna e che questo fatto, ovvio ma non sempre tenuto presente nelle biografie intellettuali di figure del tardo Rinascimento, esime in certa parte lo storico di Ricci dal considerare i contenuti dei suoi studi filosofici. Un secondo fatto, altrettanto ovvio, è che nel contesto aristotelico – dunque nell'intero assetto dell'istruzione fin dal secolo XIII – “fisica” non era il nome di una di più discipline nelle quali si articolava lo studio della natura, ma designava complessivamente questo studio, contenendo in sé – embrionalmente, in forma diversissima da quella che assunsero in seguito e unitamente a vaste sezioni di ontologia fisica – tematiche cosmologico-astronomiche, fisiche (nel senso odierno), chimiche, geologiche, biologiche, psicologiche. Dunque è all'insegnamento di questa “fisica”, costituente il secondo anno del corso filosofico, che occorre guardare per rinvenire materiali potenzialmente in-

curò editorialmente il primo volume del *Cursus Conimbricensis*) e superiore nelle Fiandre. Tuttavia le sue pubblicazioni (*Sommervogel* III, cc. 1404-8) non furono scientifiche ma devozionali, teologiche e di storia religiosa (*Dictionary of National Biography* XXI, pp. 264-265; BALDINI, “L'insegnamento della matematica”, pp. 282-3 n. 24). Pistorius (* 1553ca Zatec (Bohemia), S.J. 15.V.1570 Praga - dimesso dalla Compagnia nel 1595, Ladislaus LUKÁCS, *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S.I. I (1551-1600)*, Roma, IHSI, 1978, p. 753) fu all'origine della tradizione matematica nella provincia austro-boema della Compagnia. Studiò la filosofia a Roma tra 1575 (o 1576) e 1578 (o 1579), e in questo periodo si formò con Clavio; dal 1579 insegnò filosofia e poi matematica a Vienna e Praga; nel 1595 per motivi ignoti uscì dalla Compagnia, e la sua vita successiva è oscura. Per dati biografici di base: CLAVIUS, *Corrispondenza*, II 2, pp. 51-2 nota 10.

76 APUG, ms. 776, ff. 1r-48v. La prima è stata pubblicata in BALDINI, *Legem impone subactis*, pp. 470-574; su entrambe le parti vedi ID., *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù (secoli XVI – XVIII)*, Padova, CLEUP, 2000, pp. 17-98 (cap. I “Cristoforo Clavio insegnante e teorico di astronomia”).

fluenti nella formazione di una personalità scientifica.

Le lezioni fisiche di Menù del 1577-1578 sono, in ordine di antichità, le seste tra le superstiti del Collegio Romano, precedute da quelle – più o meno complete - di Francisco Toledo (1560-1561), Benet Pereira (vari anni tra 1558 e 1566), Girolamo Di Gregorio (o Gregori), che tenne il corso dal 1566 al 1569, Croce e Tasca.⁷⁷ Sono anche, di quelle del secolo XVI, tra le più studiate, essendo state analizzate da William A. Wallace come una delle possibili fonti dei cosiddetti *Juvenilia* di Galileo, derivanti da corsi di gesuiti.⁷⁸ L'esame di Wallace, tuttavia, non è molto utile per un'indagine sul lavoro scientifico di Ricci, perché considera le lezioni di Menù (come di altri) in rapporto esclusivo a una tesi molto forte e specifica, secondo la quale Galileo trasse le linee distintive del proprio metodo da una particolare interpretazione, di matrice domenicana, dell'operazione logica detta *suppositio*, che egli avrebbe conosciuto tramite testi gesuitici.⁷⁹ Poiché – stando a Wallace – applicazioni operative di questa dottrina sarebbero nella parte introduttiva (di solito intitolata *De scientia*) dei corsi gesuitici sulla *Physica* di Aristotele, nelle sezioni sui fenomeni del movimento (le più vicine all'ambito primario della ricerca di Galileo) dei commenti alla stessa opera e – in misura inferiore – in sezioni di quelli al *De coelo*, egli si è soffermato quasi solo su queste parti;⁸⁰ queste però compaiono nelle presentazioni

77 Per Toledo e Pereira (* 1535 Ruzafa (Spagna), S.J. 1551 Valencia, 6.III.1610, Roma, DHCJ III, pp. 3088-3089) vedi LOHR, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries. II*, rispettivamente pp. 460 e 317-320. Sul corso di Di Gregorio (* 1543 Messina, S.J. 5.VI.1560 Roma, † 1.III.1579 Messina, SCADUTO, *Catalogo*, p. 43) e le parti che ne restano: WALLACE, *Galileo and his sources*, pp. 7, 60, 63; LOHR, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries. II*, p. 174 (alle parti note a entrambi va però aggiunta quella sulle *Meteore*: BAV, ms. Urb. Lat. 1293, n. 3). Per Croce e Tasca vedi nota 46.

78 Gli *Juvenilia* (così denominati da Antonio Favaro, curatore dell'Edizione Nazionale delle *Opere galileiane*) sembrano la copia, al più integrata da brevi considerazioni personali, di lezioni scolastiche di logica e di fisica, quasi certamente di insegnanti gesuiti. Wallace ha ritenuto che le lezioni appartengano a corsi tenuti a Roma; questo è plausibile anche perché prima del 1590, probabile limite massimo di datazione delle lezioni, nella provincia romana della Compagnia (cui apparteneva la Toscana, dove Galileo viveva) il corso di filosofia vi fu solo nel collegio di Roma. Vedi la nota seguente.

79 Tra i numerosi scritti nei quali Wallace ha esposto e argomentato la sua tesi mi limito a ricordare il citato *Galileo and his sources*, che in certa misura li riassume e sistematizza.

80 Vedi l'analisi in *Galileo and his sources*, cit., pp. 60-63, 151-196.

ricciane della scienza europea molto meno di altre, soprattutto cosmologiche, le quali si rinvencono, più che nei commenti alla *Physica* e al *De generatione*, in sezioni di quelli al *De coelo* (diverse da quelle considerate da Wallace) ed ai *Meteorologica*.

Negli scritti di Ricci dottrine e tesi riferibili alla tradizione interpretativa di questi testi aristotelici (quadripartizione della materia terrestre e della causalità; distinzione tra materia terrestre e celeste; circolarità dei moti dei cieli e degli astri; distinzione di natura e collocazione tra fenomeni astrali e “meteorologici” nell’accezione aristotelica, etc.) o del *De anima*, per il quale non resta il commento di Menù (classificazione dei sentimenti e affezioni dell’animo come base della riflessione etica), non presentano però mai – o quasi – specificità che rinvino a peculiarità del modo in cui gli erano stati presentati dal docente.⁸¹ Sostanzialmente esse corrispondono a parti invarianti nelle trattazioni tardo-scolastiche di quei temi, anche perché solo in pochi casi sono l’oggetto diretto della trattazione, essendo piuttosto gli assunti generali dai quali essa muove verso temi più concreti, delimitati e vicini agli interessi intellettuali ed alle scelte “tattiche” dell’alta “propaganda” di Ricci; ad esempio, è in questa forma, parziale e indiretta, che appaiono occasionalmente nelle esposizioni ricciane della “sfera” e nelle note esplicative alle sue carte. Questo esime, al momento, da un esame ravvicinato dei testi di Menù. Inoltre va aggiunto che a partire da circa il 1570, per garantire sia una *uniformitas doctrinae* che un livello qualitativo accettabile della didattica in tutti i collegi, la Compagnia promosse la stesura e l’adozione di manuali delle tre discipline filosofiche, che gli studenti potevano (o dovevano) usare ad integrazione delle lezioni che il docente, secondo l’uso antico, dettava dalla cattedra.

L’adozione di questi testi in qualche modo uniformò la didattica, definendo modalità rimaste nell’insegnamento filosofico dei gesuiti per certi aspetti fino al medio Seicento, per altri fino al medio Settecento. È probabile che anche Ricci studiasse, oltre alle lezioni di Menù, almeno alcuni dei seguenti: per la logica le *Institutiones dialecticae* di Pedro de Fonseca (che poté conoscere a Roma, dov’era

81 La dottrina aristotelica dei quattro elementi (e in parte quelle connesse sulla quadripartizione delle cause, delle qualità ecc.) ebbe un’esposizione *ex professo* nel trattatello *Sui quattro elementi*, e in subordine negli altri scritti che con quello formarono la raccolta dei lavori cosmologico-cosmografici di Ricci, il *Qiankun tiyi* (qualcosa come “teoria sintetica di cielo e terra”). Si tratta del luogo della sua produzione in cui assume maggiore centralità la peculiare sintesi tardoscolastica di dottrine fisiche e matematiche che forniva la base su cui la dottrina della Compagnia faceva poggiare la costruzione propriamente teologica.

Assistente per il Portogallo),⁸² pubblicate molte volte dopo la *princeps* (Lisbona 1564), la *Introductio in dialecticam Aristotelis* (Roma 1560) e i *Commentaria in universam Aristotelis logicam* (Roma 1572) di Francisco Toledo; per la filosofia naturale i commenti alla *Physica* (Venezia 1573), al *De generatione et corruptione* (Venezia 1573) e al *De anima* (Venezia 1575) dello stesso Toledo.⁸³ Forse invece non conobbe – o non studiò – l'altro testo fondativo della filosofia naturale del Collegio Romano, il *De communibus omnium rerum naturalium principiiis* di Benet Pereira, pubblicato solo nel 1576, a Roma.⁸⁴

Una collazione sistematica di passi delle opere di Ricci – inclusi gli arrangiamenti e traduzioni parziali di opere di altri e quelle formalmente dovute ad amici e collaboratori cinesi, che egli indirizzò e aiutò – con questi testi e con le lezioni di Menù porterebbe quasi certamente chiarimenti di fondo sulla dinamica della sua formazione; essa però è da lasciare ad un futuro nel quale si disporrà di loro edizioni attendibili, con traduzione in una lingua europea. Ancor meno si può impostare in questa sede un discorso sulle ragioni del forte rilievo che ha nei suoi scritti una tematica pure interna all'area filosofica, sebbene non alla filosofia naturale: quella etica, nella forma prevalente di analisi di situazioni e sentimenti specifici (l'amicizia, certi "paradossi" e casi morali). È però importante osservare – alla luce di quanto detto sugli studi del futuro missionario e lo stato dell'insegnamento nel Collegio

82 Pedro de Fonseca, * 1528 Cortiçada (Portogallo), S.J. 17.III.1548 Coimbra, † 4.XI.1599 Lisbona (*DHCJ* II, p. 1478).

83 L'uso della *Introductio* di Toledo è attestato esplicitamente dal titolo dell'esemplare di Würzburg delle lezioni logiche di C. Acquaviva nel 1573-1574 (nota 56): «In Introductiones R.P. Toleti Annotationes per R.P. Claudium Aquavivam Logicae professorem». Difficilmente, solo un anno dopo, il più giovane e meno autorevole Menù poté rinunciare a questo supporto per basarsi unicamente su una sintesi personale.

84 Il Sommervogel (VI, c. 499, n. 1) registra una *princeps romana* del 1562, dal titolo *Physicorum, sive de principiiis rerum naturalium, libri XV*, che non risulta essere esistita (non si trova in alcuna delle principali biblioteche europee, né viene mai citata da contemporanei; il LOHR, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, p. 318 n. 23, la registra ma indicando Sommervogel come fonte). Dato che il testo del 1576 derivò dai corsi di Pereira nel Collegio Romano (1561-1567), forse il bibliografo fraintese una segnalazione giuntagli circa un manoscritto delle lezioni di *physica* del 1562-1563, che però non compare tra i mss. filosofici di Pereira in LOHR, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, pp. 314-320. In ogni caso, le lezioni del gesuita catalano, anche per l'audacia di alcune tesi – che i peripatetici ortodossi nella Compagnia definirono "averroistiche" e determinarono il suo spostamento sulla cattedra di esegesi biblica – circolarono manoscritte ben prima della stampa; Ricci poté quindi conoscerle.

Romano – che una presenza così caratterizzata è, per così dire, meno ovvia e autoesplicativa di quanto può apparire nel membro di un Ordine che più di ogni altro coltivò una sorta di codificazione dei “casi” del comportamento umano. Il discorso morale, in quanto connesso strettamente a quello religioso, improntava di sé tutto il processo formativo di un gesuita, ma diveniva veramente centrale in cinque momenti della sua formazione: in quella catechistica e nell’avvio alla pratica degli esercizi spirituali (già nel noviziato), come strumento di educazione intima e autoanalisi; nello studio dei classici durante i corsi di umanità e retorica, come criterio cogente di selezione e valutazione dei testi in una prospettiva di edificazione; nell’insegnamento dell’etica entro il corso di filosofia, come disciplina formale non riferita direttamente a criteri teologici ma ad una teoria dei motivi dell’agire umano; nello studio della teologia scolastica (in riferimento a varie parti della *Summa* dell’Aquinata) come analisi di quell’agire in rapporto alla volontà e al giudizio divini; infine, nell’insegnamento di teologia morale (casi di coscienza), sorta di disciplina applicativa interna al corso teologico, come analisi “tecnica” dei moventi intimi all’origine di certe tipologie dell’agire umano, preparatoria all’esercizio del sacerdozio e della confessione. Se, però, nei testi di Ricci appaiono certi modi della trattazione dei temi etici propri di ciascuno di quei momenti, il loro tono di base non discende direttamente da alcuno. La sua è un’etica profondamente cristiana ma di modello umanistico, nel senso che mette a fuoco gli atti e le relazioni tra gli uomini almeno quanto i doveri dell’uomo verso Dio, si sofferma sull’esame di “virtù” tipiche dell’etica classica (come l’amicizia) quanto o più che su quelle della classificazione teologica e non argomenta a partire da regole e principi formali della scolastica. In questo, naturalmente, fu decisiva la situazione missionaria, con la necessità di fondare il discorso su un terreno “neutro” e “induttivo” piuttosto che dedurlo da una dottrina fondamentale accettata. Ma v’è lo specifico ricciano di una peculiare concretezza e, si può forse dire, una visione “serena” (non spiccatamente ascetica né corrucciamente zelante) del vivere umano: una visione il cui retroterra culturale resta ancora – al di là delle esaltazioni - quasi interamente da sondare.⁸⁵

85 La costruzione aforistica del *Dell’amicizia* ne lascia in ombra le fonti, che tuttavia sembrano da ricercare molto più nelle letture classiche di Ricci (quindi da ascrivere ai suoi studi di umanità e retorica) che in quelle patristico-teologiche. Non ho potuto verificare se una tale ricerca è avviata nella più recente edizione dell’opera: Matteo RICCI, *Dell’amicizia*, a cura di Filippo MIGNINI, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2005. Perfino un tema così tipico dell’edificazione cattolica come la riflessione sull’inevitabilità della morte è presentato, nei Dieci paradossi (o Dieci capitoli),

Il compito è difficile, come due dati elementari bastano a mostrare. Il primo è che nel Collegio Romano degli anni ricciani un insegnamento autonomo dell'etica non è attestato con certezza, e non v'è prova che si ovviasse alla sua mancanza con trattazioni abbreviate da parte dei docenti del corso filosofico, come talora avvenne in collegi della Compagnia.⁸⁶ Il secondo è che l'insegnamento dei casi di coscienza, oltre a differire nell'impianto di base dal discorso etico di Ricci, non rientrava nel corso filosofico ma in quello teologico, cosicché egli poté seguirlo solo a Coimbra o a Goa, con professori dei quali non restano testi specifici. Un chiarimento, dunque, potrà venire solo a seguito di un processo di scavo delle fonti che riguardi non solo lui, ma l'intero contesto dell'insegnamento nelle Assistenze italiana e portoghese della Compagnia nei suoi anni: un processo che – ove si prescinda dalla superficie costituita da pochi autori ed opere “esemplari” – è ancora agli inizi.

Quale e quanta «matematica» studiò Ricci a Roma?

Da tutto ciò che precede risulta che, se per cultura scientifica di Ricci non s'intende la totalità delle nozioni e metodi che apprese nel corso degli studi, ma l'insieme più ristretto e controllabile di presupposti, concetti, metodi e dati che sostanzia i suoi scritti, ogni sua ricostruzione deve riferirsi primariamente al corso “accademico” tenuto da Clavio nel 1576-1577 e forse, in subordine, a lezioni da lui tenute nella vacanza estiva del 1576.⁸⁷ Tra i testi

attraverso una collezione di massime che affianca alla Scrittura e ai Padri numerosi autori classici, talora sospetti alla tradizione teologica come Epitteto, e anche in una delle 8 canzoni cinesi scritte da Ricci in forma diversa e più “fresca” dei moduli tipici dell'*ars bene moriendi*.

86 L'Iparraguirre fa insegnare l'etica fin dal 1562 da Achille Gagliardi, ma ignora la durata del suo insegnamento e indica un nuovo docente della disciplina, Alessandro Nori (* 1566 Firenze, S.J. 27.IX.1584 Roma, † 17.IX.1620 Firenze, ARSI, Schedario unificato Lamalle, *sub nomine*) solo dal 1593 (VILLOSLADA, *Storia del Collegio romano*, p. 334; a p. 71, il Villoslada afferma che nel 1562 iniziarono gli insegnamenti dell'etica e dei casi, ma ammette che il primo «vacò poi per molto tempo»). Di fatto, dal 1563 al 1566 Gagliardi tenne il corso di filosofia (nota 55), e nel 1568 divenne rettore del collegio di Torino (SCADUTO, *Catalogo*, p. 61). In ogni caso, la conoscenza estesa e diretta di un autore come Epitteto, del quale Ricci, nelle Venticinque sentenze, riprodusse l'*Enchiridion* quasi letteralmente (Christopher A. SPALATIN, *Matteo Ricci's use of Epictetus*, Waegwan [Korea], Benedictine Press, 1975), non poté avere inizio da un corso di etica (dove non si trattavano per esteso autori diversi da Aristotele), ma da uno di retorica includente autori greci.

87 L'accademia sembra essere stata accessibile anche a studenti del collegio non gesuiti e neppure chierici, come provano le opere di diversi ex-discepoli di

composti da Clavio prima di quell'anno per questo livello d'insegnamento, due (il commento a Sacrobosco e quello a Euclide) erano già stati pubblicati a stampa e, come noto, furono centrali nell'insegnamento di Ricci in Cina; cinque (la *Gnomonica*, i *Triangula rectilinea*, i *Triangula sphaerica*, il commento alla *Sphaera* di Teodosio, l'*Arithmetica practica*) furono pubblicati dopo, e non è noto se e quanti di essi Ricci conobbe già a Roma;⁸⁸ uno (il *Primum mobile*), non conservato nella stesura originaria, passò solo in forma indiretta e parziale nell'*Astrolabium*, edito nel 1593; infine uno o due altri (la *Cosmographia* e la *Geographia*, già attestati rispettivamente nel 1570 e nel 1580), non furono pubblicati e sembrano perduti.⁸⁹ Così, se si può supporre che nell'anno in cui Ricci seguì l'accademia le lezioni si muovessero all'interno degli argomenti di quelle opere, e con modalità e grado di approfondimento analoghi, sarebbe azzardato dedurre da esse i contenuti esatti dei suoi studi, perché nel pubblicarle Clavio vi introdusse tante e tali integrazioni e modifiche da renderne incerta la fisionomia originaria. Inoltre, i gruppi di lezioni superstiti o attestati, oltre che essere in vari stadi di completezza e finitura, non sono tutti datati o riferibili ad anni anteriori al 1577, cosicché non si può dire che Clavio avesse già trattato già prima tutti gli argomenti corrispondenti, o che lo facesse quando Ricci frequentò l'accademia.

Forse è possibile giungere a risultati più definiti e sicuri per-

Clavio, preti secolari o laici. I più notevoli sono Lorenzo Castellano (c. 1540 - post 1606), nobile romano che pubblicò traduzioni italiane di opere del maestro e una sua difesa contro le critiche di Viète alla sua riforma del calendario, e Teodosio Rossi (c. 1565 - post 1623), poi funzionario della Sacra Rota, autore anch'egli - oltre che di più raccolte di decisioni rotali - di una difesa di Clavio contro Viète e di un'opera stampata più volte sulla durata dell'illuminazione diurna a più gradi di latitudine e in vari momenti dell'anno. Per i loro scritti relativi alla riforma gregoriana vedi *Sommervogel* II, c. 1220, nn. 15 e 16; per le scarse notizie e bibliografia su di loro CLAVIUS, *Corrispondenza*, I 2, pp. 23-24 e 88-89.

88 L'Archivio della Pontificia Università Gregoriana e la Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma conservano manoscritti claviani autografi di tutte queste opere, anteriori di anni alle loro edizioni a stampa e che potrebbero essere stati usati per i corsi.

89 La *Cosmographia* è menzionata come opera già scritta nella prima edizione del *Commentarius* a Sacrobosco, mentre la *Geographia* lo è nell'*Ordo servandus in addiscendis disciplinis mathematicis* (sul quale vedi più avanti nel testo). Mancano però dati per stabilire se si trattasse di due opere o della stessa, dato che nel Rinascimento l'ambito semantico dei termini "cosmografia" e "geografia" oscillò ancora tra la sinonimia e una alterità parziale. Sulle date di composizione delle opere menzionate e il loro destino vedi BALDINI, "The Academy of Mathematics", pp. 70-71.

correndo un'altra strada. Attorno al 1580 Clavio propose ai superiori del Collegio, o al vertice della Compagnia, tre programmi di studio della matematica, col titolo cumulativo *Ordo servandus in addiscendis disciplinis mathematicis*: uno relativo ad un corso di due anni, gli altri ad uno di tre, meno o più intenso (dei due, però, il primo «duobus annis absolvi posset,... si discipuli sint capaces et cupidi discendi»).⁹⁰

Per ognuno dei settori dei programmi egli intendeva scrivere un'opera specifica, ma riuscì a farlo solo in parte. Scopo probabile dell'*Ordo* fu di indurre i superiori a potenziare il corso pubblico di matematica nei collegi, dato che anche il meno ampio dei tre programmi avrebbe portato un sostanziale incremento rispetto alla prassi didattica in atto. La proposta non fu accolta, perché il corso pubblico rimase annuo, con un programma all'incirca corrispondente alla prima metà di quello minimo di Clavio. Così egli concentrò i suoi sforzi verso una istituzionalizzazione dell'accademia (avviata verso il 1593), adottandovi i programmi medio e massimo per corsi di perfezionamento di durata annua o biennale.⁹¹ Ma i tre programmi sono uno strumento d'indagine storica: essendo stati proposti poco dopo la partenza di Ricci da Roma e dall'Italia, aprono uno spiraglio sulla realtà didattica del Collegio negli anni della sua presenza. La durata degli studi di Ricci nell'accademia di Clavio esclude che vi seguisse il programma massimo, ma appare plausibile – anche per il livello delle capacità sue e dei compagni noti – che potesse affrontare una somma di argomenti intermedia tra la seconda parte del programma minimo e il medio. Un'analisi concreta della questione si può forse tentare confrontando i programmi nell'*Ordo* con l'insieme di argomenti che Ricci trattò nei suoi scritti. Si noti che nel caso del programma minimo il maestro del Collegio Romano indicò non solo la successione degli argomenti, ma anche la parte dell'anno scolastico occorrente per la trattazione di ciascuno: si dispone così di una scala che permette di ipotizzare, seppure in modo approssimato, quali poterono essere trattati nel periodo (circa ottobre/novembre 1576 – maggio 1577) nel quale Ricci frequentò l'accademia.

90 Il programma più ampio è stato pubblicato in BALDINI, *Legem impone subactis*, pp. 172-175. Sono disponibili tutti in *Mon. paed.* VII, pp. 110-115; la frase citata è a p. 115.

91 Vedi BALDINI, "The Academy of Mathematics".

PROGRAMMA MINIMO. PRIMO ANNO:

1. Libri I-IV degli *Elementi* euclidei (da novembre a fine gennaio)
2. Aritmetica pratica (stesso periodo)
3. Sfera ed elementi di computo ecclesiastico (dai primi di febbraio alla Pasqua)
4. Libri V e VI degli *Elementi* (dalla Pasqua alla Pentecoste)
5. Uso del quadrato geometrico e del quadrante astronomico (stesso periodo)
6. *Perspectiva* (elementi di ottica geometrica): dalla Pentecoste alla fine dell'anno scolastico
7. Gnomonica elementare (stesso periodo)

SECONDO ANNO:

8. Libri XI e XII degli *Elementi* (da novembre al Natale)
9. Trigonometria elementare e sue applicazioni alla teorica del primo mobile (dalle festività d'inizio anno alla Quaresima)
10. Geografia (nozioni essenziali), nello stesso periodo
11. Uso dell'astrolabio, con premesse le propp. I-V dei *Conici* di Apollonio (dalla Quaresima alla festa di S. Giovanni Battista, il 24 giugno)
12. Teoria dei pianeti e uso delle tavole astronomiche (nello stesso periodo)
13. Misura del cerchio, ricerca delle medie proporzionali, duplicazione del cubo (da fine giugno alla fine dell'anno scolastico)
14. Elementi di algebra (nello stesso periodo)
15. Misure di figure (nello stesso periodo)

PROGRAMMA MEDIO (privo di divisione in periodi):

1. Libri I-IV degli *Elementi*
2. Aritmetica pratica, proporzioni, proporzionalità, progressioni.
3. Sfera ed elementi di computo ecclesiastico
4. Libri V e VI degli *Elementi*
5. Uso del quadrato geometrico e del quadrante astronomico
6. Libri XI e XII degli *Elementi*
7. Trigonometria elementare
8. Gli *Sphaerica* di Teodosio
9. Elementi di trigonometria sferica
10. Teoria e uso dell'astrolabio
11. Teoria e pratica della gnomonica
12. Geografia
13. Misura delle figure geometriche
14. Elementi di prospettiva lineare

15. Fenomeni e problemi di astronomia
16. Moti dei pianeti e dell'ottava sfera, uso delle tavole astronomiche
17. Misura del cerchio, ricerca delle medie proporzionali, duplicazione del cubo
18. Aritmetica superiore e teoria musicale
19. Elementi di algebra

PROGRAMMA MASSIMO (privo di divisione in periodi):

1. Libri I-IV degli *Elementi* di Euclide, con sviluppi successivi e recenti della geometria piana
2. Aritmetica pratica, proporzioni, proporzionalità, progressioni
3. Sfera e computo ecclesiastico
4. Libri V-VI degli *Elementi*
5. Uso del quadrato geometrico, del quadrante astronomico e di altri strumenti di misura
6. Libri VII-X degli *Elementi*, o opere recenti relative agli stessi argomenti
7. Algebra
8. Libri XI-XIII degli *Elementi* e gli pseudo-euclidei libri XIV e XV
9. Trigonometria piana elementare
10. *Sphaerica* di Teodosio
11. Elementi di trigonometria sferica
12. Teoria e uso dell'astrolabio
13. Gnomonica teorica e pratica
14. Geografia
15. Misura delle aree di figure e solidi
16. Prospettiva lineare e teoria dello specchio ustorio
17. Problemi particolari di astronomia
18. Teorica dei pianeti e dell'ottava sfera, con l'uso delle tavole
19. Teoria musicale
20. Geometria avanzata (soprattutto Archimede)
21. Statica e teoria delle macchine semplici
22. Problemi di geometria delle coniche

Appare chiaramente che il passaggio da un programma al successivo corrispondeva ad uno sviluppo sia estensivo che intensivo: alcuni argomenti rimanevano identici, altri erano resi più generali e approfonditi, altri erano nuovi. Ne segue che un confronto tra i settori indicati nei programmi e i contenuti degli editi e inediti scientifici di Ricci ha un grande potenziale euristico ma può portare incertezze o errori, perché non è sempre chiaro a quale dei tre programmi corrisponda la sua trattazione di un settore che è presente

in tutti, ma con approfondimento diverso. Tuttavia, se la cautela è d'obbligo, emerge con forza una sostanziale corrispondenza del complesso dei temi da lui trattati col programma minimo, che – senza escludere la possibilità di un rapporto triennale con Clavio e i discepoli – permette di non escludere anche quella di due soli anni di studio della matematica: il primo dedicato al corso pubblico (secondo anno di filosofia), con contenuti sostanzialmente prossimi a quelli del primo anno del programma; il secondo all'“accademia”, seguita in contemporanea al corso curricolare di metafisica (terzo anno di filosofia), dove poté essere trattato un insieme di argomenti assimilabile a quello del secondo anno del programma. La prossimità dei contenuti nel primo anno si può vagliare semplicemente scorrendo gli argomenti trattati da Clavio nel corso pubblico del 1565-6: libri I-VI degli *Elementi*; aritmetica (fino alle progressioni e all'estrazione di radice); nozioni di “sfera”, cosmografia, astrologia, teoria dei pianeti, uso delle tavole alfonsine, prospettiva lineare, gnomonica:⁹² di essi, solo cosmografia, astrologia, teoria dei pianeti e uso delle tavole alfonsine rientravano nel programma del secondo anno, ma è molto probabile che nel 1566 la teoria dei pianeti fosse trattata ad un livello solo elementare (ed è quasi certo che Ricci non la studiasse nel corso pubblico, ma in quello avanzato); le lezioni di astrologia, che sviluppavano brevi cenni nel testo di Sacrobosco, scomparvero dall'insegnamento di Clavio forse già prima del 1570, e non furono recepite in alcuno dei tre programmi.⁹³

92 *Mon. paed.* II, p. 179.

93 Il programma minimo sopra riportato riserva alla teoria dei pianeti 4 mesi su un totale di due anni. Tuttavia questa durata era eccessiva per un corso annuo, perché per formare studenti alle prime armi la maggior parte di esso era assorbita da argomenti elementari: di fatto, il programma definitivo per il corso pubblico di matematica nelle redazioni 1586, 1591 e 1599 della *Ratio studiorum* esclude la teoria dei pianeti (*Mon. paed.* V, pp. 284-5 e 402). Le parti superstiti delle lezioni sulle *theoricae planetarum* dei primi mesi del 1577 non solo hanno sviluppo tale che il loro insieme non sarebbe potuto rientrare in un corso annuo, ma implicano conoscenze su argomenti che, come la trigonometria, non vi erano trattate. L'insegnamento clavianiano dell'astrologia nei primi anni in cui egli tenne il corso è confermato dalla prima redazione (1564), rimasta manoscritta, del suo *Commentarius* a Sacrobosco, basata sulla prassi didattica, che contiene una sezione astrologica piuttosto ampia (BALDINI, “The Academy of Mathematics”, p. 70). Questa sezione non comparve nella prima stampa dell'opera (1570), che pure coincide in larghe parti col manoscritto, e la cancellazione va probabilmente attribuita al dibattito sviluppatosi in quegli anni nella Chiesa sulle implicazioni eterodosse delle dottrine astrologiche, culminato nel 1586 con la proibizione di Sisto V nella bolla *Coeli et terrae creator Deus*, che indusse la Compagnia a vietare

Si rende visibile la corrispondenza ponendo in una colonna i circa 15 scritti scientifici ricciani (indicati col numero loro assegnato nell'elenco del Sommervogel e un'abbreviazione del titolo)⁹⁴ e in una parallela uno dei tre programmi (designati per semplicità come A, B e C) e il suo settore che sembra corrispondere al contenuto di ciascuno:⁹⁵

2 trad. di Euclide, <i>Elementi</i> , libri I-VI	A (1)
4 trad. di Clavio, <i>Arithmetica practica</i>	A (2)
6 "Delle misure"	[A (5)?]
8 "Geometria"	A (8)
12 Scritti di cosmologia	A (3), A (10) ⁹⁶
14 trad. parziale della <i>Geometria practica</i> di Clavio	A (5) [o: B (5)], con A (9) [o B(7)] ⁹⁷
15 sintesi di "sfera" (astron. elementare), da Clavio	A (3)

ai membri qualsiasi suo uso o difesa, quanto meno pubblici (Ugo BALDINI, "The Roman Inquisitions's Condemnation of Astrology: Antecedents, Reasons and Consequences", in Gigliola FRAGNITO (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in early Modern Italy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 79-110, in part. p. 92 n. 39). Si deve perciò ritenere che Ricci non ricevesse un'istruzione formale in astrologia, anche se poté apprenderne alcuni aspetti da Clavio stesso o dalla manualistica astronomica, che spesso le dedicava ampie sezioni.

94 *Sommervogel* VI, cc. 1792-1795. Si tenga presente che, seppure in misura variabile, le opere designate come mere traduzioni erano anche in parte adattamenti, resi o no espliciti (la semplice attività di traduzione richiese la creazione di una terminologia tecnica nuova, implicando anche parti di interpretazione e commento).

95 Alla lettera che individua un programma segue, in parentesi tonda, il numero assegnato da Clavio a quel settore in quel programma. Tra gli scritti non sono considerati i lavori cartografici di Ricci, sul cui peculiare *status* "non clavianò" (nel semplice senso di essere un tipo di produzione che Clavio non coltivò) si tornerà.

96 Il *Qiankun tiyi* (81) raccoglie scritti nati in occasioni diverse, accomunati dall'essere descrizioni di parti del mondo sublunare o celeste (e perciò rientranti nelle parti dei programmi relative a geografia e astronomia sferica) o un'esposizione della teoria degli elementi costitutivi del primo. Quest'ultima parte è lo scritto meno "matematico" e più filosofico naturale tra quelli di Ricci, e forse il solo che si possa ritenere derivato dalla trattatistica filosofica dell'ordine più che da scritti di Clavio o di altri geografi o matematici.

97 Il *Celiang fayi* ("Teoria delle misure") è una traduzione del l. III della *Geometria practica* di Clavio, che riguarda essenzialmente gli usi distanziometrici del quadrato geometrico, che implicavano metodi trigonometrici. Questi contenuti corrispondono ai punti dei programmi minimo o medio indicati nel testo, ma non provano che Ricci avesse studiato quei punti a Roma, in quanto poté desumerli dall'opera del maestro. Per altri due casi non probanti vedi le note corrispondenti agli scritti nn. 17 e 20.

17 trad. del “De figuris isoperimetris” di Clavio	A (15) [o B(13)] ⁹⁸
18 “Geografia fisica”	A (18)
19 trad. della <i>Horologiorum nova descriptio</i> di Clavio	A (7)[o: B (11)] ⁹⁹
20 trad. dell’ <i>Astrolabium</i> di Clavio	A (11) [o: (10)] ¹⁰⁰
21 “Musica e struttura del clavicembalo europeo”	[B (18)?]
29 Trattato dei triangoli rettangoli	A (13)
30 altra trattazione del “De figuris isoperimetris”	A (15)
31 trad. del <i>Commentarius</i> di Clavio a Sacrobosco	A (3)

È noto che Ricci ricevette in Cina alcuni scritti pubblicati dopo la sua partenza, sia di Clavio (la seconda edizione del *Commentarius* alla *Sphaera* del Sacrobosco, l’*Epitome arithmeticae practicae*, l’*Astrolabium*, la *Horologiorum nova descriptio*, la *Geometria practica*) che di altri (ad esempio, il *Theatrum orbis terrarum* di Abraham Ortelius), con i quali integrò le conoscenze acquisite a Roma. Perciò – come in certi casi è indicato in nota – i superamenti del programma minimo esibiti dalla tabella non impongono di postulare che l’iter dei suoi studi fosse diverso da quello proposto, o che i contenuti del corso accademico del 1576-1577 fossero sostanzialmente diversi da quelli codificati da Clavio solo tre o quattro anni dopo. Il fatto che gli scritti di Ricci riguardino in gran parte settori del programma minimo, pochissimi del medio e nessuno di quelli presenti solo nel massimo è rivelatore, perché indica non solo ciò che egli studiò a Roma, ma molto probabilmente anche ciò che non vi studiò. Infatti, mentre non si può dare per scontato che l’insieme degli argomenti trattati nelle opere di un autore coincida con l’area delle sue conoscenze, si può considerarlo probabile quando l’insieme corrisponde a quanto noto sui contenuti trasmessi dalla scuola dove si era formato.¹⁰¹

98 Lo *Huangrong Jiaoyi* (qualcosa come “Trattazione di ciò che ha uguale perimetro”) rientra concettualmente nelle sezioni indicate, relative alle misure di figure; tuttavia, come nel caso degli scritti 14 e 20, non è una testimonianza diretta sugli studi di Ricci a Roma, essendo una traduzione del “De figuris isoperimetris”, una digressione che Clavio inserì nella seconda edizione (1581) del suo *Commentarius* a Sacrobosco, letta da Ricci in Cina.

99 L’operetta claviana corrisponde sostanzialmente al primo dei due settori indicati, ma dagli studi non appare ancora se la traduzione incluse anche materiali della ben più complessa *Gnomonica* dello stesso Clavio.

100 In questo caso lo scritto ricciano andava oltre la trattazione dell’astrolabio prevista nei due punti programmatici indicati, ma solo perché era una traduzione di un’opera molto avanzata e di grande impegno, l’*Astrolabium* di Clavio (Roma 1593): perciò neppure esso è utilizzabile per definire il livello degli studi romani di Ricci.

101 Basta qui ricordare, evitando citazioni che sarebbero in larga parte scontate,

Nella produzione ricciana mancano trattazioni estese ed ex professo anche di pochi – ma rilevanti – settori del programma minimo: la trigonometria sferica, i problemi di astronomia, l'aritmetica non elementare, l'algebra. Non è facile stabilire se l'assenza sia fortuita (non dovuta a limiti di conoscenza, ma alle parziali contingenze dalle quali nacquero le opere di Ricci), o indichi che il corso del 1576-1577 non fu ancora conforme a quel programma. L'assenza di quei settori, comunque, segnò un limite della comunicazione scientifica tra Europa e Cina fino a quella che si può dire terza generazione dei missionari-scienziati gesuiti (i Wremann, Schreck, Schall, Kirwitzer, Rho).¹⁰² In particolare, la trigonometria sferica e – soprattutto – l'algebra tracciano un solco tra la scienza prevalentemente geometrica di Ricci e quella con una cospicua parte di calcolo di almeno alcuni dei successori. L'Algebra di Clavio, apparsa solo nel 1608 e quindi ignota a Ricci, fu probabilmente scritta molto prima per l'uso nell'accademia, ma comunque dopo il 1580 (o forse il 1590): per vari motivi, inclusa la sua sostanziale assenza negli scritti degli allievi che formò prima di allora, è quasi certo che negli anni precedenti il maestro non la trattasse, almeno estesamente.¹⁰³

Poste queste avvertenze, l'area delle «non conoscenze» ricciane rispetto all'*orbis mathematicus* delineato nei programmi di Clavio si può ritenere – in via di prima approssimazione – come corrispondente a settori che il programma medio aggiungeva al minimo, e il

che nelle lettere al maestro e altrove Ricci evidenziò spesso la limitatezza e sommarietà delle proprie conoscenze nelle matematiche pure e “miste”: queste dichiarazioni, certo in parte dovute a modestia, sono anche attestazioni precise, da non riferire ovviamente ad un universo matematico atemporale, ma al panorama delle *mathematicae scientiae* proprio della scuola di Clavio (o, più latamente, della cultura tardo-rinascimentale).

102 Jan Wremann, * 6.IV.1583 Spalato, S.J. 1.II.1600 Roma, † aprile 1621 Nanchino (*Sommervogel* VIII, c. 922). Per i tempi di arrivo e la scansione generazionale tra i missionari, anche sul piano della formazione scientifica, vedi BALDINI, “The Jesuit College in Macao”.

103 Nell'*Ordo* del 1580 Clavio scrisse che l'algebra, meno necessaria di altre parti, poteva essere omessa o differita; chiari inoltre che non aveva ancora scritto un manuale per essa (BALDINI, *Legem impone subactis*, p. 173). Forse però lo scrisse – almeno in una stesura ad uso interno – non molto dopo il 1590, non solo perché l'avvio (1593-1594) di un corso accademico formale lo richiese, ma perché il testo poi edito, sebbene apparso dopo le opere di François Viète (che Clavio dichiarò più volte di conoscere), non contiene certi nuovi risultati né – soprattutto – la forma di scrittura simbolica introdotta dal matematico francese.

massimo al medio. Questi sono indicati nella tabella che segue:¹⁰⁴

MEDIO	MASSIMO (settori aggiunti rispetto al medio)
Gli <i>Sphaerica</i> di Teodosio	Libri VII-X degli <i>Elementi</i> , o opere recenti relative agli stessi argomenti
Elementi di trigonometria sferica	Libro XIII degli <i>Elementi</i> e gli pseudo-euclidei XIV e XV
Geografia	Rifrazione; teoria degli specchi ustori
Fenomeni e problemi di astronomia	Geometria avanzata (soprattutto Archimede)
Aritmetica superiore e teoria musicale	Statica e teoria delle macchine semplici
	Problemi di geometria delle coniche

Usare la tavola nel senso proposto può sembrare arbitrario, perché di fatto Ricci trattò alcuni dei temi che contiene, anche in modo non limitato o sporadico: in particolare, due suoi scritti riguardano la geografia e la musica.¹⁰⁵ Tuttavia nel primo trattato di geografia “fisica”, qualcosa di più introduttivo e descrittivo della geografia nel senso claviario (matematica e forse anche geodetica); per essa, poi, Ricci poté valersi di manuali correnti,

¹⁰⁴ Come detto, le differenze tra i programmi non consistevano solo nei settori aggiunti, ma nel diverso livello di trattazione di quelli presenti in tutti. Un esame di questo aspetto, però, esigerebbe un confronto analitico tra i livelli di trattazione assegnati da Clavio ai singoli programmi e quelli propri degli scritti ricciani, per il quale non esistono tutti i materiali necessari e che, comunque, richiederebbe un lavoro apposito.

¹⁰⁵ Vedi i nn. 18 e 21 nell'elenco delle opere in *Sommervogel* VI, c. 1794.

che non esigevano una preparazione ad hoc. Anche nel secondo la parte esecutiva superò nettamente quella teorica, nota a Ricci forse solo tramite l'addestramento al canto gregoriano – dunque all'accompagnamento organistico – che la Compagnia prevedeva per tutti i suoi membri in esecuzione di un dettato tridentino; nessuna testimonianza sulle sue conoscenze e attività musicali allude a un livello teorico approfondito.¹⁰⁶ Clavio, invece, intendeva certamente trattare la teoria musicale con pieno rigore e generalità, essendo tra l'altro un compositore (circa dieci suoi mottetti restano in varie biblioteche europee, presumibilmente a seguito della loro diffusione da parte di discepoli).

Sembra invece chiara l'assenza nel bagaglio di Ricci: dell'ottica (al di sopra della prospettiva lineare); della geometria superiore di allora, in prospettiva sia archimedeica (misura di linee, aree e volumi complessi) che apolloniana (coniche e curve superiori); della statica (eccettuate forse le leggi elementari della leva e dell'equilibrio dei pesi), con le applicazioni alla teoria delle macchine. Di quest'ultima conobbe forse qualcosa tramite compendi o traduzioni degli scritti di Erone, ma – dati il suo interesse per la parte strumentale del lavoro scientifico e la manualità di cui sembrò provvisto – è sintomatica la mancanza non solo d'un suo scritto, o sezione di esso, sulla statica, ma anche di un confronto più che sommario ed esterno tra i congegni sviluppati in Europa e quelli cinesi: un tema che poteva trovare attenti gli interlocutori locali e le stesse autorità di governo, come mostrarono già negli anni immediatamente successivi certi scritti di Aleni e, soprattutto, Schreck.

Dagli studi al lavoro scientifico in Cina: una derivazione lineare?

Questo lavoro è iniziato con l'osservazione che una conoscenza nel dettaglio di tempi, luoghi, modi e contenuti degli studi di un autore – specie se scientifici – non è una cornice esornativa ed esterna nella quale collocare l'analisi delle sue opere, ma ne è una premessa essenziale, essendo una via spesso non sostituibile per comprendere successi e insuccessi, presenze e assenze, aperture e chiusure. Il suo intento è stato però solo quello di ricostruire la

¹⁰⁶ Un vero impatto della musica europea si ebbe in Cina quasi un secolo dopo, con F. Verbiest e più ampiamente con T. Pereira e T. Pedrini. Anche lo studio più specifico su questo aspetto della cultura ricciana (L. GALLIANO, "Matteo Ricci e la musica", in F. MIGNINI (cur.), *Padre Matteo Ricci. L'Europa alla corte dei Ming*, Milano 2005, pp. 57-69) approda in definitiva ad indicare l'esperienza viva del canto rituale – con l'ovvia istruzione di base connessa, che includeva qualche familiarità con alcuni strumenti – come matrice sufficiente della sua conoscenza della musica.

formazione di Ricci in modo più dettagliato di quanto noto finora, non il modo in cui essa orientò o condizionò l'opera del Ricci maturo. Tuttavia forse è utile concludere con una breve apertura prospettica, al solo scopo di dare la misura dell'ampiezza e utilità di certe prospettive d'indagine.

Già nella prima metà del Seicento l'attività scientifica dei gesuiti in Cina, anche astraendo dal loro lavoro specifico in astronomia di posizione, che da Ricci a Verbiest¹⁰⁷ divenne sempre più esteso e "professionale", introdusse alcune novità significative rispetto all'*orbis* culturale di Clavio, e più in generale all'orizzonte tematico dei matematici della Compagnia attorno al 1600.¹⁰⁸ Alcune vennero dalla ricezione progressiva di strumenti e metodi sorti o affermatasi in quegli anni: l'algebra simbolica, i logaritmi, l'ottica kepleriana, le tavole astronomiche di derivazione copernicana (più esatte sia delle medievali rimaste in uso fino ad allora, in particolare delle alfonsine, sia di altre moderne ma derivate dalle prime come quelle di Stade, pure usate inizialmente dai missionari), il sistema di Tycho Brahe, l'uso del telescopio in astronomia, certi usi sofistica-

107 Fernand Verbiest, * 9.X.1623 Pittem, S.J. 29.IX.1641 Malines, † 28.I.1688 Beijing (DHCJ IV, pp. 3928-3929).

108 Già tra 1600 e 1620 l'ambiente matematico gesuitico, prima costituito quasi interamente dalla scuola di Clavio (suoi allievi, da circa il 1570, insegnarono in tutta l'Europa cattolica, dalla Lituania al Portogallo e dalle Fiandre alla Transilvania) vide l'emergere di altre, collegate ad essa e tra loro da contatti frequenti, assunti epistemologici e tratti istituzionali comuni e dall'uso di opere del maestro del Collegio Romano come manuali di base, ma aventi anche tratti specifici. Le tre prime furono: quella della *Germania superior* (Baviera), incentrata, più che nel collegio di Monaco, in quello di Ingolstadt (con figure come Jan Lantz, * 1564 Tettnang, S.J. 1589 Landsberg, † 20.IX.1638 Monaco di Baviera (Sommervogel IV, cc. 1496-1497); Johann Baptista Cysat, * 12.V.1587 Lucerna, S.J. 21.X.1604 Landsberg, † 3.III.1657 Lucerna (DHCJ II, p. 1028); Christoph Scheiner, * 25.VII.1575 Wald, S.J. 26.X.1595 Landsberg, † 18.VII.1650 Nysa (Polonia) (DHCJ IV, pp. 3517-3518); quella della provincia renana (con Johann Reinhard Ziegler, * 8.V.1569 Endenkoben, S.J. 24.III.1588 Treviri, † 25.VII.1636 Magonza (DHCJ IV, p. 4078), editore a Magonza, tra 1610 e 1612, delle *Opera mathematica* di Clavio); quella della Francia del centro-nord, la cui figura fondante fu Johannes Chastellier, * 1554 Poitiers, S.J. 24.1571 Parigi, † 26.V.1629 La Flèche (ARSI, Schedario unificato Lamalle, *sub nomine*) ed entro la quale, nel collegio di La Flèche, apprese i fondamenti della matematica (in gran parte su manuali di Clavio) il giovane Descartes. È appena il caso di dire che i settori d'indagine indicati nel testo si limitano all'ambito proprio della matematica e delle sue discipline applicative negli anni di Ricci, e che le "generazioni" missionarie successive alla sua svolsero ricerche anche in storia naturale, esplorarono aspetti della medicina cinese ecc.

ti della prospettiva (fino all'anamorfosi). Altre però vennero dalla comparsa di temi e metodi già propri della scienza del tardo Cinquecento, ma non entrati subito nell'insegnamento dei collegi né, di solito, nelle ricerche dei membri della Compagnia: teoria nautica; tracciamento di vie (prima marittime, poi anche terrestri) dal Portogallo alla Cina, alternative alla classica "carreira da India"; idrometria (misure dei bacini di mari e oceani, delle correnti, delle maree); mappatura dei valori locali della declinazione magnetica come mezzo per misurare la longitudine (che solo dopo il 1620 fu prima affiancata e poi sostituita dalle speranze in un metodo non meno illusorio, basato sulle efemeridi dei satelliti di Giove); rilevazioni di territori (inizialmente solo mediante osservazioni di altezze meridiane del sole, di altezze polari di stelle e di eclissi per fissare le posizioni di località, poi anche mediante triangolazioni); vari tipi di proiezioni cartografiche; meccanica (non nella prospettiva cinematica di Galileo, comparsa tra i matematici missionari in Cina in piccola misura e molto dopo le sue osservazioni telescopiche, ma in quella già richiamata della statica classica e delle sue applicazioni alle macchine); ingegneria civile (inclusi congegni e lavori di idraulica) e militare (inclusa la balistica).¹⁰⁹ L'attenzione a questi temi ebbe due ragioni principali: quella di sostenere la potenza coloniale e la presenza sui mari del Portogallo, garante della propagazione del cristianesimo e vettore dei missionari gesuiti verso il Brasile, le colonie africane e l'Asia; l'esigenza di mantenere ed

109 Solo alcuni di questi temi furono trattati dai gesuiti stanziati a Pechino e dal loro nucleo più "professionale", quello impiegato nel Tribunale astronomico imperiale; altri (e, naturalmente, soprattutto quelli riguardanti i mari o serie di misure prese in località molto distanti tra loro) lo furono cumulativamente, per decenni, dai missionari durante il viaggio Lisbona-Macao e in molte località di tutta l'Asia orientale. Solo una parte minore dei risultati di queste ricerche conflui in opere edite o in lavori enciclopedici di confratelli operanti in Europa (come, nel secondo Seicento, Athanasius Kircher, * 2.V.1601 Geisa, S.J. 2.X.1618 Paderborn, † 27.XI.1680 Roma (*DHCJ* III, pp. 2196-2198) e Giovanni Battista Riccioli, * 17.IV.1598 Ferrara, S.J. 6.X.1614 Novellara, † 25.VI.1671 Bologna (*DHCJ* IV, p. 3353); la maggiore è da considerare perduta, o coinvolta nella diaspora delle relazioni e lettere inviate in Europa. Per un quadro generale delle ragioni e direttrici della dispersione vedi BALDINI, "The Jesuit College in Macao"; un'analisi accurata di un caso rilevante di dispersione dei documenti, quello relativo a F. Verbiest, presidente del Tribunale astronomico dal 1669 alla morte nel 1688, è in Noël GOLVERS, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S. J. (Dillingen, 1687) : text, translation, notes and commentaries*, Nettetal, Steyler Verlag, 1993, e Id., *Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (1623-1688) and the chinese heaven : the composition of the Astronomical corpus, its diffusion and reception in the European republic of letters*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2003.

incrementare l'instabile favore degli Imperatori Ming e poi Qing, dal quale dipendeva la sopravvivenza delle missioni in Cina. La prima ragione stimolò le ricerche sui temi iniziali dell'elenco, dalla nautica alle ricerche su metodi di misura della longitudine; la seconda quelle in meccanica teorica e pratica, ingegneria e balistica (quest'ultima, estesa anche alla progettazione di speciali fusioni e forme per i cannoni, capace di consolidare la posizione dei gesuiti col renderli quasi indispensabili per la sopravvivenza della dinastia di fronte a sfide interne ed esterne); tutte e due insieme, infine, le ricerche cartografiche e la mappatura sul terreno. Essendo entrambe in certo senso strutturali, in quanto connesse ad aspetti non transitori ma permanenti della situazione dell'area missionaria, le due ragioni furono già avvertite negli anni di Ricci; ha perciò senso chiedersi se, e in che misura, influenzassero il suo lavoro scientifico. Si può tentare di rispondere invertendo l'approccio usato finora: non cercando, cioè, temi dei programmi e degli scritti clavianiani non ripresi dall'allievo, ma verificando se in Ricci ne compaiano alcuni assenti, se non dalla cultura del maestro, dalle sue opere e ricerche. Se le opere e l'insegnamento di Clavio delimitano l'ambito entro il quale Ricci si formò e operò, ogni suo eventuale "sconfinamento" tematico potrebbe essere venuto da sollecitazioni connesse – più o meno direttamente – ai problemi dell'espansione portoghese e della situazione missionaria; naturalmente un tale sconfinamento, se reale, pone anche una questione di origine delle conoscenze implicate, che però non è da affrontare in questa sede.

Prima di impostare una risposta è opportuno considerare che il peso relativo dei due fattori indicati variò molto negli anni trascorsi tra l'ingresso di Ricci in Cina (1582), l'arrivo dei missionari condotti da Trigault (1619), ai quali si dovette una prima espansione marcata dell'arco dei temi di studio e ricerca,¹¹⁰ e la caduta della dinastia Ming (1644-1650). Dal 1600 iniziò una vera sfida al dominio porto-

110 Un incremento si ebbe già tra 1610 e 1620 ad opera di Giulio Aleni (in Cina dal 1610), il primo missionario gesuita in Cina – tra quelli provvisti d'una formazione scientifica in senso proprio - di formazione non romana (aveva studiato nelle scuole della provincia veneta della Compagnia, particolarmente in Emilia, e conosceva a fondo le opere d'un calcolatore astronomico di livello, Giovanni Antonio Magini, la cui opera rappresentava competenze e tendenze in parte diverse da quelle di Clavio). Tuttavia in lui l'immissione di temi e metodi fu solo parziale; inoltre, anche se più anziano di un decennio della media dei membri del gruppo di Trigault, eccettuato Schreck, e scientificamente appartenente a una "generazione" precedente (tra 1600 e 1615 entrarono nell'insegnamento diverse novità significative), Aleni sviluppò i suoi lavori in gran parte negli anni successivi, in un'interscambio coi confratelli.

ghese sulle rotte per l'Asia, che sfociò nella perdita di alcuni scali nodali (a Ceylon i portoghesi furono soverchiati dagli olandesi a partire dai tardi anni '30 e nello stretto di Malacca tra 1615 e 1641); questo impose la ricerca di rotte alternative (come quella Goa - Timor - Macao), che a loro volta resero necessari perfezionamenti nelle carte, ma soprattutto negli strumenti e metodi di misura di certi parametri (in primis della longitudine). Parallelamente, da circa il 1630, la minaccia mancese indusse i Ming a cercare il supporto tecnico-militare di Macao, in particolare attraverso la mediazione e le consulenze dei gesuiti. Negli anni di Ricci, però, queste spinte non si davano o erano ancora limitate. Neppure prima di passare nella Cina interna, quand'era ancora nel Malabar e a Macao (1578-1582), fresco dell'esperienza del lungo viaggio ed in contesti nei quali il tema della sicurezza e velocità delle comunicazioni marittime era più avvertibile, egli manifestò per esso un vero interesse; i suoi tentativi di misurare longitudini attraverso i tempi delle eclissi furono diretti a scopi di rappresentazione geografica per beneficio di osservatori "statici", non di altri "dinamici" interessati ad accrescere la velocità degli spostamenti e la certezza dell'orientamento nei viaggi. In generale, quindi, tra le due "interfacce" della scienza missionaria egli non contribuì a quella che rispondeva ai problemi dell'espansione lusitana, ma totalmente – o quasi - all'altra, l'interrelazione col ceto colto ed il vertice politico della società cinese.¹¹¹ Inoltre, poiché sia durante i suoi spostamenti attraverso l'impero che quando risiedette a Pechino egli non assunse mai un ruolo pubblico, l'interrelazione non divenne un coinvolgimento negli scopi politici della monarchia cinese né una funzione di consulenza o direzione di uffici tecnici governativi, come invece avvenne in certa misura per i suoi successori, soprattutto a partire da Adam Schall. Infine, dato che nei suoi anni l'impero non era ancora entrato nella crisi politico-militare e nel passaggio di dinastia che portarono poi al coinvolgimento dei missionari gesuiti in questioni di tecnica militare, Ricci poté riferirsi molto meno ad un'area di bisogni concreti – individuali o della collettività – che alla pura curiosità intellettuale; detto diversamente, la sua chiave per aprire la porta al dialogo fu primariamente la "meraviglia", cioè la curiosità univer-

111 Com'è ovvio, le sue carte servirono anche alla conoscenza della Cina in Europa, e parti dei suoi scritti comunicarono informazioni sulla civiltà, le conoscenze tecnico-scientifiche, il sistema di credenze e l'organizzazione sociale del paese. Queste funzioni però furono in parte indirette e non primarie, ed in ogni caso non ebbero una funzionalità immediata alla prima delle due "interfacce".

salmente umana per la novità delle conoscenze, il rigore intellettuale e il potenziale dei metodi; di questi ultimi egli prospettò anche certe potenzialità applicative, ma senza concentrarsi su esiti tecnici molto specifici (tranne che per oggetti in sé “meravigliosi”, come gli orologi). Guardato in questa luce l’ambito della sua produzione scientifica coincide - molto più di quanto avvenga per i successori - con quello della scienza claviana, esibendo un solo settore parzialmente “nuovo”: la cartografia.¹¹² Sul senso e la misura di questa novità sono però da fare alcune precisazioni, che valgono anche come conclusione di questo scritto.

Dei programmi claviani, si è visto, facevano parte “cosmografia” e “geografia”, in un rapporto reciproco forse oscillante tra sinonimia e complementarità; tuttavia neppure il più esteso di essi include esplicitamente la cartografia. Forse Clavio la considerò sottintesa, intendendo trattarne nell’ambito della geografia, e di fatto certi metodi di misura di distanze e altezze presentati nella *Geometria practica* e alcuni di quelli proiettivi presentati nell’*Astrolabium* o nella *Gnomonica* potevano valere anche per essa. Tuttavia di fatto egli coltivò poco il settore: con l’eccezione - non del tutto pertinente - del globo celeste già ricordato, non v’è traccia di sue lezioni specifiche né di una produzione cartografica sua o della scuola del Collegio Romano fino almeno agli anni ‘30 del secolo XVII.¹¹³ Quindi

112 La produzione cartografica di Ricci, anche (non solo) per i modi da lui scelti per presentarla a studiosi e governanti e per la sua incidenza immediata sulla loro idea tradizionale del ruolo e posizione della Cina, costituisce uno degli aspetti più studiati della sua opera. Tra i contributi più recenti basterà qui menzionare Giorgio MANGANI, “Misurare, calcolare, pregare. Il mappamondo ricciano come strumento meditativo”, in: MIGNINI (cur.), *Padre Matteo Ricci*, pp. 29-39, che sviluppa considerazioni che vanno oltre l’ambito puramente didattico e tecnico-concettuale cui si limita il discorso qui condotto.

113 Non v’è prova che la scuola avesse un ruolo nella impostazione e realizzazione della carta della Cina di Michele Ruggieri, forse la più notevole tra le gesuitiche nel periodo intermedio tra quelle di Ricci e l’atlante di Martino Martini (* 20.IX.1614 Trento, S.J. 8.X.1632 Roma, † 6.VI.1661 Hangzhou (Zhejiang), *DHCJ*, III, p. 2528). Realizzata dall’ex compagno di missione di Ricci dopo il suo ritorno in Europa nel 1589, e completata nel 1606, essa sembra dipendere soprattutto da fonti cinesi, sia quanto al contenuto che al metodo (Eugenio Lo SARDO, “Il primo atlante della Cina dei Ming. Un inedito di Michele Ruggieri”, in: *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, s. XI, VI (1989), pp. 432-447; *Id.* (a cura di), *Atlante della Cina di Michele Ruggieri, S.I.*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1993). La sezione Rari e manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma conserva un globo terrestre con montatura identica a quello celeste del 1575, proveniente anch’esso dal Collegio Romano. Non è però certo che le montature siano quelle originali, né che i due globi siano coevi. A notizia di

le particolarità socio-culturali dell'ambiente cinese portarono Ricci ad impiegare certe componenti della formazione impartitagli dal maestro per scopi, e in direzioni, diversi da quelli in funzione dei quali Clavio le trattava: l'innovazione negli interessi si dette in una sostanziale continuità degli strumenti, mentre nei suoi successori nella missione, a partire da Schreck e Schall, novità più estese e sostanziali implicarono un'estensione del corredo strumentale. Forse è in questo che, su un piano "interno" distinto da quello dei mutamenti storici e istituzionali che distinsero la loro posizione rispetto a quella di Ricci, va individuato l'elemento di demarcazione più incisivo tra le due prime stagioni dell'avventura scientifica della Compagnia in Cina.

Sommario

Gli studi nel Collegio Romano sono l'elemento essenziale nella formazione di Ricci, e in particolare di quella nelle discipline matematiche: un aspetto della sua cultura che fu decisivo per il suo metodo missionario e che, attraverso il suo esempio, rimase centrale nell'azione della Compagnia in Asia orientale, particolarmente in Cina. Perciò una conoscenza precisa di quegli studi è una premessa necessaria per ogni interpretazione della sua opera. Tuttavia i biografi non hanno molto approfondito la questione: i maestri di Ricci per la letteratura latina e la filosofia non sono noti con certezza, e perfino la durata e le modalità del rapporto educativo più decisivo, quello con Clavio, il suo maestro di matematica, sono state considerate solo vagamente. Questo articolo tenta in primo luogo di ricostruire la cronologia, i maestri e i contenuti dei corsi seguiti da Ricci, usando tutta la documentazione nota (in parte esterna a biblioteche e archivi gesuitici romani). In secondo luogo considera i contenuti delle opere di matematica – pura e applicata - che scrisse in Cina,

chi scrive, quello terrestre non è mai stato studiato a fondo e non si dispone di una datazione (forse più posteriore che precedente o contemporanea a quella dell'altro). Nel periodo, inoltre, per scala, modalità di rappresentazione e fonti dei dati le sfere planetarie differivano in parte da quelle delle rappresentazioni su piano che non fossero planisferi ma riguardassero una regione più o meno ampia. Per queste ultime mancano, sia per Clavio che per gli allievi diretti, sia esemplari concreti che enunciazioni metodiche. Questo sarebbe mutato se avesse avuto corso l'iniziativa (1592-1593) del cardinal Alberto d' Austria, governatore del Portogallo per conto di Filippo II, di far trasferire Clavio a Lisbona perché dirigesse i lavori per una cartografia generale dei domini portoghesi, affidata ai gesuiti della provincia locale; tuttavia il gesuita riuscì a sottrarsi e il progetto – che se realizzato sarebbe stato di alto interesse - non ebbe corso (CLAVIUS, *Corrispondenza*, I 1, pp. 51-53).

insieme come effetto e come conferma delle modalità degli studi ricostruite in precedenza. In terzo luogo, suggerisce i modi e le direzioni di un approfondimento 'genetico' dell'attività scientifica del gesuita di Macerata.

Summary

The studies in the Collegio Romano were the essential element of Ricci's education, particularly concerning his knowledge of mathematics: an aspect of his learning which was decisive in his missionary method and that – as a consequence of his example – remained central in the Jesuits' action in the Far East (particularly in China). A precise knowledge of those studies is, therefore, a necessary premise for any interpretation of his work. However, his biographers have not dealt with this question very deeply: Ricci's masters in Latin literature and philosophy have not been identified with certainty; even the length and forms of his most decisive pedagogical relationship, that with Cristopher Clavius, the mathematics professor, have been presupposed or only vaguely reconstructed. This article attempts the following: first, to reconstruct the chronology, the masters and the contents of the courses attended by Ricci, employing all relevant documents known so far (part of which comes from outside the Roman Jesuit archives and libraries). Second, to consider the contents of the works in (pure and applied) mathematics he wrote in China as both an effect and a proof of the training modalities previously reconstructed. Third, to suggest ways and directions toward a deeper, 'genetic' analysis of the scientific activity of the Jesuit from Macerata.

Isidoro Lucci S.J. (1661-1719) and João Baptista Lima (1659-1733) at the Qing Court: The Physician, the Barber-surgeon, and the Padroado's Interests in China

Beatriz Puente-Ballesteros*

[The Kangxi Emperor] driven by this assumption asked our people about our medicines and our way of administering them; to which they replied saying what this subject really consisted of and that, remarkably, European physicians proceeded by way of reason and discourse - rational, yes, but not infallible, nor clear, nor certain.

Isidoro Lucci¹

The biographies of Isidoro Lucci,² professed father of the Society of

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- 1 Lisbon, Biblioteca de Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Asia* (hence JA) 49-V-22, f. 126r; José Caetano SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência (panorama médico-social)*, Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1950, p. 500.
- 2 Isidoro Lucci, * 14.IV.1661 Norcia (Italy), S.J. 7.IX.1689 Roma, † 4.XI.1719 Tonkin (Vietnam), (Joseph DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1973, pp. 158-159).

Jesus and physician, and João Baptista Lima, a barber-surgeon of Chinese origin, are linked because their fates converged during the brief period they shared at court. Both arrived in Peking on 12 July 1692 and for about a year jointly practiced medicine in the service of the Kangxi Emperor. The ultimate purpose of their arrival at the court was to serve as reinforcement to the Jesuit mission in Peking, and more specifically to the Jesuits of the *Padroado*.³ In fact, the arrival of Lucci and Lima highlighted the existing frictions within the Jesuit mission between the French Jesuits, also known as the *Mathématiciens du Roi*, recently arrived in Peking on 7 February 1688, and the Jesuits of the *Padroado*. At this time the whole of the Jesuit mission in Peking came under the Assistancy of Portugal, under the direction of the Portuguese Vice-Provincial Tomás Pereira.⁴ However, from then on the situation changed gradually. The *Mathématiciens du Roi* sowed the seed of the later 'French Jesuit Mission' which was set up independently of the Vice Province of Portugal, and governed by its own Superior General from 1700, first by Jean-François Gerbillon,⁵ one of the *Mathématiciens du Roi*.

The importance of the role played by Lucci lay in the fact that

3 The Jesuits established in the China Mission were of different nationalities, but they were all under the auspices of the Portuguese *Padroado*, which was promulgated by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 as a way to divide the New World, discovered in the Atlantic, between the Spanish and Portuguese empires. The Treaty of Tordesillas, issued a year later, modified the former and redefined the spheres of influence of the two countries. Thus, Portugal obtained jurisdiction over the Asia-Pacific region, Japan, China and the Philippines (the latter conquered in 1565 by the Spanish Empire). The treaty provided that Spain and Portugal would not only limit their political and economic activities to these territories, but would also commit themselves to spread the Christian faith through their respective domains and to be responsible for the relevant missionary work. This was called the right of Royal Patronage. The arrival of the *Mathématiciens du Roi* was the first serious threat to this division of power, and resulted in an intense competition of interest. The six Jesuits chosen for this French mission were: Jean de Fontaney S.J. (1643-1710), Joachim Bouvet S.J. (1656-1730), Claude de Visdelou S.J. (1656-1737), Jean-François Gerbillon S.J. (1654-1707), Louis Le Comte S.J. (1665-1728) and Guy de Tachard S.J. (1648-1712). For the description of this complex context see Isabelle LANDRY-DERON, "Les mathématiciens envoyés en Chine par Louis XIV en 1685", *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 55.5 (2001), pp. 426-427, and Jean-Pierre DUTEIL, *Le Mandat du Ciel: Le rôle des jésuites en Chine*, Paris, Editions Arguments, 1994, pp. 11-16.

4 Tomás Pereira, * 1.XI.1645 São Martinho do Vale (Portugal), S.J. 25.IX.1661 Coimbra, † 24.XII.1708 Peking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 200).

5 Jean-François Gerbillon, * 11.VI.1654 Verdun (France), S.J. 6.X.1670 Nancy, † 25. III. 1707 Peking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 108).

he was the first European with theoretical training and/or practice in medicine to come to Peking during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor. Although, as we shall see, the experience was frustrating, it nonetheless marked the start of the arrival at court during the last thirty years of the Kangxi reign of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, Jesuits and those of other religious orders as well as laymen, in order to exercise a role that above and beyond medical practice was closely linked to the strategy of the mission and the serving of personal interests. This whole strategy responded to the emperor's desire to receive Europeans with medical training, he having for years confirmed the infallibility of European mathematics, of which the Jesuits were the emperor's tutors. Lucci himself evoked this argument once he was established at court: «... Supposing which, as a certain fact, since every good a heathen King has, or expects, is no more than life and health, he began to think that the science of European medicine would also be as infallible as he had found their mathematics to be».⁶

Ferdinand Verbiest⁷ was aware of this concern. This we see in a document in Chinese of 16 March 1685, where the Kangxi Emperor told Verbiest of his interest in obtaining experts in the fields of astronomy and medicine.⁸ Verbiest informed the emperor that in the field of astronomy he knew the Jesuit Antoine Thomas⁹ who in fact ended up working as the tutor of mathematics, algebra and geometry to the ruler;¹⁰ however he knew no experts in the field of medicine. Precisely to remedy this shortcoming Verbiest wrote a letter on 1 August 1685 to the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Charles de Noyelle,¹¹ which shows the urgency and the

6 JA 49-V-22, f. 125v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 500.

7 Ferdinand Verbiest, * 9.X.1623 Pitthem (Belgium), S.J. 29.IX.1641 Malines, † 28.I.1688 Peking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 288-289).

8 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hence B.n.F.) "*manuscrits chinois*", MS 1330, "Xichao ding'an 熙朝定案" (Settled Cases of the Kangxi Reign), pp. 1a-1b.

9 Antoine Thomas, * 25.I.1644 Namur (Belgium), S.J. 24.IX.1660 Tournai, † 28.VII.1709 Peking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 270-271).

10 HAN QI 韩琦, "Antoine Thomas, SJ, and his Mathematical Activities in China: A Preliminary Research through Chinese Sources", in: Willy VANDE WALLE and Noël GOLVERS (eds.), *The History of the Relations between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644-1911)*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, Verbiest Foundation, 2003, p. 110.

11 Charles de Noyelle, * 27.VIII. (21.XII) 1615 Brussels (Belgium), S.J. 29.IX.1630 Malinas, † 12.XII.1686 Rome (Italy), (DHCJ II, pp. 1642-1643).

importance of Verbiest's request:

...Because, although up until now mathematics has been supporting Christianity, medicine will bring not less but even greater strength [to Christianity]. Surely in a period of persecution, they [i.e. the Chinese] will more easily dismiss a [Jesuit] mathematician, as experience has proved; not so a famous physician, whom the emperor considers as necessary to the state of his personal health, and so at the court, they [i.e. the physicians] will always offer a great root [to grow] for our teaching.¹²

Indeed, the value of physicians as a strategic tool to consolidate their position in the Kangxi Emperor's court was not familiar only to the Jesuits. In the same letter Verbiest expressed his concern that other religious orders «Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, French Vicars [MEP] and/or Bishops (Propaganda Fide)» might take the lead, and that consequently they «... will intrude themselves into this very Court».¹³ The emperor expected and wanted a European physician, and the Jesuits did not miss the opportunity to see that this was a Jesuit physician. However Lucci did not come alone, but was accompanied by the secular barber-surgeon Lima as a backup to Lucci, whose experience in the practice of medicine was feared to be deficient because he was sent to China immediately after receiving his medical degree. Lucci bore witness to his brief stay at the court in a letter with the title *Relação do Succeso que teve na China, e Corte de Pequim da vinda do Medico Europeo* (An account of what happened in China and the Court of Peking on the arrival of the European physician), which has not been studied in depth in the context of the role played by the medically-trained Jesuits established in the Kangxi court.¹⁴

12 Rome, *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (hence ARSI), *Jap. Sin.* 145, f. 82r. Latin transcription of the original letter in Henri JOSSE and Léopold WILLAERT, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623-1688), directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin*, Bruxelles, Palais des Académies, 1938, pp. 488-495.

13 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 145, f. 82r.

14 The letter is in the Biblioteca de Ajuda, JA 49-V-22, ff. 125-140. Because of the handwriting we can say that it is not the original letter, but a "copy" of it, most probably translated from Italian into Portuguese. The copy of the signature indicates "Isidoro Luci" and thus, no doubt, the contents can be attributed to him, although we do not know whether and in which way they may have been "revised" by the Jesuits of the *Padroado*. So far, we do not have the original. In the copied letter Lucci is referred to in the third person, first as *Irmão médico* and later as *Padre médico*. See in this article footnote 18. This letter was transcribed

In this article I shall analyze the case study of Lucci's and Lima's practice of medicine, on the basis of my previous research.¹⁵ I shall use as my sources Lucci's letter, together with the letters belonging to the internal correspondence of the Society of Jesus and other missionary orders and religious congregations collected from archives and libraries all over Europe and Macau, as well as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printed literature and edited collections of letters. In addition I shall also work with Chinese sources such as the palace memorials

and published by José Caetano Soares. See SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, pp. 499-529. In the course of this article I shall provide the reader with the reference to both the original versions and the transcriptions. Preliminary research on the medical activities of Lucci and Lima in Peking has been done by: SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, pp. 39-52; Manuel TEIXEIRA, *A medicina em Macau*, 4 vols., Macau, Imprensa Nacional, 1976, vol. 3, pp. 18-23; Claudia VON COLLANI, "Mission and Medicine in China: Between Canon Law, Charity and Science", in: Staf VLOEBERGHs et al. (eds.), *History of Catechesis in China*, Leuven, Ferdinand Verbiest Institute (Leuven Chinese Studies, 18), 2008, pp. 48 and 49; DONG Shaoxin 董少新 (2008), *Xing shen zhi jian: Zaoqi xiyang yixue ruhua shigao* 形神之间: 早期西洋医学入华史稿 (Between Body and Spirit: A History of the Introduction of Western Medicine in China in its Early Period), Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008, pp. 220-225; and Yves DE THOMAZ DE BOSSIERRE, *Jean-François Gerbillon, S.J. (1654-1707), mathématicien de Louis XIV, premier Supérieur général de la Mission française de Chine*, Leuven, Ferdinand Verbiest Stichting, 1994, pp. 54, 106 and 197. Regarding the medical context in the Kangxi court see: KURODA Genji 黒田源次, "'Kintei Kakutai zenroku' (Kokitei to saiyō igaku)" 『欽定各 体 全 録』 (康熙帝 と 西 洋 医 学) (*Qinding geti quanlu* (The Kangxi Emperor and Western Medicine)), *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 (Journal of Japanese History of Medicine) 1318 (1943), pp. 275-284; GUAN Xueling 関雪玲, "Kangxichao gongting zhong de xiyang yishi huodong 康熙朝宫廷中的西洋醫事活動" (Western Medical Activities in the Kangxi Court), *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* (Palace Museum Periodical) 111 (1994), pp. 99-111; GUAN Xueling 関雪玲, *Qingdai gongting yixue yu yixue wenwu* 清代宫廷医学与医学文物 (Medicine at the Qing Court and Medicinal Relics), Beijing, Zijincheng chubanshe, 2008, pp. 204-220; CHEN Keji 陳可冀 and LI Chunsheng 李春生, *Zhongguo gongting yixue* 中國宮廷醫學 (Court Medicine in China), Beijing, Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2003, pp. 609-614; Erhard ROSNER, "Über die Einflüsse der Jesuitenmission des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts auf die Medizin in China", *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 5 (1970), pp. 106-114; Louis VAN HEE, "Les anciens Jésuites et la médecine en Chine", *Xaveriana* 135 (1935), pp. 67-89; Marta E. HANSON, "Jesuits and Medicine in the Kangxi Court (1662-1722)", *Pacific Rim Report* 43 (2007), <http://www.pacificrim.usfca.edu/research/pacrimreport/pacrimreport43.ht>; and PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "De París a Pekín, de Pekín a París", chapters 2 and 3.

15 See PUENTE-BALLESTEROS "De París a Pekín, de Pekín a París". I am currently working on the revision of my PhD thesis for book publication under the title *Court Medicine in Late Imperial China: Jesuit Surgeons, Physicians and Apothecaries in the Service of the Kangxi Emperor* (r. 1662-1722).

of the Kangxi era, as well as other Chinese archival resources. These documents, critically read, reveal the different interests of the various parties involved in these historical events, and will allow us to shed new light on the unknown lives of Lucci and Lima.

In this article, first of all, I shall trace the long and complex route followed by Lucci from Europe until his arrival in Peking. His activities in the Chinese capital gave rise to conflict, and I shall therefore highlight the competing interests within the Jesuit mission in China since the arrival of the *Mathématiciens du Roi*. I shall describe Lucci's origins, his medical specialty, his entry into the Society of Jesus, his reasons for wanting to be transferred to mission territory, as well as the actual journey from Europe to his final arrival in Peking, and from Macao to Peking in the case of Lima.

Secondly, based on the description of a number of medical cases, I shall analyze the practice of medicine in the court by Lucci and Lima in a double context: on the one hand at the court located in the Imperial City in Peking, and on the other at the 'mobile' court, as part of the journeys and expeditions of the emperor; or, as we might call them, 'physicians on horseback'. At this point I shall look closely at the agents involved in the practice of medicine, focusing on the analysis of the different interactions between Lucci and Lima and other protagonists also present in the court, among whom were the Chinese physicians of the Imperial College of Medicine and elsewhere, all of them under the watchful eye of the Kangxi Emperor, who personally intervened by introducing Lucci and Lima to the treatment of patients belonging to his imperial networks.¹⁶ Particular attention will be paid to the conflicts that arose in the heart of this interaction as a result of rivalries in obtaining a patient's cure. Referring to medical practice itself, I shall describe the diagnostic

16 For a definition and detailed description of 'imperial networks' existing during the Kangxi reign before and after the arrival of Lucci and Lima and the Kangxi Emperor's involvement in medicine see Beatriz PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "Jesuit Medicine in the Kangxi Court (1662-1722): Imperial Networks and Patronage", *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 34 (2011), pp. 86-162; and EAD., "Antoine Thomas, SI as a 'Patient' of the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1662-1722): a Case Study on the Appropriation of Theriac at the Imperial Court", *Asclepio: Journal for History of Medicine and Science*, 64.1 (2012), section 2 and 4. For Chinese translations of these two articles see BAI Yashi 白雅诗, "Junzhu de guanxi wangluo yu Kangxi huangdi de (Yesuhui) yixue de bihu" 君主的关系网络与康熙皇帝的(耶稣会)医学的庇护, to be published in *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究 (Studies in Qing History); ID., "Kangxidi de 'bingren' An Duo: Duiyu Qinggong peiyong diyejia de ge'an yanjiu" 康熙帝的病人'安多: 对于清宫配用底野迦的个案研究, to be published in *Xin Shixue* 新史学 (New History Journal).

and therapeutic methods used by Lucci and Lima, from the practice of minor surgery, to the prescription of drugs. Finally I shall highlight the coexistence of European medicines and therapeutic practices with local ones, under the skeptical gaze of Lucci, given the difficulty of replenishing supplies of European medicines.

I finally shall examine the causes that triggered the end of Lucci's and Lima's stay barely a year after their arrival in Peking, conditioned by the historical, political, religious and also medical background against which they had to work. At the same time I shall analyze the possible consequences that their departure from the court in Peking might have entailed for the Jesuit mission in Peking.

From Norcia to Macao: the Voyage of the «Padre Médico»

Isidoro Lucci S.J. was the only medically-trained Jesuit with the rank of professed father of the Society of Jesus to practice medicine at the court of the Kangxi Emperor. The other Jesuit physicians, surgeons and/or apothecaries all held the rank of temporal coadjutors (or brothers) of the Society.¹⁷ It is for this reason that in his letter Lucci refers to himself under the denomination of *Padre Médico* (Father Physician).¹⁸ Lucci was born in Norcia, in the diocese of Spoleto in Perugia (Italy) on 14 April 1661.¹⁹ Prior to entering the Society he studied humanities and two years of philosophy in the Roman College, as well as medicine in «La Sapienza» University in Rome.²⁰

17 During the last thirty years of the Kangxi reign eight medically-trained Jesuits arrived in China. With the exception of Lucci, all the rest were brothers (i.e. temporal coadjutors). These were Giuseppe Baudino (1657-1718), Pierre Frapperie (1664-1703), Bernard Rhodes (1646-1715), Giandomenico Paramino (1661-1713), Miguel Vieira (1681-1761), Giovanni Giuseppe Da Costa (1649-1747) and Etienne Rousset (1689-1758). See PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "De París a Pekín, de Pekín a París", section 3.2. In the case of Baudino there was one unsuccessful attempt to promote him to a professed father by Francisco Maria Spinola S.J. (1654-1694). See ARSL, *Jap. Sin.* 165, f. 410r.

18 In the same letter Lucci refers to himself also as «Irmão médico» (Brother physician). See for instance JA 49-V-22, f. 130v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 508. This changes, however, as soon as his narration comes to his ordination as a Father on 22 May 1692 in Canton. See JA 49-V-22, f. 129v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 506.

19 DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 158; Louis PFISTER, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773*, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932, p. 463; DHCJ III, p. 2434.

20 See DHCJ III, p. 2434. J. Ruiz de Medina states that he studied medicine at «La Sapienza», but does not provide a specific source for this assertion. Neither

It was in 1678, at the age of 28, and before he had obtained his degree as a physician, that Lucci himself asked to enter the Society of Jesus with one clear objective, to be sent to mission territory, more specifically to Japan.²¹ However, he did not reach the Far East until ten years later. The Assistant of Portugal considered it desirable that he should first of all finish the third year of philosophy, and supplement his education with that of theology, so that he would be able to present himself for the Society's *ad gradum* examination.²² Once he had completed his studies in 1688 he contacted Alessandro Cicero,²³ Procurator of the Province of Japan and China, who received Lucci's credentials before he arrived in Rome. The meeting of Lucci and Cicero is described in the following way:

... a Roman student threw himself at his feet, Isidoro Lucci by name, a brother of the Congregation in the Aplicos [?] district in our oratory of St. Francis Xavier in Rome, earnestly asking him to be willing to accept him and to take him with him to Japan, for which place he had had a vocation since he was a very young boy.²⁴

Before making his final decision Cicero consulted his superiors.²⁵ Then the Father Assistant of Portugal, on learning of Lucci's background and having been informed by Claudio Filippo Grimaldi²⁶ of the Kangxi Emperor's request to receive a European physician, told the General of the Society, Tirso González de Santalla.²⁷ Santalla then

Pfister nor Dehergne contain information in this regard. Other sources vaguely described his medical education as *laurea doctorali insignitus in facultatibus Philosophiae, Theologiae, et Medicinae*. See ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 25, f. 229v, «Catalogus Patrum et Fratrum Soc Jesu qui sunt in Provincia JApponica, Anno Domini 1691». See also ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, f. 396v, letter of Tomé Pereira S.J. sent 30 August 1693.

21 JA 49-V-22, f. 126v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 501.

22 JA 49-V-22, f. 126v-127r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, pp. 501-502.

23 Alessandro Cicero, * 28.V.1639 Como (Italy), S.J. 18.X.1655 Chieri, † 22.XII.1703 Nanking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 55).

24 JA 49-V-22, f. 126v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 501.

25 JA 49-V-22, f. 127r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 502.

26 Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, * 27.IX.1638 Cuneo (Italy), S.J. 13.I.1658 Chieri, † 8 (or 9).XI.1712 Peking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 120).

27 Tirso González de Santalla, * 18.I.1624 Arganza (Spain), S.J. 3.III.1643 Oviedo, † 27.X.1705 Rome (Italy), (DHCJ II, pp.1644-1646).

redirected Lucci's vocation geographically from Japan to China (via India) and ordered him to be included in the expedition of Grimaldi whose ultimate destination was the China Mission in Peking.²⁸

Grimaldi was the first Imperial Envoy or *qinchai* 欽差 of the Kangxi Emperor to Europe, being appointed by the Jesuits in 1686 as Procurator of the mission in Rome.²⁹ Among Grimaldi's tasks was that of trying to resolve the conflict with Russia, and finding new continental routes between Europe and China. Moreover the emperor sent him with the parallel mission of finding a European physician and bringing him to the court.³⁰ But his attempt was partially unsuccessful at both levels. On the political level, the conflict was not resolved until 27 August 1689 with the signing of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, the first signed by China with a European power, the Russian Empire, in which a crucial role was played by the Portuguese Jesuit Tomé Pereira and the Frenchman Jean-François Gerbillon.³¹ In spite of this agreement, the Tsar once again forbade Grimaldi from entering Russia on his return to Europe in 1691.³²

As far as the physician was concerned, during his return journey to Europe Grimaldi fulfilled the emperor's wish, but not with a European, Russian and/or lay physician, but with 'one of his own'. In his long travels around Europe in search of economic and human support for the Jesuit China Mission he passed through Rome, France, Munich, Vienna, Marseille, Smyrna, Persia and Goa before his return to Peking.³³ During the course of this journey he enlisted one Jesuit physician and one Jesuit apothecary. The former was

28 JA 49-V-22, f. 127r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 502.

29 In addition, on the death of Verbiest in 1688, and when Grimaldi was still in Europe, he received the appointment as Director of the Astronomical Bureau (1688-1707) in succession to Verbiest, a position to which the French Jesuits had always aspired, but which they never obtained. Fontaney wanted to apply for this position, but his poor command of the Chinese language became a handicap that prompted the emperor to reject his proposal. In the *interim*, until the arrival of Grimaldi, Tomé Pereira S.J. (1645-1708) and Antoine Thomas S.J. (1644-1709) jointly exercised this post. See LANDRY-DERON, "Les mathématiciens envoyés en Chine", p. 440.

30 JA 49-V-22, f. 126v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 501.

31 Joseph SEBES, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.*, Rome, Institutum Historicum S.I. (Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Jesu; 18), 1961, p. 139.

32 DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 335.

33 DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 120.

Lucci whose stay at court was one of the shortest, and on whom I shall concentrate in this article. The latter was Giuseppe Baudino³⁴ who, in contrast, was the Jesuit medical practitioner who worked for the longest period in the service of the Kangxi Emperor, a total of 24 years.

Grimaldi, fearful of possible gaps in Lucci's theoretical and practical training in the field of medicine, urged him before embarking on the definitive trip to China to complete his doctorate in medicine, as was the custom of physicians in Rome. Finally, a year later, Lucci entered the novitiate in Rome on September 7, 1689.³⁵ Barely two months later, he left Rome for Genoa, bound for Portugal, where he arrived on February 2, 1690, beginning his journey from Lisbon to China on April 8 of that year. During the trip Lucci stopped in Goa (India) on 2 November of 1690.³⁶ India should have become the 'practical laboratory' for Lucci before he finally embarked on his trip to Peking. In fact, Grimaldi ordered Lucci to carry out his practice in the Royal Hospital in Goa,³⁷ which the Jesuits had administered since 1579, and where the competence of the Jesuits in the field of medicine was highly praised: *sogeitos de grande sciencia medicina e singulhares boticarios* (individuals of great medical knowledge and exceptional apothecaries).³⁸ Grimaldi also expected Lucci to obtain supplies of local drugs from Goa, as well as to learn possible therapeutic alternatives from the local medicine.³⁹ However, it seems that this did not happen. One or two days later Lucci was sent to the novitiate of Chorao, an island along the river Mandovi near Panaji (India), and then he embarked in the direction of Macao where he arrived on July 15, 1691.⁴⁰

From Macao to Peking. Lucci's Odyssey and Lima's Engagement

At this point the second phase of Lucci's voyage to the Kangxi

34 Giuseppe Baudino, * 20.X.1657 Cuneo (Italy), S.J. 11.VIII.1680 Genoa, † 24.XII.1718 Peking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 27).

35 DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 158.

36 JA 49-V-22, f. 127r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 502.

37 JA 49-V-22, f. 127r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 502.

38 See Charles J. BORGES, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759: An Explanation of their Rise and Fall*, New Delhi, Ashok Kumar Mittal, 1994, p. 28.

39 JA 49-V-22, f. 127r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 502.

40 JA 49-V-22, f. 127r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 503.

Emperor's court begins which turned into a real odyssey. By then José Soares,⁴¹ Rector of the College of Peking,⁴² was in Macao, sent there by the emperor on a double mission. On the one hand Soares was to receive Grimaldi on his return journey from Europe, which would eventually be delayed until 1694.⁴³ On the other hand, his mission was to take the newly-arrived European physician, namely Lucci, to the court; however, he was also unable to fulfill this part of his mission. Soares met the opposition of the Jesuit fathers in Macao who, although they knew that Lucci had been sent by Grimaldi, thought it absolutely reckless that an *amateur* physician should take charge of the health of the emperor, because of the incalculable risks that this might entail for the China Mission:

Suppose, an error in medicine that might happen on his [the Kangxi Emperor's] person (which can so easily happen, and often does, because it is so uncertain and fallible) could not only anger him, but cause his death.

Also, even if it were the case that the Brother physician [i.e. Lucci] did not err in the treatment, the disease might be such that it would not respond; or even though it responded once, twice and even ten times, and finally His Majesty, who was not immortal, would die of the disease, it would be absolutely certain that, whether the Brother had acted well or badly, the death of his Majesty would be imputed to him and his treatments, so that he would always be in danger of death, even though the said brother might be a very Hippocrates in medicine.⁴⁴

In the face of the firm and clear opposition of the Macao Jesuit fathers, Soares finally left Macao with Alessandro Cicero and Manuel Osorio,⁴⁵ but without Grimaldi and without Lucci.⁴⁶ On his

41 José Soares, * 15.II.1656 Santa Comba Dão (Portugal), S.J. 15? or 23? or 25?.III.1673 place unknown, † 14. IX. 1736 Peking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 256).

42 DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 256.

43 DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 120.

44 JA 49-V-22, f. 128r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 504.

45 Manuel Osorio, * 5.III.1663 Lamego (Portugal), S.J. 15.II.1678 Coimbra, † 14.VIII.1710 Macau (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 190-191).

46 JA 49-V-22, f. 128r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 504. Louis Champion Cicé, MEP (1649-1727) in his report «Nouvelles particulieres de la China du mois de mars 1692» confirms that the Kangxi Emperor was aware of the arrival in China of Lucci with Cicero, ordering that they should be given what was necessary to begin

return to Peking in 1692, when Soares was received in audience at the court, the emperor angrily said that he had seen enough of him, and insisted on asking about the promised European physician. Soares, who was in a delicate situation, chose to offer a 'half truth', which seems to have temporarily calmed the emperor. Soares said that the European physician was still a novice who needed more practice, and to familiarize himself with the local context, in order to optimize his work; at the same time Soares guaranteed that the arrival of the European physician at court would not take much longer.⁴⁷

But this answer would only momentarily placate the 'Son of Heaven', who soon fired his request at Soares again. It was time for the mission to act, but not only because of the insistence of the emperor. Since at this point Gerbillon and Joachim Bouvet,⁴⁸ the only two French Jesuits in Peking at the time of the original mission of the *Mathématiciens du Roi*,⁴⁹ aware of the emperor's interest in European medicine, and in the absence of a European physician as such at court, did not hesitate to respond to Kangxi's curiosity, although neither of them was a trained physician. So at the same time as they acted as teachers of mathematics, they began to answer the questions the emperor asked them about illnesses, basing their responses on the work of the physician Lazare Rivière.⁵⁰ On

the journey to Peking. As we have seen, only Cicero complied with his order. See Rome, Archivum S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, *Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali e Cina* (hence APF, *SC Indie Orientale e Cina*), vol. 6, f. 132r.

47 JA 49-V-22, f. 128v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 504.

48 Joachim Bouvet, * 18.VII.1656 Mans or Conlie (Sarthe) (France), S.J. 9.X.1673 Paris, † 28.VI.1730 Peking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 33-34; *DHCJ I*, p. 512).

49 The original group of the six *Mathématiciens du Roi* broke up, so that Tachard stayed in Pondicherry. Compte, Visdelou and Fontaney, after a short visit to Peking, were obliged - as they stated - by the Portuguese Superiors, to leave the capital. Visdelou settled in Shanghai, Le Comte in Shaanxi. Fontaney stayed for two years in Nanking. See LANDRY-DERON, "Les mathématiciens envoyés en Chine", p. 445.

50 Lazare Rivière (1589-1655) was a renowned French physician who practiced as archiater of the French King Louis XIII. He received the title of physician in 1611. Later, in 1622, he became a professor in the Faculty of Montpellier where he was given the Laurent Coudin Chair, which he held until his death. Outstanding among his works is *Institutiones medicae* (1655), an educational work which was employed as a teaching text in the Faculty of Medicine. Another of his books, entitled *Praxis medica* (1640), was also very widely used thanks to its practical nature, since it contained numerous therapeutic instructions. See Louis DULIEU, *La médecine à Montpellier*, Paris, Les Presses universelles, 1975, p. 36. We

the theoretical level, they began the translation of an anatomical work.⁵¹ They also prepared medicines for the emperor: «... making distillations of rosewaters and others besides, spirits, syrups, preserves and all they could or knew how to do in those parts».⁵²

There is no doubt that the French Jesuits, were continuing to take firm steps to win the attention of the emperor and thus some degree of autonomy from the Assistancy of Portugal. This ill-concealed motive might have served to further the 'understanding' of the reluctant fathers of Macao, and thus hasten Lucci's arrival in Peking. Paradoxically, this reluctance was shared by Lucci himself, who said that instead of going as a physician he would rather go to court: «for any other work, however low and base it might be - even as a cook, I would most readily obey».⁵³ But as things

still do not know exactly the title of the book consulted by the French Jesuits in this episode. H. Verhaeren, in his catalogue of books held in Peking's Beitang, mentions three specimens of Lazare Rivière's *Opera Medica Universa* (1679). See H. VERHAEREN, *L'ancienne bibliothèque du Pét'ang*, Pekin, Impr. des Lazaristes, 1940, numbers 2602, 2603 and 2604. Another book listed is Lazare Rivière's *La pratique de médecine avec la théorie* (1702). See VERHAEREN, *L'ancienne bibliothèque*, number 611. It is quite probable that the book mentioned in our episode was one of the specimens of the *Opera Medica Universa*, first of all because *La pratique de médecine avec la théorie* was printed after the episode of ca. 1692, and, second, because number 2603 was one of the books sent by the *Académie des Sciences* to China at Jean de Fontaney's request of 1687, and became part of the French Jesuits' book collection. For an overview on the medical books in the libraries of Peking see also Noël GOLVERS, "The Jesuits in China and the Circulation of Western Books in the Sciences (17th-18th Centuries): The Medical and Pharmaceutical Sections in the SJ Libraries of Peking", *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 34 (2011), pp. 15-85.

51 JA 49-V-22, f. 128v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 505. This was very probably the *magnum opus* «Manchu Anatomy». This information is important, since it brings us closer to learning the still unknown date when the Jesuits began to draft this work. The work has different titles in Manchu. One of these is *Dergici toktobuha Ge ti ciowan lu bithe* (Imperially-Commissioned Complete Record on the Body). For the translation of the title see Marta E. HANSON, "The Significance of Manchu Medical Sources in the Qing", in: Stephen WADLEY, Carsten NAEHER and Keith DEDE (eds.), *Proceedings of the First North American Conference on Manchu Studies* (Portland, OR, May 9-10, 2003), Vol. 1: *Studies in Manchu Literature and History*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995, p. 147. In addition, Bouvet and Gerbillon participated in the preparation of a book in Manchu about European pharmacopeia, which forms part of the collection of the Museum of the Forbidden City in Peking. See GUAN Xueling 関雪玲, "Kangxichao gongting", pp. 220-221.

52 JA 49-V-22, f. 128v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 505.

53 JA 49-V-22, f. 130r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 507.

stood he could not defy the orders of his superiors who thought that the moment had come to send Lucci to Peking since, as Soares had argued before: «But how could this be done, having as we do domestic enemies at the Court, who could make use of this occasion to make His Majesty highly suspicious of us, since in this way we were hiding from him a matter that could have deprived him of nothing less than his health or his life?».⁵⁴ Eventually it was Tomé Pereira, Vice-Provincial, who personally announced to the emperor the imminent arrival of Lucci, who was now ready to undertake his journey to Peking. In fact Pereira argued that one could not antagonize an emperor who had so zealously expressed his desire to receive a European physician. Pereira “sold” Lucci’s medical skills to the emperor in the following terms:

... the said physician [Lucci] is such that he will give a good account of our European medicine with regard to the *tao-li* [*daoli* 道理] or theory of it, for as regards his practice or experience, he informed Your Majesty that he had not spent time on this, but that on the other hand he was already a physician.⁵⁵

Lucci had stayed almost for one year working in the Jesuit College of Saint Paul in Macau (founded in 1562-1563) where there existed a pharmacy that was the only one in Macao, and became the focus for the prescriptions of Jesuits, other missionaries, foreigners and the local population.⁵⁶ At this time there began the second part of Lucci’s journey which inevitably linked his life-story to that of the barber-surgeon João Baptista Lima.

Little is known about the life of Lima, who was of Chinese origin and may have been a convert.⁵⁷ What can be said with certainty is that, unlike Lucci, he had exercised the profession of barber-surgeon

54 JA 49-V-22, f. 127v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 503.

55 JA 49-V-22, f. 129r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 505.

56 Ana María AMARO, “The Influence of Chinese Pharmacopeia in the Prescriptions of the Jesuit Dispensaries”, in: John W. WITEK (ed.), *Religion and Culture: An International Symposium Commemorating the Fourth Centenary of the University College of St. Paul*, Macao, Instituto Cultural de Macao, 1999, pp. 113-116; and TEIXEIRA, *A medicina em Macau*, vol. 3, pp. 6-8 and pp. 18-20.

57 Lima was raised among the Portuguese in Macao. He had traveled to Goa, Batávia, Sião among other places. See Ana María AMARO, *Introdução da medicina ocidental em Macau e as receitas de segredo da botica do colégio de São Paulo*, Macao, Instituto cultural de Macao, 1992, p. 95, footnote 83.

in Macao for some time.⁵⁸ For this reason we may hypothesize that each was sent to court in order to supplement the other's deficiencies, while at the same time achieving a common objective. On 12 May 1692⁵⁹ they made their first stop at Canton, where Lucci was ordained as a professed father of the Society by Bernardino della Chiesa, OFM (1644-1721) on the 22 May 1692, to continue on his way *ad aulam Pekinensem*.⁶⁰ On the orders of the Kangxi Emperor, Lucci and Lima were accompanied on their journey to Peking by a commissioner of the Viceroy of Canton (Governor-general of Liangguang), or *châi quan* [chaiguan 差官], who covered the costs of the voyage.⁶¹ The emperor also sent two mandarins from the court by way of *Nanquin* (Nanjing) and *Nam-chanfu* (*Nanchangfu* 南昌府, Nanchang Prefecture, Jiangxi Province) to ensure the arrival of the two in Peking; but they appear not to have found them *in itinere*, so the emperor also sent Soares himself, who met Lucci and Lima at the gates of Peking, two months after they had started their journey, on 12 July 1692.⁶² Their arrival took place four years after that of the *Mathématiciens du Roi* and at a moment when the conflict in the Mission between the French Jesuits and those of the *Padroado* had come to a head.⁶³

58 TEIXEIRA, *A medicina em Macau*, vol 3, p. 51.

59 DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 158.

60 See Georgius MENSAERT (ed.), *Relationes et epistolas illmi D. Fr. Bernardini della Chiesa O.F.M.*, Romae, Collegium S. Antonii, 1954 (hence *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 5), p. 274, letter of Bernardino della Chiesa, OFM (1644-1721) to Angelicus de Venetiis, OFM, from Canton, 22 May 1692. See also Georgius MENSAERT (ed.), *Relationes et epistolas primorum fratrum minorum italorum in sinis (saeculis XVII et XVIII)*, Romae, Collegium S. Antonii, 1961 (hence *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 6), p. 112, letter of Giovanni Francesco Nicolai da Leonissa, OFM (1656-1737) to Tirso González de Santalla, General of the Society, from Nanking, 14 January 1694.

61 JA 49-V-22, f. 130r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 507. See also *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 6, p. 179, letter of Giovanni Francesco Nicolai da Leonissa to Charles Maigrot, MEP (1652-1730), from Nanking, 26 September 1695.

62 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, f. 281r. See also *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 5, p. 274, letter of Bernardino della Chiesa, OFM to Francesco Saverio Filippucci S.J. (1632-1692) from Canton, 22 May 1692.

63 This was so because the French Jesuits refused to take an oath to obey the papal vicars in the Far East, while the Jesuits of the *Padroado* took the oath following the orders of Pedro II (1640-1706). This oath was abolished by a diktat of Propaganda Fide on 6 January 1689, an action taken by Propaganda Fide with the aim of limiting the power of Portugal in mission territory. See John W. WITEK, *Controversial Ideas in China and in Europe: A Biography of Jean-François Foucquet, S. J. (1665-1741)*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1982, p. 49.

Once Lucci and Lima arrived in Peking they were both received in audience by the emperor, who until late at night submitted their medical knowledge to his examination.⁶⁴ It appears that neither of them knew any Manchu,⁶⁵ a common feature of the majority of the physicians who practiced medicine in the service of the 'Son of Heaven'. The office of translator was performed by Pereira,⁶⁶ who passed on the emperor's questions. The latter inquired about their skill in diagnosis by the pulse, and questioned them about illnesses he had suffered in the past.⁶⁷ Once this 'examination' was satisfactorily completed, a eunuch accompanied them to what was to be their home, located *longe duas léguas* (two leagues away)⁶⁸ in what was the *Igreja de Leste* (Eastern Church, i.e. *Dongtang* 東堂).⁶⁹ The following day the 'examination' continued, and then the emperor ordered Lucci to be transferred to the Palace within the Imperial City. This time the emperor asked Lucci to evaluate the prescriptions that the French Jesuits had given him for various ailments. Once again, according to Lucci's testimony, his answers satisfied the Kangxi Emperor.⁷⁰

And here ends the complicated journey of Lucci, who finally did not reach Peking alone, but accompanied by Lima. For both of them Peking was not to be the final destination of their journey in mission territory.

64 JA 49-V-22, f. 130v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 508.

65 Lucci, who lived for a year in Macao before being sent to Peking, may have had some knowledge of *macaense*, or *patuá* (a language based on Portuguese but with considerable Cantonese and Malayan influence), Cantonese and/or Chinese. We can say that Lima, of Chinese origin, but living in Macao, spoke Macaense, Cantonese and perhaps also Chinese. In both cases they seem to have had absolutely no knowledge of the Manchu language.

66 JA 49-V-22, f. 132v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 511.

67 JA 49-V-22, f. 130v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 508.

68 JA 49-V-22, f. 130v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 508

69 JA 49-V-22, f. 138v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 522. See also ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 149, f. 539v.

70 For strategic reasons and in the framework of the internal fights within the mission, French Jesuits were always very critical of Lucci's medical knowledge. Fontaney asserted the following: «Je suis persuadé que le P. Bouvet sais mieux l'anatomie, le corps humain, les diverses sortes des maladies et les remèdes qu'il faut appliquer que le P. Luki [Lucci] tout médecin qu'il est». Letter of Jean de Fontaney S.J. to Champion de Cicé, MEP (1648-1737) from Chaotcheu, 7 October, 1692. See Paris, Archives des Missions Étrangères (hence MEP), MS 405, f. 31r.

The medical activities of Lucci and Lima. The physician and the barber-surgeon 'on horseback'

Once they had been welcomed and installed in Peking, Lucci and Lima - either together or separately - began their respective tasks as physician and barber-surgeon in the service of the emperor, receiving the Chinese names of Lu Yidao 盧依道 (Lucci) and Gao Zhu 高竹 (Lima).⁷¹ Moreover, as in the case of the Chinese palace physicians (*yuyi* 御醫) they could not attend any patient without first receiving the emperor's approval or *chito* [*zhidao* 知道].⁷²

As for the spatial context in which the medical practice of Lucci and Lima took place, we can define it as did Michael G. Chang, as a court often 'on horseback'.⁷³ Thus, in addition to working at the court located in the Imperial City in Peking, they also practiced in the context of the journeys and imperial tours that the ruler undertook. These were an essential element in the construction of the Qing Empire, for they were a way to make the emperor present throughout important parts of the Empire. In fact, every year, the Kangxi Emperor could spend more than six months away from Peking. For this purpose, he ordered «two campaign costumes» to be made for Lucci and Lima.⁷⁴ The most frequent destination of the emperor's journeys on which he was accompanied by the Jesuits was *Changchunyuan* 暢春園 (Garden of the Eternal Spring), the hunting lodge in Haidian on the outskirts of Peking. As to imperial tours, every year the Jesuits accompanied the emperor on

71 See DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 372 and 379; and DONG Shaoxin 董少新 (2008), *Xing shen zhi jian*, pp. 201-202.

72 During the Qing dynasty the Imperial College of Medicine (*Taiyiyuan* 太醫院) become the private medical service of the emperor and his relatives. Therefore patients before being treated by palace physicians had to inform the emperor by means of a Palace Memorial. Then the emperor had to give his approval or *zhidao liao* 知道了 (Noted!) in the vermilion rescript written directly into the original Palace Memorial. See CHANG Che-chia (Zhang Zhejia 張哲嘉), "The Therapeutic Tug of War: The Imperial Physician-Patient Relationship in the Era of Empress Dowager Cixi (1874-1908)", Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 36-40 and pp. 51-53; PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "De París a Pekín, de Pekín a París", chapter 2, PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "Jesuit Medicine", pp. 93-98, and PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "Antoine Thomas, SI as a 'Patient'", section 1.

73 For the description of the imperial tours and travels during the Kangxi reign see Michael G. CHANG (2007), *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring and the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785*, Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London, Harvard University Asia Center, 2007, pp. 73-86.

74 JA 49-V-22, f. 133r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 512.

his Northern Tour (*beixun* 北巡) to the Summer Palace in *Rehe* 热河 [Ge-hol] in Manchuria, where he usually stayed about three to four months to escape the summer heat of Peking.⁷⁵

The emperor consistently made it a priority to take a Jesuit surgeon with him on all these journeys and imperial tours, often together with a Jesuit pharmacist and/or physician. These would be integrated with Chinese physicians from the Imperial College of Medicine, surgeons from Tartary, Lama physicians, physicians from Mongolia, shamans and acupuncturists, who were chosen from the medical service of the court, most likely by the Kangxi Emperor himself. The fact that he gave priority to taking a surgeon with him was logical, because during these trips and expeditions there was a greater likelihood of traumatological-type pathologies such as bruises, wounds and fractures. Within this range would be gunshot or other wounds, in addition to certain disorders which manifested themselves as a result of complications of the symptoms described above, such as gangrene and ulcers. At the same time Jesuit physicians and apothecaries collected plant species in order to produce medicines in the pharmacy located inside the Imperial City on their return.⁷⁶

Lucci the physician and Lima the barber-surgeon fitted into this profile, but due to their short stay at court we only have confirmation of their accompanying the emperor on the fourth journey to Tartary which began on 8 September 1692⁷⁷ as well as on a hunt to the Mulan Hunting Ground (*Mulan weichang* 木蘭圍場)⁷⁸ located in Rehe province 120 kilometers north of its provincial capital. This is how Jean-François Gerbillon S.J. described it, shedding some light

75 See dates and duration of the imperial tours during the Kangxi reign in CHANG, *A Court on Horseback*, p. 116.

76 M. L. AIME-MARTIN (ed.), *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique, avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions, et des notes géographiques et historiques écrites des missions étrangères*, Tome troisième, Chine, Paris, Société du Panthéon Littéraire, 1843 (hence LEC), p. 345.

77 Lucci and Lima are mentioned by Gerbillon as taking part in one of the eight journeys described by him that the emperor undertook to Tartary. They are not mentioned by their names but as «Chirurgien Européen» and «Chirurgien de Macao» respectively. See Jean Baptiste Du HALDE, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, 4 vols, La Haye, H. Scheurleer, 1736, vol. 4, «Quatrième voyage du pere Gerbillon en Tartarie fait a la suite de l'empereur de la Chine», p. 383. See also B.n.F., *manuscrits français* MS 25057, ff. 453r et seq.

78 JA 49-V-22, f. 133r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 512.

on the medical roles played by Lucci and Lima in response to the emperor's demands. Gerbillon mentions how on the 14th [October, 1692], during the deer hunt, they saw two tigers. The emperor took two shots of a large musket, and injured one. The other fled. The second and eighth sons wounded the injured tiger. Enraged and ready to devour, the tiger was finally pierced by the huntsmen with their spears. The emperor gave the claws of the tigers to the «Chirurgen de Macao» [Lima] who had asked for them, asserting that: «when children cry and refuse to take milk from their nurses, a tiger's claw is put upon their stomach, and if the child's malady is wind,⁷⁹ a sort of skin comes off this claw».⁸⁰ Lima also stated that tiger's claw forms part of the composition of an ointment, good for curing scrofula.⁸¹ These pharmaceutical passages show Lima's well-founded medical knowledge based on Chinese theory.⁸²

On the same journey Gerbillon gives details of how on the 17th [October, 1692] the emperor sent the «Chirurgien européen» [Lucci] together with two Jesuits to attend a brother-in-law of the emperor – a brother of the deceased empress – who lived in a village located 100 *li* from the place where they stayed.⁸³ They were dispatched in response to the request of the patient's father, who

79 'Wind' (feng 風) was one of the widely-discussed nosological factors throughout the history of Chinese medicine. The 'wind' factor was thought to be the trigger of many illnesses, including those of an epidemic nature, and neurological types of illness such as epilepsy and psychiatric problems. See Angela Ki Che LEUNG, *Leprosy in China*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2009, pp. 51-53 and 214.

80 DU HALDE, *Description*, vol. 4, p. 383.

81 DU HALDE, *Description*, vol. 4, p. 383.

82 In the Song dynasty the function of the claw is to exorcise a demon or evil *qi* from the body: «the claw exorcises (*zhao bi emei* 爪辟惡魅)». In particular, it is often recommended that children wear a tiger claw as a necklace. See TANG Shenwen 唐慎微, *Chongxiu zhenghe jingshi zhenglei bencao* 重修政和經史證類備用本草 (Newly Revised Materia Medica of the Zhenghe Period, Annotated, Arranged by Types, Organized for Practical Use, and Based upon the Classics and Historical Works), revised by Cao Xiaozhong 曹孝忠 et al. in 1116 and Zhang Cunhui 張存惠 in 1249, Beijing, Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1957, p. 384. I am grateful to Dr. Kubo Teruyuki for providing me with this supplementary information. Its therapeutic qualities were later included in the Chinese classic of *materia medica*, *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目. See LI Shizhen 李時珍, *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目 (Materia Medica Arranged according to Drug Descriptions and Technical Aspects), 1596, Shanghai, Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 1993, pp. 3842-3849. For the title's translation see Paul U. UNSCHULD, *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceutics*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986, p. 145.

83 DU HALDE, *Description*, vol. 4, pp. 383-384.

was an uncle of the emperor and *Captaine des Hias, ou Mandarins de la garde*. He informed the emperor that the patient's disease was very dangerous and that the Chinese physician sent earlier by the ruler did not know what else to do to save his life; he therefore implored the emperor to provide him with a European physician. As the ruler held this family in high regard, he also supplied them with all the European medicines he had with him and that might have been suitable for curing the patient's illness: «it was a malignant fever which soon reduced him to the point of death».⁸⁴ One day later the emperor was informed that when Lucci and the other Jesuits arrived, they found the patient to be close to death, that is, in a condition beyond the reach of ordinary remedies. Gerbillon reports the emperor's reaction to this message:

The emperor sent by courier the *remèdes des pauvres* (remedies of the poor)⁸⁵ that I had given him, and whose benefits he had experienced on several occasions; but they arrived too late, the patient was ready to expire; however, he was given two pinches of white powder, which gave him back a little movement; they heard some kind of shuddering in his bowels, which seemed to want to cause him to vomit, but he had not the strength, and died shortly afterwards.⁸⁶

This fact not only provides some glimpses of the emperor's interest and knowledge of medical matters, but also his interventionism in cases of illnesses of those belonging to his networks. Thus, the Kangxi Emperor played a key role in the therapeutic structure of the court, for which Lucci and Lima had to be prepared.

84 DU HALDE, *Description*, vol. 4, p. 384.

85 See also Bouvet's diary in Claudia VON COLLANI (ed.), Joaquim Bouvet S.J.: *Journal des voyages*, Taipei, Taipei Ricci Institute (Variétés Sinologiques New Series; 95), p. 80 and footnote 204. In his diary Bouvet talks about a certain remède prescribed to the Kangxi emperor. Collani identifies it with three types of pastes made up by Mr Caloüet under the name of *remèdes des pauvres*. Basically this remedy was a 'paste' composed not only by a Caloüet, but by many other physicians. It consisted in the elaboration of a cheaper version of certain medicaments by reducing the number of ingredients included in the original formulation and by substituting the expensive ingredients by cheaper ones. I discovered that cinchona also went under this title. See APF, *SC Indie Orientale e Cina, Miscellanea* 2, ff. 425v-426r. At any rate I agree with Collani about the hilarious paradox of providing the Kangxi emperor with a remedy for the poor people.

86 DU HALDE, *Description*, vol. 4, p. 384.

The Female Sex as Patients of the Father Physician

In the description of the medical activities of Lucci and Lima, European sources are particularly important, because Chinese materials are in this case not very informative. For instance, European sources reveal that a group of female patients was cared for by the Kangxi Emperor. In fact, shortly after Lucci started his duties, the emperor asked if European physicians cured all kinds of people. This question implies the emperor's interest in knowing whether they treated women,⁸⁷ a question which apparently put Lucci in a quandary, from which he tried to escape by replying that lay physicians could attend all types of patient; however, «Father Physicians» could not attend women.⁸⁸ Paradoxically, this poorly reasoned response from Lucci did not deter the emperor from his interest, for he ignored his words and sent him a battery of female patients who, after having been rejected by Chinese physicians, sought a final therapeutic outlet in Lucci.

Among Lucci's female patients we shall highlight three cases. The first is that of a woman suffering from a hysterical ailment referred to as *mal de madre* (mother's sickness).⁸⁹ Lucci, unfamiliar with this condition and possible ways of treatment, defied the Imperial order, refusing to meet the woman to the consequent anger of the emperor, who compelled Lucci to treat her, moving him from his usual residence in Eastern Church to place him in a residence *perto da quinta do Rei* (near the King's estate) a short distance from the female patient, and where he would live the whole time the treatment lasted.⁹⁰ At that point Lucci argued his lack of experience in this field as a way to avoid continued involvement in the treatment of this patient, but the insistence of the emperor ended

87 JA 49-V-22, f. 130v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 508.

88 JA 49-V-22, f. 130v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 508.

89 JA 49-V-22, f. 131r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 509. *Mal de madre*, an illness also known as 'hysteria' in mediaeval treatises. Patients were treated with strong and even fetid aromatic fumes. See María del Pilar CUARTERO and Maxime CHEVALIER (eds.), *Floresta española, escrito por Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas*, 1574, Barcelona, Critica, 1997, p. 129. Another name given to it is *Madrejón*. Midwives or those who help in childbirth gave the name *madre* to the female organ in which the fetus is formed and developed (i.e. the womb). Among the treatments for it is placing the hands in the shape of a cross on the painful place, and praying. See James F. BURKE, "The Mal de la Madre and the Failure of Maternal Influence in Celestina", *Celestinesca* 17.2 (1993), pp. 111-112.

90 JA 49-V-22, f. 131r; Soares, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 509.

with the embroilment of Pereira, who in his role as Vice-Provincial of the mission authorized, indeed urged, the intervention of Lucci who was exhausting the emperor's patience.⁹¹ Lucci then acted with complete success, but the cure of the patient was attributed more to the glory of God than to Lucci's technique. On the other hand, the technique earned him great fame in court:

The King and Court having learnt that the European physician had cured a sick woman, it is incredible the fame that arose from it. He needed only to raise the dead, for in the case of the sick - they said - it was enough for the European physician to take their pulse for the sick to be cured.⁹²

The second case was the wife of a mandarin, diagnosed as a «desperate phthisic».⁹³ By order of the emperor, Lucci had to visit her every day in her residence in the Imperial City.⁹⁴ We can find no record of the treatment in this episode, but there is one indication in a complaint of Lucci that the absolute dedication he had to show to this patient stopped him from attending properly to other patients.⁹⁵

The third case was the wife of a count, but whose illness was not described.⁹⁶ Lucci once again challenged the Imperial order, but his resistance in this case had nothing to do with the fact of attending a woman, an activity which seems now to have become quite normal for him. Rather it arose because Lucci knew that the patient was already being treated by Chinese physicians.⁹⁷ This is a clear case

91 JA 49-V-22, f. 131r; Soares, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 509.

92 JA 49-V-22, f. 131r; Soares, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 509.

93 JA 49-V-22, f. 131v; Soares, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 510. 'Phthisis' is the term used for tuberculosis, defined by Hippocrates in c. 460 BC. Galen explained phthisis as the ulceration of the lungs, thorax and/or throat, manifested by fever, coughing and the consumption of the body by pus. From the seventeenth century onwards there began the epidemic of tuberculosis in Europe, known as the «white death», which extended over 200 years and made tuberculosis into the main cause of death in Europe affecting the 18-35 age group, and for which there was no effective remedy. See Thomas M. DANIEL, "The History of Tuberculosis", *Respiratory Medicine* 100 (2006), pp. 1862-1863.

94 JA 49-V-22, f. 131v; Soares, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 510.

95 JA 49-V-22, f. 131v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 510.

96 JA 49-V-22, f. 131v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 510.

97 JA 49-V-22, f. 131v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 510.

of how various medical agents present at the court interfered with each other and of the inevitable conflicts arising from this complex scenario.

The Parotitis of Yintang 胤禔, the ninth son of the Kangxi Emperor

In the cases we have described we have no information about the type of intervention or medicines prescribed by Lucci; however, we do have evidence that part of Lucci's initial success was the consequence of his collaboration with Lima, an expert in the treatment of «abscesses, scrofula, serious ulcers and sickness of the eyes».⁹⁸ One emblematic case was the treatment of Yintang 胤禔 (1683-1726) in August 1692.⁹⁹ He was the Ninth Son of the emperor and one of his most beloved princes, although he never held any important office during the reign of his father.¹⁰⁰

Yintang's illness consisted of an inflammation of the parotid gland, with an abscess in the ear.¹⁰¹ The court physicians, who did not dare to act, at the same time belittled Lima's proposal before the emperor. Lima proposed to operate on the abscess by cauterizing it with a red-hot iron, then allowing it to suppurate for two or three days.¹⁰² In the absence of any other treatment, the emperor finally accepted that Lima, with the help of Lucci, should operate, disregarding the Chinese physicians. They both went ahead as announced, and *con espanto de todos os outros* (to the horror of all the others).¹⁰³ When that night Lucci and Lima, at the end of their operation, returned to their residence they were urgently summoned back because of the fainting of the patient, who they feared would die. They quickly traveled to the prince's apartments, accompanied by Pereira, who acted as interpreter, Yinreng 胤礽

98 JA 49-V-22, ff. 131r-v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 509.

99 JA 49-V-22, f.132r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 510-511.

100 Yintang learnt Latin and Portuguese from João Mourão S.J. (1681-1726). On the death of the Kangxi Emperor, Yintang supported the losing faction in the struggle for the succession. After the ascension of the Yongzheng Emperor (Yinzhen 胤禛, Yintang's fourth brother) Yintang was imprisoned and given the name in Manchu Seshe, meaning «pig». See Arthur W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, 2 vols., Washington D.C., United States Government Print Office, 1944, vol. 2, pp. 927-929.

101 JA 49-V-22, f. 132r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 509.

102 JA 49-V-22, f. 132r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 510.

103 JA 49-V-22, f. 132r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 511.

(1674-1725) the heir apparent,¹⁰⁴ and Chao-Lao Yé 趙老爺 [Master Zhao, i.e. Zhao-chang 趙昌].¹⁰⁵ The emperor ordered Yinreng to ask Lucci to take the patient's pulse and to inform him of his condition. Lucci's comment was: «there is nothing wrong with the boy, except the fear caused him by the commotion of his people».¹⁰⁶ Chao-Lao Yé then sent the Chinese palace physicians to take the patient's pulse. They agreed with Lucci's prognosis. Faced with the clear improvement of his son, the emperor upbraided the Chinese physicians, and threatened to expel them from the mandarinat.¹⁰⁷

Failures in Lucci's Medical Treatments?

The episode we have just seen is another example of the conflicts and rivalries in the court in the practice of medicine, which in this case was resolved in favor of the European physicians. However, it was not always so, as we shall see in the next episode. This happened on the return of Lucci and Lima with Pereira from some days of hunting, in which they accompanied the emperor. The latter was then informed of the illness of a «great mandarin», son

104 Yinreng (1674-1725), was made the heir apparent to the imperial throne of China (Huang Taizi 皇太子) on 27 January, 1676. Later he fell into disfavor. In 1708, on the semi-annual hunting expeditions at Rehe 熱河 (Ge-hol), Kangxi charged Yinreng with immorality, sexual impropriety, usurping power, and treason. He was deprived of his position as heir apparent and imprisoned. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese*, vol. 2, pp. 924-925.

105 Chao-Lao Yé is Zhao-chang 趙昌, one of the Manchu prefects in the *Yangxindian* 養心殿 (Hall of the Nourishment of the Heart), a set of buildings in the Forbidden City where the imperial workshops were housed during the Kangxi reign and where Jesuits and Europeans worked. Here was the place where they saw the emperor. Chao-Lao Yé was therefore responsible for everything concerning Europeans. His Manchu name was *Joocang*, and he was also called by Jesuits «Chuliam». In the palace memorials he is mentioned as *Wuyingdian zongjianzao* 武英殿總監造 (Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory). He shared a close relation with Pereira, Parrenin, and Mourão, whereas he disliked most of the French Jesuits. See Bouvet's diary edited in Von COLLANI, *Joaquim Bouvet S.J.*, p. 86, footnote 208; Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century*, South Pasadena, Perkins, 1948, p. 234; and Catherine JAMI, "Tomé Pereira (1645-1708), Clockmaker, Musician and Interpreter at the Kangxi Court: Portuguese Interests and the Transmission of Science", in: Luis SARAIVA and Catherine JAMI (eds.), *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552-1773)*, Singapore, World Scientific (History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia; 3), 2008, pp. 187-204.

106 JA 49-V-22, f. 132v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 511.

107 JA 49-V-22, f. 132v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, pp. 511-512.

of the emperor's uncle. The ailment itself was not described, but we know that the emperor sent Lucci who prescribed him sweats.¹⁰⁸ However, although both thanked the emperor for his special attention, the patient and his father continued to consult Chinese physicians, ignoring Lucci's proposed treatment. Faced with the worsening of the patient's condition, the emperor again sent for Lucci, who this time said that an enema should be practiced;¹⁰⁹ but once again the patient's father continued to trust the Chinese physicians, to the detriment of Lucci. The emperor intervened for a third time, and in view of the rapid decline of the patient he once again sent Lucci, who judged that it was now too late, and that the patient would soon die, *afogado em sangue* (drowning in blood).¹¹⁰ Despite the words of Lucci, the emperor asked if there was any way to cure him, any remedy, to which Lucci replied that there was not. As a last resort the emperor sent Lima to bleed the patient, but as Lucci had predicted the latter died the following morning, «after having suffered his illness for fourteen days, and after the eruption of typhus spots [i.e. exanthematic typhus]».¹¹¹

Another example of a 'failure' by Lucci can be seen in the symptoms of the illness of an obese Manchu official who had come to Peking, and whose son was going to marry a daughter of the emperor.¹¹² Kangxi then sent Lucci to attend him, and he prescribed European medicines and reported the dosage. At the same time the emperor

108 JA 49-V-22, f. 133r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 513. Sweats were also known as diaphoretics, as these were simple drugs or compositions that stimulated sweating (diaphoresis). Sweats, purges and vomits in earlier centuries remained the favorite treatments. Such therapies were in use because sickness was widely assumed to be due to peccant humors or toxins in the gut. Expelling them would rid the body of the source of irritation. See Dorothy PORTER and Roy PORTER, *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-century England*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1989, p. 160.

109 An enema is a type of purgative. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an enema of salt was even supposed to work for patients who were seemingly dead and apoplectic. Cf. Noel G. COLEY, "Physicians, Chemists, and the Analysis of Mineral Waters: 'The Most Difficult Part of Chemistry'", and Christopher HAMLIN, "Chemistry, Medicine, and the Legitimization of English Spas, 1740-1840", both in: Roy PORTER (ed.), *The Medical History of Waters and Spas*, London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (Medical History Supplement; 10), 1990, pp. 56-66 and 69-78 respectively.

110 JA 49-V-22, f. 133v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 513.

111 JA 49-V-22, f. 133v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 513.

112 JA 49-V-22, f. 133v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 513.

sent two Chinese palace physicians, who gave their own recipe. The patient preferred the second option; Lucci became aware of this when he realized that the drugs he had prescribed were still untouched and had not been given to the patient, although in his presence it was pretended that they had. The patient died 10 or 12 days later.¹¹³ Apparently, there were patients who on the one hand thanked the emperor for the attention they received and assured him that they were following Lucci's treatment, but on the other hand they turned to the Chinese prescriptions.

A third case concerned a Mandarin with a chronic condition that occasioned acute attacks of illness that had condemned him to live confined to his bed. At this point Lucci's intervention on the orders of the emperor put him in the position of a treatment of last resort, in a long process in which the Chinese physicians could do nothing to make the patient recover his health. The patient, while telling Pereira - acting as interpreter - that the medications prescribed by Lucci were effective, told the emperor through an informant that, on the contrary, he did not notice any improvement.¹¹⁴

These three cases show how the refusal of local patients (Manchu, Mongol and/or Chinese) to follow Lucci's treatment hampered his work at court, the survival of which was crucially linked to its effectiveness. This fact was further complicated by the difficult position occupied by the patient, who was 'between the devil and the deep blue sea' and could not refuse treatment imposed by the emperor, in this case in the person of Lucci. Moreover, on several occasions Lucci complained at the way European physicians were used by Chinese physicians as scape goat. Thus against the background of the competition existing in the court between the various therapeutic agents, Chinese physicians were quick to blame European physicians and medication for the death of some of the patients.¹¹⁵ At the same time Lucci took a very critical stance towards his own medical practice and its limitations arising from the difficulty of obtaining medicines: «... some medicines, which could be found in Peking [prepared] in the European fashion, and some of which could be found in the King's Palace, made Heaven knows how, since there was no European apothecary».¹¹⁶ All these circumstances put Lucci and Lima in a very complicated position.

113 JA 49-V-22, f. 133v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 513.

114 JA 49-V-22, f. 134r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 514.

115 JA 49-V-22, f. 134r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, pp. 513-514.

116 JA 49-V-22, f. 134r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 514.

As Lucci stated, medical activity could become a danger for the consolidation and progress of the Jesuit Mission in China, and hence: «... considering that the greatest good fortune that could happen at Court would be not to make use of his [i.e. my] services...»¹¹⁷

End of the Stay in Peking. The ‘Tertian Fevers’ of the ‘Son of Heaven’

We might imagine that Lucci at this point began to feel the vertigo and danger involved in being and acting as the ‘archiater’ of the ‘Son of Heaven’. From that time on, Lucci began preparing his departure from the court, which was precipitated after his involvement in the episode we shall describe in this section. This deals with his unknown participation in the otherwise well-known and highly publicized episode of the healing of the Kangxi Emperor’s ‘tertian fevers’ with the cinchona that was dispensed by the French Jesuits. Bouvet noted that the sickness in question began about 1-3 June 1693, when the emperor asked Gerbillon to provide him a remedy for a ‘malady’ in his foot that he had suffered for 10 to 12 days, and which put his life at risk.¹¹⁸ Before dispensing the remedy, which he did not specify, Gerbillon had to test it on a group of people. Subsequently he administered it to the emperor, who saw that his sickness suddenly improved. However, the illness developed into ‘tertian fevers’.¹¹⁹ Bouvet blamed the non-effectiveness of the treatment on the physicians of the Imperial College, who persuaded the emperor to reduce the dose of the medicine that had been prescribed.¹²⁰

Lucci’s intervention in the treatment dated from 13 June, when the emperor ordered him to be summoned to his presence because he had a fever. Then he commanded Lucci to take his pulse, which he described as «slightly disturbed».¹²¹ The emperor asked him if his life was in danger, to which Lucci replied that, at the present state of the illness, it was not. Then the emperor gave the order to go and look for the medicines that Grimaldi had previously brought with him, and which had been provided for him by the

117 JA 49-V-22, f. 134r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 514

118 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, f. 419r.

119 ARSI, *Jap Sin* 165, f. 419r.

120 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek M., *Codex Gallicus* MS 711, f. 28. Source quoted by WITEK, *Controversial Ideas*, p. 63.

121 JA 49-V-22, f. 134v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 515.

Grand Duke of Florence¹²² and asked Lucci to enquire which of these could cure his sickness. Lucci's response was negative: «there were some that would serve to conserve his strength and to cool his spirits, such as julep (*julepo*),¹²³ gums (*gomas*),¹²⁴... but this was of no avail to eliminate the illness but only to build up his strength».¹²⁵ This reply displeased the emperor, who expected that one of the medicines would instantly cure his sickness.¹²⁶

The days passed and the emperor, still ill, continued to ask Lucci if any of the «Grand Duke's» medicines could 'miraculously' cure him; to this Lucci maintained his negative position. Then Lucci suddenly remembered, and told the emperor that there might indeed be a possible cure: this would be cinchona, which he described as an «excellent medicine for intermittent fevers»,¹²⁷ but

122 JA 49-V-22, f. 134v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 515.

123 Julep (*julepo*, *julepus*) is a 'pharmaceutical form' which was in use until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is a liquid medicine, prepared with sugar syrup and a liquid (*liquore*) suitable for its therapeutic action, not boiled. One form of julep is the «julep cordial», prescribed in cases of generalized debility, and possibly what was recommended by Lucci to the Kangxi Emperor. See Jorge BUCHAN, *Medicina domestica ó Tratado completo del metodo de precaver y curar las enfermedades con el régimen, y medicinas simples y un apéndice que contiene la farmacopea necesaria para el uso particular. Escrito en inglés por el doctor Jorge Buchan, del Colegio de Médicos de Edimburg, traducido en castellano por el Coronel D. Antonio de Alcedo, Capitán de Reales Guardias españolas*, Madrid, Imprenta Ramón Ruíz, 1792, p. xlv.

124 Gums are excipients used to prepare different types of medicines like juleps. Two recipes containing gum were the julep cordial (with gum arabic) and expectorant julep (with ammonia gum), among other recipes. See BUCHAN, *Medicina doméstica*, pp. xlv y xlv.

125 JA 49-V-22, f. 134v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 515.

126 JA 49-V-22, f. 134v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 515.

127 JA 49-V-22, f. 135r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 516. The discovery of cinchona by the Jesuits appears to have taken place in imitation of the Indians of Peru, who used it regularly in infusions to neutralize feverish conditions, as witnessed by the Jesuits themselves, who also took it for the treatment of intermittent fevers. The Jesuits, in contact with Native Americans, were responsible for the collection of the bark, pulverizing it and selling it for the benefit of the Society of Jesus. The identification of cinchona with the Society of Jesus was such that after 1650 it became known as «Jesuit bark». In fact the Jesuits would enjoy much of the monopoly of trade, from their schools in Lima and Callao, the port from which cinchona bark was shipped to Seville, the port of receipt of goods coming from America, under the auspices of Cardinal Juan de Lugo S.J. (1583-1660), also a Jesuit. In fact, he himself took part in the

that he could not offer it to him since they had none in Peking, but assured him that it was available in Macao.¹²⁸ Lucci then expected that the emperor would give the order to bring this medicine as quickly as possible; but this was not the case. The emperor did not forgive Lucci's 'oversight', and ordered him to return home (i.e. to the Eastern Church), while Pereira and Gerbillon stayed with him in the palace: «And never,¹²⁹ thereafter, did the King [the Kangxi Emperor] make use of the Father Physician, or ask him about medicinal things, for which, however, when it became necessary, he sent to ask the Father Provincial [Pereira], without any mentioning of the Father Physician».¹³⁰

The emperor then turned to the French Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet to obtain a remedy, as he would have done before the arrival of Lucci. This episode was not only described by Lucci but also by Bouvet himself.¹³¹ They both gave him a «pill» which Bouvet said was good for all ailments¹³² and which the emperor took, according to Lucci, with the opposition of his son Yinreng 胤礽 and So-Sam Yé¹³³ and others responsible for the emperor's

treatment of the tertian fever suffered by the Dauphin of the French King Louis XIV, in close association with Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661). This earned cinchona the name of «the Cardinal's powder». See Juan RIERA, *Capítulos de la medicina española ilustrada (Libros, cirujanos, epidemias y comercio de quina)*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de publicaciones, 1992, p. 82; Mauricio NIETO, *Remedios para el imperio: Historia natural y la apropiación del Nuevo Mundo*, Colombia, Universidad de los Andes, 1992, p. 191; and Londa SCHIEBINGER, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, Harvard University Press, 2004, pp. 214-215.

128 Indeed in October 1713 the Jesuits from Macao sent the emperor cinchona, with two other medicines, theriac and ipecacuana. See JA 49-V-27, f. 458v.

129 Which means here after the whole episode was over. See later in this section and footnote 138.

130 JA 49-V-22, f. 135v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 516.

131 See Bouvet's diary edited in VON COLLANI, *Joaquim Bouvet S.J.*, pp. 79-82.

132 JA 49-V-22, f. 137r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 519. See also Bouvet's diary edited in VON COLLANI I, *Joaquim Bouvet S.J.*, p. 80 and footnote 203. On this issue see also footnote 85 in this article.

133 Possibly 'Sosan Laoye' also Songgotu and Suo-er-tu 索爾圖. He was an uncle of the deceased former empress and great uncle of the heir apparent. He played an active role in the negotiations of the Nerchinsk Treaty. See Joseph SEBES, *The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.*, Rome, Institutum Historicum S.I. (Bibliotheca Instituti historici Societatis Jesu; 18), 1961, pp. 24-25.

medicines.¹³⁴ The consequence was that the emperor passed a «large bowel movement», from which we deduce that they gave him a strong purgative which freed him so much that he declared himself cured.¹³⁵ However, his joy was short-lived for the following day the fevers returned. Then the emperor once again called for the intervention of Gerbillon and Bouvet, from whom he demanded another remedy, angrily declaring that he would not use the previous one again since it had proved ineffective.¹³⁶ This put the French Jesuits in a difficult situation, about which their other Jesuit colleagues complained as follows:

... who orders the [French] Fathers to dabble in such dangerous things, and this with the King? What have the [French] Fathers to do with potions, which may bring so many ills upon them and on the whole of Christianity? Let them set themselves to preaching the Holy Law and mathematics, and leave physicians to take care of medicines.¹³⁷

However, the French Jesuits had not had their last word. Thereafter in the presence of Pereira and six court mandarins (three of them «Great Mandarins»), Lucci and Lima carried out the blood-letting on the emperor, which immediately reduced the fever; but the following day it rapidly became worse.¹³⁸ Then Gerbillon hastened to attend the emperor, with the French Jesuits Jean de Fontaney¹³⁹ and Claude de Visdelou¹⁴⁰ both *Mathématiciens du Roi* and recently returned to the Court from Canton. These intervened by providing

134 These may have been Chinese physicians from the Imperial College of Medicine (Taiyiyuan 太醫院) and/or those in charge of the Imperial Pharmacy (Yuyao-fang 御藥房). See CHEN Yongsheng 陈永生 and ZHANG Sumeng 张苏萌, «Wan Qing xiyixue wenxian fanyi de tedian ji chubanshi jigou» 晚清西医学文献翻译的特点及出版机构 (Characteristics of the Translations of Western Medical Works and their Publication during the Late Qing Dynasty), *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 中华医史杂志 (China Medicine History Magazine), 27.2 (1997), pp. 76-77.

135 JA 49-V-22, f. 137r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 519.

136 JA 49-V-22, f. 137v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 520.

137 JA 49-V-22, f. 137v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 520.

138 JA 49-V-22, f. 138r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 521.

139 Jean de Fontaney, * 17.II.1643 Saint-Pol-de-Léon (France), S.J. 18.II.1658 Paris, † 16.I.1710 Sarthe (France), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 97).

140 Claude de Visdelou, * 12.VIII.1656 Trébry (France), S.J. 5.IX.1673 Paris, † 11.XI.1737 Pondichéry (India), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 294-295).

the cinchona that Lucci had recommended at the beginning, but which the French Jesuits obtained and delivered to the emperor when it seemed that nothing could save his life.¹⁴¹ Then the cinchona was successfully tested on six patients,¹⁴² before it went on 'miraculously' to effect the sudden cure of the emperor after almost a month of suffering. In fact the Kangxi Emperor personally reported about his improvement. This we can see in a palace memorial written the 26th day of the fifth month of year 32 of the Kangxi era (29 June

141 Fontaney says he received the cinchona from Pondicherry by way of Charles Francois Dolu S.J. (1655-1760). See LEC, p. 107. However, since Fontaney was in Canton, he could also have obtained it from the Franciscan pharmacy in Canton, run by Blas García, OFM (1635-1699), who in turn was supplied from the Philip-pines and Goa. See Severiano ALCOBENDAS, "Religiosos médico-cirujAnos de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas (part IV): Religiosos franciscanos médico-cirujAnos en China", *Archivo ibero-americano* 36, p. 162.

142 In his letter Lucci simplified the description of the process of the transmission of cinchona, concentrating on the success obtained by the French Jesuits with this action; however, Bouvet and Fontaney gave more details. In his *Journal de voyages* Bouvet says that it was he himself who 'convinced' Tchao-lao-yé that the cinchona should be given to the Kangxi Emperor. Among his arguments he stressed that this remedy was very fashionable in Europe, particularly in France for the treatment of 'intermittent fevers' since with it they had cured 'le Dauphin' the son of Louis XIV and Queen Maria Theresa of Austria (1638-1683) of a similar pathology. It seems that this argument was not very persuasive, because cinchona was then subjected to tests for proofing its effectiveness and safety. The effectiveness of cinchona was tested by Tchao-lao-yé, three Presidents and three Seigneurs of the Ministry of Rites (libu 禮部), and an Apothecaire Royal, two colleagues of him (i.e. physicians of the Imperial College of Medicine) on three patients with 'tertian fever', with successful results. The emperor himself took charge of testing the safety of the cinchona, and thus ordered his son Yinreng, the heir apparent, to distribute it to three healthy subjects, who experienced no change. Only then did the emperor order his son to ask the Jesuits to prepare the recipe with the cinchona for him, resulting in an almost immediate cure. See Bouvet's diary edited in VON COLLANI, *Joaquim Bouvet S.J.*, pp. 90-98. For his part Fontaney described in detail the therapeutic itinerary followed by the Kangxi emperor, who was initially treated by Chinese physicians from the Imperial College of Medicine; these, given the impossibility of curing "tertian fevers", decided, by order of the emperor, to make an open consultation in the provinces of the empire in order to find a remedy for the illness. Buddhist monks also intervened, but still without success. See LEC, pp. 106-108. Letter from Fontaney addressed to the Royal Confessor François de la Chaise S.J. (1624-1709) from Tcheou-chan, eighteen leagues from Nimpo, 15 February 1703. Thus, Lucci's testimony is quite truncated, principally addressing the struggle between the French faction and the missionaries of the *Padroado*, but fading out the large group of protagonists who took part in the complex therapeutic journey, prior to the adoption by the emperor of the cinchona offered by the French Jesuits.

1693) by Fu-lun 佛倫, Governor-General of Sichuan and Shaanxi. This mentions that he learnt of the emperor's illness through two Imperial Edicts about which he was informed by his son A-le-zhu 阿勒珠. In his memorial Fu-lun reproduced parts of these edicts, where the emperor gives information about the state of his health in the following words:

We have taken medicine given by the palace physicians that was not effective. So after WE took the prescription of the Physician of the Western Ocean (*Xiyang daifu* 西洋大夫) our sleep improved somewhat... WE had a sweating sickness, but now because WE have sweated WE have recovered...¹⁴³

Moreover, in the emperor's vermilion rescript added to Fu-Lun's memorial, he confirms his improvement and explains the set of symptoms he suffered where the 'tertian fevers' as Lucci diagnosed developed, according to the Chinese diagnosis, into *nüejí* 瘧疾¹⁴⁴ in the emperor's words:

On the eighth day of the [fifth month], WE began to suffer the sweating sickness, on the 13th day WE had *nüejí*. On alternate days WE suffered heavy [symptoms of *nüejí*]. On the 27th day *nüejí* was cured. Now WE feel very well, just as if all former illnesses have been totally eradicated.¹⁴⁵

In another of the memorials we can see how it was Fu-Lun himself who sought an alternative therapy to treat the emperor. Thus, in his memorial of the ninth day of the sixth month of year 32 of the Kangxi era (11 July 1693) he presented the emperor with three extraordinary magic prescriptions that might be effective in the treatment of *nüejí*.¹⁴⁶ In the vermilion rescript the Kangxi Emperor confirms the

143 China First Historical Archive (ed.), *Kangxichao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quan'yi* 康熙朝滿文硃批奏折全譯 (Complete Translation of Imperially Rescripted Manchu Palace Memorials of the Kangxi Period), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996 (hence KXMZ), n° 96, p. 43.

144 The symptoms of *nueji* consist of intermittent rigor, and high fever and sweating, so that cinchona could be effective, being the medicine *par excellence* against all types of fever. See YUAN Yixiang 原一祥 et al. (ed.), *Chinese-English Dictionary of Traditional Chinese Medicine*, Beijing, Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1996, p. 642.

145 KXMZ, n° 96, p. 43.

146 KXMZ, n° 98, p. 44.

favorable evolution of his illness towards a total recovery.¹⁴⁷

Already a week before Fu-lun sent this latter memorial, Chao-Lao Yé, on 4 July 1693, communicated in the audience for the Jesuits at court that the emperor had granted the French Jesuits a building within the Imperial City, *intra muros imperialis*, in response to the curing of his 'tertian fevers' with cinchona.¹⁴⁸ Subsidized by Louis XIV and by the Kangxi emperor himself, they later built the Northern Church, or *Beitang*, which was completed on 9 December 1703.¹⁴⁹ Apparently the French Jesuits had managed to take their first step towards their final goal, for by order of the emperor they now had a place independent of the Jesuits of the *Padroado* who lived divided between *Xitang* (Western Church) and *Dongtang* (Eastern Church), the latter being where the French Jesuits had originally been based. The Jesuits of the *Padroado* opposed this measure. Pereira tried to prevent the French Jesuits from moving to this new residence.¹⁵⁰

Moreover, they claimed that the emperor's gift was intended not only for the French fathers but for all of the Jesuits who formed part of the Mission.¹⁵¹ Later, Antoine Thomas S.J., at that time Vice-President of the Tribunal of Mathematics and President during Grimaldi's absence, openly denounced the fact that the French Jesuits had for some time been devising this 'schism'.¹⁵² In addition,

147 KXMZ, nº 98, p. 44.

148 JA 49-V-22, f. 138v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 522. Fontaney, unlike Lucci, gives the exact date of the gift and stresses that it was made to the four French Jesuits present in the palace: Fontaney, Visdelou, Bouvet and Gerbillon: «The emperor grants the four of you the gift of a house in the *Hoang Tchin*, that is, in the first enclosure of the Palace». See LEC, p. 108.

149 See W. DEVINE, *The Four Churches of Peking*, London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1930, pp. 239-246. Concerning the financial support for the building of *Beitang* see Sebald REIL, *Kilian Stumpf, 1655-1720: Ein Würzburger Jesuit am Kaiserhof zu Peking*, Münster, Aschendorff (Missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte; 33), 1978, pp. 77-81.

150 See Ronnie Po-CHIA HSIA, "Tomás Pereira, French Jesuits, and the Kangxi Emperor", in: Luís Filipe BARRETO (ed.), *Tomás Pereira, SJ (1646-1708): Life, Work and World*, Lisboa, Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, I.P./FCT, 2010, pp. 354-355.

151 Cf. Giuseppe Baudino S.J., an apothecary who also arrived in Peking due to Grimaldi's intercession and after Lucci's departure in 1694 and who later commented critically on this in his letter to the Visitor Carlo Turcotti S.J. (1643-1706) on 1 July 1699. See JA 49-V-23, f. 709v.

152 See ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 149, f. 541r.

other missions also mentioned this episode in their internal correspondence, in view of the organizational consequences it might have for the China mission. From the letters it becomes clear that the existence of swings in the balance of power was widely known.¹⁵³

We may assume that this was the reason why the French Jesuits repeatedly described this episode in their correspondence, trying to present a relationship of cause and effect between the cure of the emperor's tertian fevers and the benefits gained by the French Jesuits, but which sounded more like a justification attempting to mask the real strategy that lay behind it.¹⁵⁴ The climax of the exploitation of this episode by the French Jesuits was, however, the publication and wide dissemination in the *Lettres édifiantes* collection of a letter originally forming part of the internal correspondence, in which Fontaney himself recounted the episode in question with abundant detail. This propagandistic collection of letters had as its main objective the promotion of the Jesuit mission in general, but the French in particular. In fact this letter was sent by Fontaney to the royal Confessor de la Chaise on 15 February 1703, the same year in which the Nothern Church was completed, constructed on the original building that the emperor had granted them in the Imperial City. Moreover, the publication of the letter was in the seventh *recueil* of the LEC of the year 1707, a year which saw the outbreak of the Chinese rites controversy during the stay in Peking of the Papal Legate Charles-Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710).¹⁵⁵ We can thus see how a variety of factors influenced the course and outcome of this episode at different critical historical moments

153 See Anastasius VAN DEN WYNGAERT (ed.), *Relationes et epistolas fratrum minorum saeculi XVII et XVIII*, Quaracchi, Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1942 (hence *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 4), pp. 525-526, letter of Giovanni Francesco Nicolai de Leonissa, OFM to Charles Maigrot, cardinal SCPF, from Nanking, 11 September 1693; *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 4, pp. 535-537, letter of Giovanni Francesco Nicolai de Leonissa, OFM to Emos Cardinalis, SCPF from Nanking 14 January 1694; APF, *SC Indie Orientale e Cina*, vol. 6, ff. 337r-338v, letter of Bernardino de la Chiesa from Nanking 24 August 1693.

154 E.g. Excerpt from a letter of Bouvet to Antoine Verjus S.J. (1632-1706) from Canton 11 October 1693, ARSI, F.G. 730 I, ff. 192r-193v, and ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 165, ff. 419r-420r (both letters are the same).

155 See Charles LE GOBIEN (ed.), *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères*, Paris, Le Clerc, 1707, 7 *recueil*, pp. 176-192 and 222-232. Fontaney also reported repeatedly about this event. See for instance his letter sent shortly after this cession took place to Nicolas Charnot, MEP (1655-1714) in Canton, 7 July 1693, Peking. See MEP, MS 428, f. 311r.

of the China mission. Returning to the testimony of Fontaney, I should like to emphasize that the only Jesuits who appeared on the scene were the French Jesuits, led by himself, whom he described practically as the 'saviors' of the emperor, completely ignoring Lucci who had initially proposed the cinchona treatment for the 'tertian fevers' of the eminent patient. But Lucci also spoke about the episode in question and presented his own view. Against the exalted and glorified vision offered by Fontaney of the action taken by the French Jesuits, Lucci did not hesitate to qualify their behavior in the course of this and other episodes as a reckless last-minute intervention in which French Jesuits played at being physicians, treating the emperor as a 'guinea pig' for all kinds of remedies, an action that could have put the mission at risk and might have proved fatal to it.¹⁵⁶

The 'Victory' of the French Jesuits

This first French 'victory' culminated in the final departure from Peking of both the physician Lucci and the barber-surgeon Lima, when they had not yet been even a year at court. Surprisingly Lima was the first to ask the emperor for permission to return to Macao, before the episode of 'tertian fevers' unfolded. The emperor at that time had offered Lima a house in the court so that he could live there with his wife; his request therefore provoked the anger of the emperor not only against Lima but also against Pereira, Vice-Provincial of the mission and therefore the person who was ultimately responsible.¹⁵⁷ The consequence was that on 5 February 1693, by *secretum mandatum*, the Kangxi emperor ordered the return to Peking from Canton of Fontaney and Visdelou,¹⁵⁸ who by order of Pereira were living far from the capital.¹⁵⁹ It was precisely during this return journey that they brought with them the cinchona with which they cured the Kangxi Emperor's tertian fevers. This revealing testimony suggests that while Lucci had been sent to

156 JA 49-V-22, ff. 137r-138v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, pp. 519-522.

157 *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 6, pp. 81-82, letter of Giovanni Francesco Nicolai de Leonissa, OFM to Louis Champion Cicé, MEP (1649-1727), Nanking 9 April 1693.

158 A number of testimonies described this. See *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 4, pp. 535-536, letter of Giovanni Francesco Nicolai de Leonissa, OFM, to Emos Cardinalis, SCPF Nanking, 14 January 1694; *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 5, pp. 282-283, letter of Bernardino de la Chiesa from Nanking 24 August 1693; and ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 105 II, ff. 257-258.

159 LANDRY-DERON, *Les mathématiciens envoyés*, pp. 445-446.

Peking to strengthen the Jesuits of the *Padroado* and thus to avoid the possible fragmentation of the Society, Lima's abrupt decision might have led to its final break-up.

Finally the emperor approved Lima's departure from April 1693 together with Sam-Lao Yé and with Manuel Osorio S.J., the latter two with the dual purpose of taking Lima back to Macao and going to meet Grimaldi.¹⁶⁰ However, this journey was delayed until 8 July 1693, and two other individuals joined it. The first was Lucci who, after his failed attempt to cure the emperor, argued that the latter let him leave because, while acknowledging him as a medical expert in theory, he needed someone with the practical ability to cure diseases, an activity that he indeed recognized and praised in Lima, whose loss the Kangxi Emperor regretted far more.¹⁶¹ Contrary to Lucci's own words, in the internal correspondence of the missionary orders and congregations installed in China it was understood that Lucci's departure was prompted by his lack of experience and of medical skill. The apostolic vicar of Nanking, Giovanni Francisco Nicolai de Leonissa, OFM (1656-1737) described it as such to Emos Cardinalis, SCPF in the letter written from Nanking on 4 January 1694:

And finally the Emperor himself ordered Fr. Joachim Bouvet to leave for Canton, to go to the coast of Coromandel on Imperial business, the nature of which is still unknown; he gave them many gifts; at the same time giving the order that Fr. Isidoro Lucci of the Society, who had a year before been called to Court from Macao to serve there as physician to His Majesty - or rather, to teach the European art of medicine - with another surgeon from Macao, who had been summoned to practice surgery, should return to Macao. The former to gain experience in [medical] practice, and the latter for what reason I do not know, which was to exclude them from the Court with courtesy, which is no minor thing.¹⁶²

The second of the new members of the return voyage to Canton was

160 JA 49-V-22, f. 138v-139r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 522.

161 JA 49-V-22, f. 138v-139r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 522.

162 *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 4, pp. 537-538. The letter is made up of thirty points and a *postscriptum* with five points. In point 14 he describes the episode of the prescription of cinchona to the Kangxi Emperor by Fontaney and the consequences of the cure, such as the concession of a *casa o chiesa* (house or church) within the compound of the Imperial City.

one of the *Mathématiciens du Roi*, Bouvet, who had celebrated Lucci's 'compulsory' withdrawal as a victory.¹⁶³ This was the conclusion of Bouvet himself in his letter from Surat 21 December 1695 addressed to Jean Bomier¹⁶⁴, the Assistant of the French Province, in which he points directly to medicine as an agent of power and influence used by both factions in the heart of the mission in order to win the favor of the emperor:

Hardly had they [i.e. Lucci and Lima] arrived, both praising their abilities in terms that ill became them, when the Emperor set them at first to treat even the great men of his household, and even his sons the princes, the Portuguese thinking rather of showing their worth at this time, to make us appear as useless for what they hoped to gain from the Emperor, than to foresee the dangers to which they exposed themselves and the Religion; but the lack of confidence of these two individuals, and particularly of poor Fr. Lucci, whose skill in medicine must be like in Rome, having appeared to our great confusion on several occasions, the Emperor did us a great favor by sending them back as he did to Macao, before their recklessness that already horrified everyone, could bring any scandal upon us.¹⁶⁵

In fact, Lucci in his own letter linked the cure that the French Jesuits had effected on the emperor with the cinchona to the emperor's authorization for Bouvet to undertake his return journey to Europe with the designation of *qinchai* 欽差 or Imperial Envoy, the second after Grimaldi. The emperor sent Bouvet to Europe because he wanted to increase the number of learned Jesuits at his court. His objective was also to obtain more of these 'effective' medicines in Canton and India, and that on his return he would provide him with the formula for cinchona.¹⁶⁶ Bouvet, for his part, tried to set up diplomatic relations between China and France, like those that already existed between France

163 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 166, ff. 95r-v.

164 Jean Bomier, * 1621, S.J. 1639, + 18.II.1705 Bordeaux (ARSI, *Aquitan.* 12, ff. 11r and 414r).

165 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 166, ff. 95r-v. This was not the only critical testimony of Bouvet on Lucci's medical skill. See also ARSI, *Jap Sin* 199 II, f. 390r.

166 SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 522; JA 49-V-22, f. 139. See also APF, *SC Indie Orientale e Cina*, vol. 6, ff. 337r-338v, letter of Bernardino de la Chiesa from Nanking 24 August 1693. In the same letter he stated that Bouvet was sent to Europe in order to obtain more «French medicine».

and Siam.¹⁶⁷ Although Bouvet failed in his diplomatic mission, he returned with twelve – mostly French – Jesuits; among them were the Jesuit physician and apothecary Bernard Rhodes and the surgeon Pierre Frapperie.¹⁶⁸

The significant factor of this voyage is that the growing number of French Jesuits working at the court increased the conflict between the French Jesuits and those of the *Padroado* who were at the heart of the Astronomical Bureau.¹⁶⁹ This conflict was the result both of national interests between the patronage of Portugal and that of France, and the rivalry in scientific influence; and it resulted in the decision in 1700 of the General of the Society, Tirso González Santalla S.J to separate the French mission from the Portuguese Vice-Province. Gerbillon became the first Superior of the French Mission in China, with the same jurisdiction as the Portuguese Vice-Provincial, Pereira, and both were answerable to the Jesuit Visitor.¹⁷⁰ In this way the internal division of the Jesuit Mission in China was finally accomplished, and we may interpret it as a second ‘victory’ for the French Jesuits, precipitated by the episode of the cinchona and confirmed, as Claudia von Collani states, by Bouvet’s strategic maneuver of flooding the court with Jesuits of French origin.¹⁷¹

The Last Traces of Lucci and Lima in China

Our two protagonists together with Osorio, Bouvet and Sam-Lao Yé finally reached Canton on 22 August 1693, the feast day of Our Lady (St Mary, Virgin Queen). And from there Lucci and Lima set off for Macao, where they arrived on 13 September.¹⁷² Here each

167 See Bouvet’s diary edited in VON COLLANI, *Joaquim Bouvet S.J.*, pp. 24-25.

168 Rhodes and Frapperie formed part of ‘Bouvet’s squadron’ but did not travel on the ship *Amphitrite* like Bouvet. They arrived in Peking in 1700. See Fortunato MARGIOTTI (ed.), *Relationes et epistolas fratrum minorum hispanorum in Sinis qui a. 1684-92 missionem ingressi sunt*, Isola del Liri, Pisani, 1975 (hence *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 8), p. 165, letter of José de Osca to Alonso de Zafra, OFM Provincial in Manila, from Chaochow-fu 13 November 1698.

169 HAN Qi 韩琦, “The Role of the Astronomical Bureau in the Catholic Mission during the Qing Period”, in Noël GOLVERS (ed.), *The Christian Mission of China in the Verbiest Era: Some Aspects of the Missionary Approach*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999, pp. 85-95.

170 WITEK, *Controversial Ideas*, pp. 110-109 and footnote 101.

171 See Bouvet’s diary edited in VON COLLANI, *Joaquim Bouvet S.J.*, p. 45.

172 JA 49-V-22, f. 139r; SOARES, *Macao e a Assistência*, p. 523; DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 158.

went his separate way. In the case of Lima we only know that at some point he was living in Kiangxi (Jiangxi).¹⁷³ On 26 September of the same year, after the departure of Lucci and Lima, the Kangxi emperor ordered a substitute to be sent to carry out the role of Lima as surgeon, which highlights his preference for the latter over Lucci. It was recorded as follows by the *Conselho Geral do Senado*: «... the *Taiens* [Imperial Commissioners] who came from the Court declared to this tribunal the will of the emperor of China that they should take into their company Ant.^a da Silva, to take the place of Lima in surgery, in which the emperor had employed him». ¹⁷⁴ Among the reasons given for sending the physician Antonio da Silva was that his family was small. Furthermore, it was decided by the *Conselho* that during their stay in Peking Silva's family would receive three *pardaus* a month.¹⁷⁵ We have no confirmation that this physician mentioned as *cirurgião da cidade* (surgeon of the city)¹⁷⁶ eventually reached the court, since sources make no further reference to da Silva until sixteen years later, during the attempted assassination of the Governor of Macao António de Albuquerque Coelho (1682-1745).¹⁷⁷

As for Lucci, we know that he was initially placed in the College of Macao – in order not only to work exclusively in the service of religion, but also to escape the dangers which, in Lucci's own words, medicine entailed.¹⁷⁸ In Macao, after vowing to devote himself to the mission of Tonkin (Vietnam), the superiors agreed to send him to his

173 *Sinica Franciscana*, vol 6, pp. 1026-1027, letter of Basilio Brollo da Gemonia, OFM (1648-1704) to Artus de Lione, MEP (1655-1713) from Nanking, 6 June 1696: «From Nanchang-fu Father Amiani wrote to the Lord Bishop that Lima left there a basket and something else and that he would hand them all to the Lord Bishop of Nanking when he passes through that city...».

174 TEIXEIRA, *A medicina em Macau*, p. 51. The quoted source is *Arq. De Macau, Junho de 1929*, p. 35.

175 TEIXEIRA, *A medicina em Macau*, vol. 3, p. 51. The quoted source is *Arq. De Macau, Junho de 1929*, p. 35.

176 Charles R. BOXER, "A Note on the Interaction of Portuguese and Chinese Medicine at Macao and Peking (16th-18th centuries)", in: James Sylvester CUMMINS (ed.). *Christianity and Missions, 1450-1800*, Aldershot, Variorum (An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History 1450-1800), 1991, p. 157.

177 TEIXEIRA, *A medicina em Macau*, vol. 3, p. 51. See also SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 54.

178 JA 49-V-22, f. 139r; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 523.

requested destination.¹⁷⁹ Lucci arrived in Tonkin on 15 April 1694, where, despite having seemingly renounced medicine, he turned to prescribing medicines as a way of reaching the local population.¹⁸⁰ In 1704 he was first appointed Vice-Provincial, and then Superior from 1705 to 1710. Testimonies make clear that his mission in Tonkin was also not free of turbulence. Hardly had he started his official mandate there than he had to travel in October 1704 to Canton for an interview with Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, the Pope's legate, sent by Propaganda Fide in matters of the Chinese rites controversy.¹⁸¹ This was only a brief meeting, because of the basically bad relations between the French clerics of the *Missions Étrangères de Paris* on the one hand and the Jesuits dependent on the Portuguese *Padroado* (including Lucci) on the other.¹⁸² As a consequence of this conflict, Lucci was twice sanctioned by Propaganda Fide and eventually suffered suspension *a divinis*.¹⁸³ The French clergy in Tonkin even re-baptized those already baptized by Lucci.¹⁸⁴ It seems clear, however, that thereafter Lucci continued his missionary work in Tonkin, as he is said eventually to have baptized as many as 40,000 heathens there.¹⁸⁵ His proselytizing activities were highly praised by Balthasar Miller¹⁸⁶ who stressed that in spite of his old age Lucci

179 Lucci's oath in ARSI, *Lus.* 12, f. 116r.

180 MEP, MS 658, f. 84r.

181 MEP, MS 656, f. 189r.

182 APF, *Scritture originali della Congregazione Particolare, Indie Orientali e Cina* (hence *SOCP India Orientale e Cina*), vol. 1711, ff. 159r-v and 173r. See also MEP, MS 654, f. 189r and MS 658, f. 386r. For a description and analysis of the complexities of the missionary landscape during that period see Jean CHARBONNIER et al., *Les Missions Étrangères en Asie et dans l'Océan Indien*, Paris, Indes savantes, 2007, and Daniel H. BAYS, *A New History of Christianity in China*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 17-41.

183 DHCJ III, p. 2434. See also MEP, MS 684, f. 505r.

184 DHCJ III, p. 2434.

185 APF, *SC Indie Orientali Cina*, vol. 11, f. 15r, *Eloge par Bucarelli* highlights the missionary work carried out by Lucci in Goa. See also ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 37, ff. 57v. Another account (1700?) reports that in nine months Lucci rendered the following services: "100,018 confessions, 6,089 communions, 910 baptized adults, 710 baptized children". See London, The National Archives, SP 9, MS 239, f. 49r.

186 Balthasar Miller, * 17.VII.1683 Frioul (France), S.J. 27.X.1702 Vienna, † 1.VIII.1741 Požega (Croatia), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 176).

worked many miracles by exorcising evil spirits.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, when Lucci was still three or four miles away from possessed people, the ghosts already started to panic and to proclaim «pater Lucius» time and again. Furthermore, Miller mentioned that if there was a day Lucci had not converted a single soul to the Christian faith, he did not eat, because he was of the opinion that he would not deserve it.¹⁸⁸ It was also in Tonkin that Lucci's journey finally ended, on his death on 4 November 1719.¹⁸⁹ In a document of the MEP we can find a statement reflecting the controversial personality of this Italian Jesuit: «The famous Jesuit Fr. Lucy [sic] who had caused much talk about himself, and who is still much talked about this year, finally died about two months ago».¹⁹⁰

There can be no doubt that his death, which took place 26 years after his arrival in China, might have happened earlier had he stayed in Peking, for as Lucci himself said the four Chinese physicians who had been unable to cure the emperor of his tertian fevers were condemned to death: «It is not improbable that His Majesty dismissed the Father Physician [i.e. me] so as not to include him in the same sentence which the Tribunal would probably also have given him for the same reason».¹⁹¹ Although it seems that

187 Joseph Ströcklein, *Allerhand so Lehr- als Geist-reiche Brief, Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen, welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu aus beyden Indien, und andern über Meer gelegenen Ländern seit An. 1642 biß auf das Jahr 1726 in Europa angelangt seynd*, Augspurg u.a., Verlag Philips, Martins, und Joh. Veith seel, Erben, 1725-1726 (hence *Welt Bott*), vol. 1, n° 160, p. 43, letter of Balthasar Miller S.J. to Antonius Mordax S.J., Macao 13 September 1718.

188 *Welt Bott*, vol. 1, n° 160, p. 43.

189 DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 169.

190 MEP, MS 655, f. 225r.

191 JA 49-V-22, f.139v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, p. 523. In the same letter Fontaney also described this episode; however, he invoked the magnanimous soul of the Kangxi Emperor who spared the lives of the physicians involved and sent them into exile instead. Fontaney's words may be said to have corresponded with the intention of the French Jesuit Mission to present the Kangxi Emperor as an enlightened monarch: «When he was fully recovered, he rewarded all those who had served him during his illness, or who had brought him some remedies, even if he had not taken them. But he punished harshly three of his Physicians, who had been of the opinion, in the violence of his sickness, not to give him any remedy. What, said he, you abandon me in danger, for fear that you be blamed for my death; and you have no fear that I should die, giving me no help? He ordered the Criminal Court to examine their conduct, and to judge them according to the law. This Court condemned them to death; but the emperor pardoned

three of them were later pardoned and 'only' sent to exile, this testimony gives us a clear first indication of the real risk that Jesuit physicians ran in the practice of medicine in the service of the 'Son of Heaven'. In the case of Lucci, for better or for worse, the emperor protected him, not as a physician, but surely as people coming from the 'Western Ocean' in his service. At the same time, Lucci's providential departure from the court was felt and interpreted in a self-serving way by the French Jesuits, as a victory over the Jesuits of the *Padroado*.

Conclusions

...all the Fathers, by common consent and opinion, are resolved that come what may it cannot and must never be permitted that anyone who deals with medicine or medical matters, or who knows or understands them, should go or be sent under any circumstances to the Court, on pain of being the cause of the loss of all the Missions and Christianity. Unless it were such a physician as could make men immortal, and had a certificate of having done so, for in that case he might be expected to bring benefit and not harm.

Isidoro Lucci¹⁹²

The words expressed above by Isidoro Lucci at the end of his letter, where he tried to dissuade more medically-trained Jesuits from being sent to Peking, paradoxically clashed with reality: not only did the flow not stop, but from then onwards Jesuit physicians, surgeons and apothecaries were successively appointed to Peking for an uninterrupted period of thirty years, offering Jesuit medical services to the Kangxi emperor. Isidoro Lucci, together with João Baptista Lima, was merely the first. One of the motives that may have led the Society to continue with this policy was precisely its firm conviction of the superiority of European medicine over Chinese medicine, not only at the theoretical level but also in the practical, as the Jesuits repeatedly stated in their letters.¹⁹³ In this

them, and sent them into exile». See LEC, pp. 107-108.

192 JA 49-V-22, f. 139v; SOARES, *Macau e a Assistência*, pp. 523-524.

193 That the questioning of Chinese medical theory was a constant feature can be seen in the introduction to the chapter on *médecine chinoise* in Du Halde's work: «But since they know nothing of physics, they do not know the function of the parts of the human body, nor consequently the causes of illnesses, for [their] science is based on an unclear system of the structure of the human body; it is therefore not surprising that they have not made the same progress in this

way, the risk-benefit assessment of sending medically trained Jesuits inclined towards the beneficial aspects of the operation, seeing it as an important tool of influence with the Kangxi Emperor, as Verbiest had previously stated in his letter of 1 August 1685.¹⁹⁴

My overall analysis of the institutional, political, scientific and religious roles played by Jesuit physicians, surgeons and apothecaries during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor provides several conclusions. Based on those, I can say that the case study of the Jesuit physician Lucci, accompanied by the layman barber-surgeon Lima, shows us a pattern which, with the exception of some peculiarities, announces a series of characteristics which can be also be identified in the rest of the medically trained Jesuits subsequently sent to China. In the first place, the Kangxi Emperor was primarily interested not in the sending of 'physicians' but of 'surgeons', or more specifically of *waike daifu* 外科大夫 (doctor of external medicine). We have evidence of this in European and Chinese sources also for the period thereafter.¹⁹⁵ On the departure

science as that made by physicians in Europe». See DU HALDE, *Description*, vol. 3, p. 460. In their letters the Jesuits in Peking repeatedly questioned the Chinese physicians' knowledge of *materia medica*. Thus Pierre Jartoux S.J. (1669-1720) in his famous description of ginseng, addressed on 12 April 1711 to the Procurator General of the missions in China and India, says the following: «I am convinced that in the hands of Europeans with an understanding of pharmacy, this would be an excellent remedy, in order to analyze its nature through chemistry and to apply it in the appropriate quantity according to the nature of the ailment for which it could prove advantageous». See LEC, p. 183.

194 In fact, during his long European journey, Grimaldi, as well as summoning Lucci, also recruited Giuseppe Baudino S.J., a Jesuit apothecary who arrived in Peking in 1694 after Lucci; and Bouvet, the second Imperial Envoy, brought with him on his return journey the Jesuit surgeon Pierre Frapperie and the Jesuit physician Bernard Rhodes; and so on in succession. Baudino and Rhodes in particular, in contrast with Lucci's brief stay, worked for twenty-five (1694-1719) and fifteen (1700-1715) years respectively in the service of the Kangxi Emperor and consequently in the service of the Jesuit Mission in China. See PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "De Paris a Pekín, De Pekín a Paris", chapter 3.

195 Sources in Manchu and Chinese give the same information. On the death of the Jesuit surgeon Frapperie the emperor had the following *yuzhi* 諭旨 (Imperial Edict) published: «... Fan Jixun (Frapperie) has died. It is really difficult to find this kind of doctor of external medicine (*waike daifu* 外科大夫)». In the same Edict the emperor directed that it should be shown to the «people of the Western Ocean» and asked that they be told that he urgently wanted them to send from Macao another *waike daifu*, either Christian or of whatever other religion, but obviously the Society made sure that it was someone with a Jesuit pedigree: the person sent was the Jesuit surgeon Giandomenico Paramino (1661-1713). For

of Lucci and Lima, European sources show us how the emperor wanted a replacement only for Lima 'in surgery' (*na Chirurgia*), thus as in the translation of an Imperial Order sent to his mandarins in Macao only thirteen days after the departure of Lucci and Lima.

The denomination of *waike daifu* in Chinese medicine includes surgical functions such as the draining of abscesses and boils, the extirpation of tumors, the stitching of open wounds, traumatological pathologies such as contusions, wounds and fractures of the skull and limbs, or those produced by weapons, including firearms. It was a discipline especially appreciated by the Kangxi Emperor, because it could be used in the treatment of illnesses which were very common as a consequence of the «court on horseback», which determined the long excursions and campaigns that the emperor and his retinue undertook. In fact, it should be pointed out that the sources in Chinese and Manchu give us repeated examples where medically-trained Jesuits had to treat patients suffering from ulcers with symptoms, possibly complicated as a result of systemic infections arising from the ulceration in question.¹⁹⁶ The discipline of surgery was very poorly developed in Chinese medicine so that, in fact, the Kangxi Emperor made use of the surgeons of Tartary at the same time as, or alternating with, the Jesuit surgeons. For this reason, Jesuit surgeons could provide with their surgical techniques, albeit rudimentary, a valid therapeutic alternative to that of the Chinese physicians of the Imperial College of Medicine (Taiyiyuan 太醫院). Although the latter did have *waike daifu*, their technique was not as effective as that of the Jesuits or Tartars, their main resource for therapeutic success being the prescription of medicines. We can thus understand that the emperor would be interested only in a replacement for Lima, the barber-surgeon. At the same time, this argues the less necessary role of the Jesuit physicians who limited themselves to the prescription of medicines, and who were not able to carry out surgical operations, as was the case of Lucci.

Second, we should look at the question of the effectiveness of the

this Manchu document available in its Chinese translation see KXMZ, n° 523, p. 284. See also MEP, MS 407, f. 409. This document is a copy of an Imperial Edict of the Kangxi Emperor in Chinese. It was enclosed with a letter of Jean Domenge S.J. (1666-1735) to Jean Basset, MEP (1662-1707) from Xi'an in 1704, the year after Frapperie's death. We have not found the original document in sources in Chinese.

196 E.g. LEC, p. 237. Rhodes intervened in the removal of a tumor on the upper lip of the Kangxi Emperor. In addition, the palace memorials in Manchu show Rhodes treating an ulcer for Ban-di 班第, Ongniud Prince. See KXMZ, n° 565, p. 304.

medically-trained Jesuits who worked in the service of the Kangxi Emperor. As a matter of fact, the difficulties that Lucci experienced when acting as a physician in this context also affected the rest of the medically-trained Jesuits who arrived subsequently. Lucci stressed the difficulty of obtaining the appropriate remedies for the illnesses he diagnosed, not to mention that of producing these remedies in China with local ingredients in an attempt to indigenize them; or, failing that, to prescribe Chinese medicines directly for the patients. With all this, Lucci complained of the patients' refusal to follow the medicinal treatment recommended by a physician of the «Western Ocean». The patient found himself in a very difficult, complicated and perplexing situation, for Lucci's intervention was ordered by the Kangxi Emperor himself; but, as Lucci noted, the patient finally opted for the therapy of Chinese physicians, or simply for self-medication. At the same time the patient led the emperor and Lucci himself to believe that he was following the proposed remedy, so the failure to recover was directly associated with Lucci's erroneous treatment. Finally, it seems clear from Lucci's testimonies, but also from those of other medically-trained Jesuits, that patients very often were given over to him when there was no other possible therapeutic course, which notably reduced his chances of success.

All the factors described above serve to give a relative view of the 'failures' attributed to Lucci. These factors appear to have been in the background of his departure from the court and to have their origin in his lack of practical training in medicine when he obtained his degree as a physician, but to judge this, we must avoid presentism. The professionalization of medicine in Europe began during the eighteenth century, together with the legitimation and distinguishing of surgery as a medical discipline separate from medicine. However, these great steps at the institutional and academic level did not mean an obvious change in the mortality rate in Europe. Indeed, it was not until the nineteenth century, after the development of the first vaccines, and the twentieth century with the consolidation of surgery after the two World Wars, that medical progress was translated into therapeutic effectiveness. Lucci received his medical formation at the end of the seventeenth century, when academic training in medicine was eminently theoretical, and practical teaching was purely incidental. As a result, once theoretical instruction in medicine had been completed, practical exercises as such were carried out 'on the battlefield'. In Lucci's case his problem of 'lack of practice' did not arise from his lack of 'practical teaching', because this was virtually non-

existent at the end of the seventeenth century, but from his lack of experience. Lucci was sent to the China Mission immediately after obtaining his medical degree, which at the same time shows the urgency with which he was requested and the importance attached to the request. This contrasts with the background of other Jesuits such as the apothecary Giuseppe Baudino S.J. who, before being sent to the mission, practiced as a nurse and apothecary for years in the College of Milan, which gave him prior experience before being sent to Peking.¹⁹⁷ For Lucci his experience was limited, in the first instance, to the practice he could gain as 'ship's physician' on the voyage of more than a year which took him to China; in the second instance, perhaps, to the practical work he did for a short time in the Royal Hospital in Goa; then for some months in the novitiate of Chora; and finally what he did for a year in the Jesuit College of Saint Paul in Macao. The practice of his activities eventually reached a climax in the court of the Kangxi Emperor, after he had gained a total of barely two years experience in the medical field. This fact, logically enough, may explain the alarm caused by the sending of Lucci to Peking, as well as the fact that with him they sent the barber-surgeon Lima. Lima, unlike Lucci, had long experience in therapeutics, but his discipline, that of barber-surgeon, was also of limited use in saving lives in Europe. Thus, if we combine experience with effectiveness, Lucci and Lima were rather comparable.

Third, we can say that Lucci's profile corresponds to that of the majority of European lay physicians, with experience gained through practice; and his suggested treatments, as we have seen in the testimonies available to us, corresponded perfectly with those very frequently carried out in Europe until the nineteenth century for a large number of illnesses. These were enemas, purges and bloodletting, all still inherited from Hippocratic and Galenic medicine. In fact Lucci prescribed the latter two, purging and bleeding, for the Kangxi Emperor himself. As for the medications prescribed by Lucci, he based himself on a differential diagnosis of symptoms and the pulse, from which he prescribed a particular medicine. Thus we have seen how Lucci ruled out the use of juleps and gums for the treatment of the 'tertian fevers' of the Kangxi Emperor in favor of cinchona, the medicinal panacea and remedy *par excellence* for all types of fevers, proceeding from the New World and imported by the Jesuits themselves, but of limited availability

197 PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "De París a Pekín, de Pekín a París", p. 200.

in Peking. This specific approach also mirrors the European pattern of the Jesuits in their role as 'archiaters', as in the court of Louis XIV. In that case it was the Jesuit and Royal Confessor François d'Aix de La Chaise (1624-1709), who was not a physician, but nonetheless recommended and provided cinchona to the king of France for the treatment of the Dauphin's 'tertian fevers'.

Fourth, I should like to note that Lucci in the area of Tonkin was described as performing 'miracle cures' by acting as an exorcist, as did other professed fathers of the Society without medical training, such as Jean-François Foucquet,¹⁹⁸ by the use of religious iconography and/or holy water.¹⁹⁹ This fact is noteworthy as the rest of the medically-trained Jesuits working in the court of the Kangxi Emperor, but with the rank of temporal coadjutors, were always described as healing through the use of medicines.

Fifth, we can say that Lucci, and the other medically-trained Jesuits who came later, were part of a group of interlocutors who communicated to the Kangxi Emperor elements of European scientific knowledge termed Western Learning (*xixue* 西學). The Kangxi Emperor's patronage of Lucci and other medically-trained Jesuits was used as a tool to consolidate his legitimate power and imperial authority, as I have demonstrated in my previous research.²⁰⁰ On the one hand, over the Chinese palace physicians the Kangxi Emperor imposed a view based on European medical knowledge (theory and practices), transmitted to him by the medically-trained Jesuits, which was beyond the scope of the traditional physicians. On the other hand, to the patients of his imperial network, formed by imperial relatives, ministers, high-ranking civil officials and military officers, particularly from the capital but also from the peripheries, members of the imperial guard as well as other *protégés*, he showed his more paternalistic side, according them medically-trained Jesuits who could provide them with alternative therapies otherwise difficult to obtain. As regards Lucci's patients, his letter and other sources are evidence that his activity was directed to the Kangxi Emperor, and from the emperor to the patients proposed by him; among these

198 Jean-François Foucquet, * 12.III.1665 Vezelay (France), S.J. 17.IX.1681 Paris, † 14.III.1741 Rome (Italy), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 98-99).

199 E.g. LEC, p. 57.

200 PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "Jesuit Medicine"; and EAD., "Antoine Thomas, SI as a 'Patient'".

were his own son Yintang, female patients, mandarins, counts, future husbands of his daughters, and all with a clear Manchu and Mongol identity. This clear-cut profile of Lucci's patients during his stay in Peking seems to distance him, as in the case of other medically-trained Jesuits, from the conventional ideal of a 'charitable physician', providing medical assistance to the destitute population. While such medical support for commoners cannot be completely ruled out, one has the suspicion that this ideal was more a means of Jesuit propaganda than a reality, because the medically-trained physicians at least seemed to have been almost completely absorbed by their medical activities in the service of the 'Son of Heaven' and his privileged imperial networks. Indeed, it was not necessary to have a Jesuit physician to practice charity through the dispensing of remedies: this could be done by any untrained Jesuit, as Jean-François Gerbillon and François-Xavier Dentrecolles,²⁰¹ among others, had done and testified.²⁰²

Sixth, let us look at the background against which Lucci acted with the other medically-trained Jesuits in the context of the 'court on horseback', forming a part of the team of medical staff who accompanied the Kangxi Emperor on his imperial tours. However, because Lucci and Lima stayed only a short time in China, there were only a few opportunities to become a part of the ruler's retinue during his trips. We have evidence that they took part in a Northern Tour to Rehe [Jehol, Gehol] in Tartary, where the emperor usually stayed for three months to escape the summer heat in Peking. During this stay Lucci and Lima also participated in the ruler's hunting excursion to the Mulan Hunting Ground. Very possibly Lucci was also with the emperor in The Garden of Eternal Spring in Haidian on the outskirts of Peking.

And lastly, although Lucci practiced medicine at the court, both in Peking and 'on horseback', he was not a member of the Imperial College of Medicine (Taiyiyuan), but of a group of medical personnel with the status of «unofficial physician».²⁰³ These included physicians from Mongolia, doctors of *acu-moxa*,

201 François-Xavier Dentrecolles, *25.II.1664 Limoges (France), S.J. 26.IX.1682 place unknown, † 2.VII.1741 Peking (China), (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 73-74).

202 E.g. LEC, p. 159 and LEC, p. 242.

203 For the definition of «unofficial physician» see CHANG CHE CHIA, "The Therapeutic Tug of War", p. 55.

Lama physicians, Taoist masters (*daoshi* 道士) and midwives,²⁰⁴ i.e. members of different strata of society and equipped with diverse techniques. They worked in direct competition with the official physicians, and the key to their acceptance and success with patients was the effectiveness of their treatments. The Kangxi Emperor appears as the overarching agent who skillfully wove a network including the Imperial College of Medicine, Chinese and non-Chinese medicine, the latter occasionally and strategically inserted by the emperor himself. The cornerstone was effectiveness, creating a multi-faceted therapeutic body characteristic of the cultural diversity of the Qing Empire. The fact that Lucci did not join the Imperial College of Medicine, but was implanted by the emperor, was part of an environment that could sometimes be artificial and therefore, as we have seen, create conflicts. These conflicts between Lucci, the Jesuit physician imposed by the emperor, and the Chinese physicians from the Imperial College of Medicine could be interpreted as an outcome of indirect criticism by the Chinese physicians of the Kangxi Emperor's intervention in medical matters.

Having described in these seven points the main characteristics of Lucci's practice of medicine, and in many respects also those of other medically-trained Jesuits sent later, I should like to end by going back to the particular context of Lucci's mission. The sending of Lucci to the court occurred at a moment of great upheaval within the Jesuit mission in Peking after the arrival of the *Mathématiciens du Roi*. At the same time his controversial departure was determined in part by his ineffectiveness in the treatment of the Kangxi Emperor's 'tertian fevers', cured by the French Jesuits with the dispensation of cinchona, which was recommended initially by Lucci himself. The French Jesuits presented this episode, without at any time mentioning Lucci's part in it, as the cause of two factors that became the key to the establishment of the future French Jesuit Mission. First, Fontaney qualifies it as a determining factor in the cession by the emperor of an independent space inside the Imperial City, addressed exclusively to the French Jesuits. Second, Bouvet confirmed Fontaney's words, but also used it in his argument to justify his selection by the emperor as the second Imperial Envoy to Europe. As Claudia von Collani has described, the massive influx of French Jesuits orchestrated by Bouvet was instrumental in

204 Cf. PUENTE-BALLESTEROS, "De Paris a Pekín, de Pekín a Paris", section 2.2.7. See also EAD., "Jesuit Medicine".

establishment by the General of the Society, in 1700, of the French Jesuit Mission, with its own Superior. The question to be asked here is whether this episode was really so important as the French Jesuits wanted it to appear? The contextualization of Lucci's biography gives us the answer. We can say that the story about the prescription of cinchona to the emperor was of considerable importance, but over-exaggerated, and forming part of a clear strategy which, as Tomé Pereira S.J. and Antoine Thomas S.J. reported, had long been orchestrated by the French Jesuits who, since their arrival in Peking, had taken successive incremental steps towards their separation from the Jesuits of the *Padroado*. In fact at the root of the mission of the *Mathématiciens du Roi*, under the sponsorship of Louis XIV and under the auspices of the newly formed *Académie des Sciences*, was the ultimate objective of the positioning of France in China, beyond the geopolitical limits of the *Padroado*. This strategy was encouraged by the European context in which, as Landry-Deron has very clearly summarized,²⁰⁵ the agreements imposed by the *Padroado* were seriously threatened by the new emerging powers such as Holland and England, who did not recognize the authority of Rome; but even countries faithful to the Catholic Church, such as France, saw these restrictions as unjust. Moreover, the Church of Rome, aware that at that time Portugal had no more than a million inhabitants and lacked the means to ensure the expansion of the Church to the Orient, began a series of maneuvers by which it tried to recover its authority over the missions, to the detriment of Portugal. To this end *Propaganda Fide* was created by the Roman court in 1622, as a way of carrying out an administrative reorganization of the mission territory. Besides, the papacy was concerned not to repeat a situation like that of Portugal, which gave spiritual prerogatives to a temporal power. Against this background the episode of the 'tertian fevers' of the Kangxi Emperor can be seen as an event that was linked with, and formed part of, the discourse constructed by the two opposing Jesuit factions in Peking: the Jesuits of the *Padroado* and the French Jesuits. The brief and turbulent career of the Jesuit physician Isidoro Lucci and the lay barber-surgeon João Baptista Lima in Peking was a clear reflection of this rift, both at the mission level and in terms of geo-politics. At the same time the analysis of their biographies has given a new twist to the image of the Kangxi Emperor, in contrast to that provided by Chinese and Manchu sources. In fact, the episode of the 'tertian fevers' shows us

205 LANDRY-DERON, "Les mathématiciens envoyés en Chine", pp. 427-429.

how, for about a month, the emperor was subjected to all kinds of therapies from purgatives, to bloodletting, Chinese and European medicine, supernatural miracle cures and a panacea from the New World, cinchona. This humanizes the Kangxi Emperor even more than ever; rather than the immaculate 'Son of Heaven' that Chinese historiography paints for us, it allows us to discover him as a 'Christ', afflicted and crucified by earthly suffering.

Abstract

This article provides a detailed account of the life and work of Isidoro Lucci S.J. and João Baptista Lima at the imperial court in late 17th-century China. Lucci, accompanied by the barber-surgeon and Macao-born Lima, was the first professional Jesuit physician to arrive in Peking in response to a special request of the Kangxi emperor. First, their complex travel route until their arrival in Peking will be highlighted, as well as how their stay in the Chinese capital gave rise to a conflict within the Jesuit China Mission due to competing interests between Padroado members and the *Mathématiciens du Roi*. Second, the medical activities of Lucci and Lima at the court in Peking and on imperial tours will be depicted, including their conflicts with Chinese palace physicians. Moreover, it will be shown that caring for elite patients, among them the 'Son of Heaven' suffering from diseases and thus being subjected to the crude methods of contemporary European medicine, moved them far away from the ideal of charitable physicians. Eventually, the causes will be examined that brought the stay of Lucci and Lima in Peking to an abrupt end, being triggered by a combination of political, religious and medical factors working against them.

Resumen

Este artículo proporciona un detallado relato de la vida y obra de Isidoro Lucci S.J. y João Baptista Lima en la corte imperial China de finales del siglo XVII. Lucci, acompañado por el sangrador macaense Lima, fue el primer jesuita profesional de la medicina enviado a Pekín en respuesta a la petición expresa del emperador Kangxi. Primero destacaremos la complejidad de su ruta de viaje hasta su llegada a Pekín, así como analizaremos su controvertida estancia en la capital la cual evidenció los intereses enfrentados entre la facción jesuita de los *Mathématiciens du Roi* y la del Padroado. Segundo representaremos las actividades médicas de Lucci y Lima en la corte de Pekín y durante los tours imperiales, destacando los conflictos que emergieron de su interacción con los médicos

chinos de palacio. Además, demostraremos como la atención que dispensaron a las élites locales, y al mismo ‘Hijo del Cielo’ adolecido de enfermedades varias y que fue objeto de los más crudos métodos de la medicina europea contemporánea, les distanció del apelativo de médicos de la caridad. Finalmente examinaremos las causas que desencadenaron el abrupto final de la estancia de Lucci y Lima en Pekín cuyo detonante fue una combinación de factores religiosos, políticos y médicos que actuaron en su contra.

America die verkehrte Welt. Eine literaturwissenschaftlich-kulturwissenschaftliche Lektüre der Paraguay-Berichte des Tiroler Jesuiten Anton Sepp (1655-1733)

Esther Schmid Heer*

Die Jesuitenmissionen in Paraguay gehören zu den bekanntesten Missionsunternehmungen der frühen Neuzeit. Im Rahmen des spanischen Patronats reisten zunächst spanische, ab Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts vermehrt auch zentraleuropäische Jesuiten in die Jesuitenprovinz Paraguay (in den frühneuzeitlichen Berichten, *Paraquaria*), um dort in den christlich-indigenen Missionsdörfern (den sogenannten *Reduktionen*) in vielfältigen Funktionen zu wirken.¹ Zeugnis von diesen Unternehmungen

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- 1 Zur Gesellschaft Jesu vgl. Michael MÜLLER, „Die Jesuiten (SJ)“, in: Friedhelm JÜRGENSMEIER, Regina Elisabeth SCHWERTFEGER (Hg.), *Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und katholischer Reform 1500-1700*, Bd. 2, Münster, Aschendorff, 2006 (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung. Vereinsschriften der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum 66), S. 193-214; Andreas FALKNER, „Jesuiten“, in: Peter DINZELBACHER, James Lester HOGG (Hg.), *Kulturgeschichte der christlichen Orden in Einzeldarstellungen*, Stuttgart, Kröner, 1997 (Kröners Taschenausgabe 450), S. 204-241; Michael SIEVERNICH, Günter SWITEK (Hg.), *Ignatianisch. Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Freiburg i. Br., Basel, Wien, Herder, 1990. Zu den frühneuzeitlichen Jesuitenmissionen vgl. Johannes MEIER (Hg.), *Sendung – Eroberung – Begegnung. Franz Xaver, die Gesellschaft Jesu und die katholische Weltkirche im Zeitalter des Barock*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2005; DERS. (Hg.), „...usque ad ultimum terrae“. *Die Jesuiten und die transkontinentale Ausbreitung des Christentums 1540-1773*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000 (Studien zur Außereuropäischen Christentumsgeschichte (Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika) 3); Rolf DECOT (Hg.), *Expansion und Gefährdung. Amerikanische Mission und Europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2004; Johannes MEIER (Hg.), *Jesuiten aus Zentraleuropa in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika. Ein bio-bibliographisches Handbuch mit einem Überblick über das außereuropäische Wirken der Gesellschaft Jesu in der frühen Neuzeit*, Bd. 1: Brasilien

legen auf uns gekommene Materialien wie u.a. Bauwerke, Musiknoten, Heilpflanzenkompendien, Artefakte, Briefe, Reise- und Missionsberichte, Personalakten oder Jahresberichte ab.² Die schriftlichen Zeugnisse aus den jesuitischen Paraguay-Missionen wurden schon im zeitgenössischen Europa breit rezipiert und kontrovers diskutiert.³ In diesem Kontext sind auch die Reise-

(1618-1760), Münster, Aschendorff, 2005, bearb. v. Fernando Amado AYMORÉ, Bd. 2: *Chile (1618-1771)*, Münster, Aschendorff, 2011, bearb. v. Michael MÜLLER, Bd. 3: *Neugranada (1618-1771)*, Münster, Aschendorff, 2008, bearb. v. Christoph NEBGEN. Zu den Jesuitenmissionen in Paraguay vgl. Hans-Jürgen PRIEN, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977, v. a. S. 15-367; Peter Claus HARTMANN, *Der Jesuitenstaat in Südamerika 1609-1768. Eine christliche Alternative zu Kolonialismus und Marxismus*, Weissenhorn, Anton H. Konrad, 1994; Fabian FECHNER, *Entscheidungsfindung in der Gesellschaft Jesu. Die Provinzkongregationen der Jesuiten in Paraguay (1608-1762)*, Diss. Tübingen 2012. Einen eigentlichen ‚Jesuitenstaat‘ gab es nie, da die Grenzen der Jesuitenprovinz Paraguay unfest waren, d. h. ‚Paraquaria‘ Gebiete der heutigen Staaten Paraguay, Argentinien, Brasilien, Bolivien und Uruguay umfasste, und es ausserdem keine eigenständige Verwaltung und Regierung gab.

- 2 Vgl. dazu etwa Guillermo FURLONG, *Historia Social y Cultural del Rio de la Plata*, Bd. 1: *El Trasplante Cultural, Arte*, Bd. 2: *El Trasplante Cultural, Ciencia*, Bd. 3: *El Trasplante Social*, Buenos Aires, Tip. Editora Argentina, 1969; Eckart KÜHNE (Hg.), Martin Schmid, 1694-1772, *Missionar – Musiker – Architekt. Ein Jesuit aus der Schweiz bei den Chiquitano-Indianern in Bolivien*, Luzern, Historisches Museum, 1994; DERS., *Die Missionskirchen von Chiquitos im Tiefland von Bolivien. Bau und Restaurierung der Kirchen von Martin Schmid (1694-1772)*, Teil 1: Text, Teil 2: Anhänge und Beilagen, Diss. ETH Zürich 2008; Sabine ANAGNOSTOU, *Missionspharmazie. Konzepte, Praxis, Organisation und wissenschaftliche Ausstrahlung*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2011 (Sudhoffs Archiv – Beihefte 60); Markus FRIEDRICH, *Der lange Arm Roms? Globale Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenorden 1540-1773*, Frankfurt a. M., Campus, 2011; Galaxis BORJA GONZÁLEZ, *Jesuitische Berichterstattung über die Neue Welt. Zur Veröffentlichungs-, Verbreitungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte jesuitischer Americana auf dem deutschen Buchmarkt im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 226, Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte).

- 3 Zur Bekanntheit dieser Schriften trugen nicht zuletzt die Briefe aus den über die ganze damals bekannte Welt verteilten Missionen bei, die in den Missionszeitschriften *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 34 Bde., hg. v. Charles Le GOBIEN u. a., Paris u. a., Nicolas Le Clerc, 1702-1776 und *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, 5 Bde., 40 Teile, hg. v. Joseph STÖCKLEIN u. a., Augsburg u. a., Philipp, Martin und Johann Veith seel. Erben u. a., 1726-1761 abgedruckt wurden; vgl. BORJA GONZÁLEZ, *Jesuitische Berichterstattung und die Einleitung in: P. Florian PAUCKE S.J., Hin und Her. Hin süsse, und vergnügt, Her bitter und betrübt. Das ist: Treu gegebene Nachricht durch einem im Jahre 1748 aus Europa in West=America, namentlich in die Provinz Paraguay abreisenden und im Jahre 1769 nach Europa zuruckkehrenden Missionarium, Zwettler-Codex 420*, 2 Bde. mit insgesamt 88 teilweise mehrfarbigen Tafeln, hg. v.

und Missionsberichte des Tiroler Jesuiten Anton Sepp, der zu den bekanntesten Paraguay-Missionaren gehört und von 1691 bis zu seinem Tod 1733 in verschiedenen Missionsdörfern tätig war, zu lesen.⁴ Seine Berichte – die *Reißbeschreibung* (Brixen 1696, Nürnberg 1696), die *Continuation* (Ingolstadt 1710) und der *Paraquarische Blumengarten* (in Paraguay abgeschlossen 1714) – sind die ersten längeren Paraguay-Berichte in deutscher Sprache.⁵

Während von historischer Seite eine Vielzahl von neueren Forschungsarbeiten zu den Jesuitenmissionen in Südamerika vorliegt,⁶ fehlen literaturwissenschaftliche Arbeiten weitgehend. Das Dissertationsprojekt, das hier vorgestellt wird, hat den Versuch unternommen zu erkunden, welche Perspektiven eine literaturwissenschaftlich-kulturwissenschaftliche Lektüre der Paraguay-Berichte des Anton Sepp ergänzend zu anderen Untersuchungen im interdisziplinären Forschungsumfeld aufzeigen kann.

Anton Sepps Reise- und Missionsberichte aus *Paraquaria*, verfasst um 1700, sind wie erwähnt die ersten längeren Berichte in deutscher Sprache aus den frühneuzeitlichen südamerikanischen

Etta BECKER-DONNER u. Mitarb. v. Gustav OTRUBA, Wien, Wilhelm Braunmüller, 1959-1966 (Veröffentlichungen zum Archiv für Völkerkunde, Museum für Völkerkunde Wien, Bd. 4/1 und 2).

- 4 Zu Leben und Werk des Anton Sepp, * 21. oder 22.XI.1655 Kaltern, S.J. 28.IX.1674 Landsberg a. Lech, † 13.I.1733 San José (DHCJ IV, S. 3555f.), vgl. Johann MAYRS, *Anton Sepp. Ein Südtiroler im Jesuitenstaat*, Bozen, Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1988, materialreiche Dissertation.
- 5 Anton SEPP, *Reiß-Beschreibung*, Brixen, Paul Nikolaus Führer, 1696; *Reißbeschreibung*, Nürnberg, Johann Hoffmann, 1696, zitiert wird aus der Nürnberger Ausgabe, Sigle RB, abgesehen von geringen orthographischen Abweichungen im Titelblatt konnten in den beiden Ausgaben keine Unterschiede festgestellt werden; *Continuation*, Ingolstadt, Johann Andreas de la Haye, 1710, Sigle Cont; übereinandergesetzte Umlaute werden horizontal wiedergegeben; für die vollständigen Titel s. SCHMID HEER, *America die verkehrte Welt* und BORJA GONZÁLEZ, *Jesuitische Berichterstattung; Paraquarischer Blumengarten* (Buchmanuskript in deutscher Sprache, nach heutigem Kenntnisstand abgeschlossen 1714) [Universitätsbibliothek München, Sign. 4° Cod. ms. 275], vgl. die kürzlich erschienene Edition *Anton Sepp SJ (1655-1733): Paraquarischer Blumengarten. Ein Bericht aus den südamerikanischen Jesuitenmissionen*, hg. und mit einer Einleitung von Esther SCHMID HEER, Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner, 2012 (Jesuitica 17).
- 6 Vgl. Anm. 1, insbesondere auch die in den Bibliographien der aus dem Mainzer Forschungsprojekt hervorgegangenen Bände verzeichnete spanisch-, portugiesisch-, französisch- und englischsprachige Forschungsliteratur.

Jesuitenmissionen. Andere längere Berichte wie Dobrizhoffers *Geschichte der Abiponer* oder Pauckes sogenannter *Zwettler Codex 420* sind erst nach der Ausweisung der Jesuiten aus Südamerika 1767/1768 in Europa verfasst oder gedruckt worden.⁷ Diese gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Texte versuchen, das Wissen aus den südamerikanischen Missionen zu systematisieren und bieten damit für Historikerinnen, Religionswissenschaftler, Geographinnen, Mediziner, Linguistinnen oder Botaniker eine Fülle von Informationen. Für eine literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung hingegen sind die frühen Berichte von Anton Sepp gerade deshalb aufschlussreicher, weil sie nicht systematisieren, sondern stärker eine *Innensicht* einnehmen. In der Forschungsperspektive der hier präsentierten Arbeit interessieren weniger die Sachhinweise als der dynamische, performative Charakter der Texte. Es steht die Frage im Vordergrund, wie diese Texte eigentlich funktionieren und welchen Status sie im Rahmen der kulturellen Verschiebungen, Dezentrierungen und Neusetzungen im frühneuzeitlichen Raum Europa – Amerika einnehmen.⁸

Autor und Material

Anton Sepp durchläuft den klassischen Ausbildungsweg eines Jesuiten. Geboren wird er 1655 in Kaltern in Südtirol in eine kinderreiche Familie. Seine Mutter ist adliger Herkunft, sein Vater verwaltet als Amtmann der Grafen Thun Grund im Überetsch und im Südtiroler Unterland. Anton Sepp ist musikalisch begabt, weilt für einige Zeit als Hofsängerknabe in Wien und wird dort in Kirchenmusik, an der Orgel und weiteren Instrumenten ausgebildet. 1674 tritt er in Landsberg am Lech in die Gesellschaft Jesu ein. Nach der dortigen Noviziatszeit studiert er drei Jahre Philosophie und vier Jahre Theologie in Ingolstadt. Dazwischen sammelt er

7 Martin Dobrizhoffer, * 7.IX.1718 Friedberg, S.J. 18.X.1736 Trencin, † 17.VII.1791 Wien (DHCJ II, S. 1132), *Geschichte der Abiponer*, 3 Bde., Wien, Joseph Edlen von Kurzbeck, 1783-1784; Florian Paucke, * 24.IX.1719 Wroclaw, S.J. 9.X.1736 Brno, † 14.VII.1779 Jindrichuv Hradec (DHCJ III, S. 3062f.), *Hin und Her*.

8 Zu Dezentrierungen als spezifisches Merkmal der frühen Neuzeit vgl. Natalie ZEMON DAVIS, *Drei Frauenleben. Glikl, Marie de l'Incarnation, Maria Sibylla Merian* [amerik. 1995], Berlin, Wagenbach, 1996 sowie Stephen GREENBLATT, *Wunderbare Besitztümer. Die Erfindung des Fremden: Reisende und Entdecker* [engl. 1991], Frankfurt a. M. u. a., Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1994; zu Dezentrierungen in sprachphilosophischer respektive sprachtheoretischer Hinsicht vgl. Hugh J. SILVERMAN, *Textualitäten. Zwischen Hermeneutik und Dekonstruktion* [amerik. 1995], Wien, Turia-Kant, 1997.

Praxiserfahrung als Gymnasiallehrer in Landsberg, Solothurn und Luzern. Am Luzerner Jesuitenkolleg ist Anton Sepp neben seiner Professur auch Vorsteher der Marianischen Schülerkongregation, Musikpräfekt und Leiter der Schulschlusstheater. Das Tertiats, das dritte Erprobungsjahr, verbringt er in Altötting, einem Wallfahrtsort in Oberbayern. Das Gnadenbild der Schwarzen Mutter Gottes von Altötting besetzt in seinen späteren Texten aus der Neuen Welt eine herausragende Position als Heil- und Schutzinstanz. Dem Bittschreiben um Entsendung in die ‚Indianermission‘, welches er 1682 von Luzern aus nach Rom gesandt hat, wird 1687 entsprochen. Aber erst 1689 kann Anton Sepp zusammen mit seinem Begleiter und Mitbruder Anton Böhm als ‚Indianermissionär‘ nach Paraguay abreisen.⁹

1691 trifft er in Buenos Aires ein und reist weiter in die an den Flüssen Paraná, Paraguay und Uruguay gelegenen Missionsdörfer (‚Reduktionen‘). Dort wirkt er an verschiedenen Orten bis zu seinem Tod 1733. Aus diesen Dörfern schreibt er, wie alle Jesuiten, Briefe in seine (Oberdeutsche) Heimatprovinz, die heute grösstenteils im Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchiv in München aufbewahrt sind.¹⁰ Diese Briefe werden von seinen Brüdern Gabriel und Alphons redigiert und als gedruckte Werke herausgegeben. 1696 erscheint in Brixen und im gleichen Jahr auch in Nürnberg die *Reiẞbeschreibung*, die von der Überfahrt nach Südamerika und den ersten Erfahrungen in den Missionsdörfern berichtet. 1709 erscheint die *Continuatio(n)*, die Fortsetzung, zuerst in lateinischer, und 1710 in gegenüber der lateinischen Version erweiterter Form in deutscher Sprache. Sie berichtet im Stile der *Litterae annuae*, der jährlichen Schreiben aus den Niederlassungen in die Heimatprovinzen und nach Rom, aus dem Alltag des interkulturellen und transreligiösen Zusammenlebens in den Missionsdörfern.¹¹ 1714 schliesst Anton

9 Anton Böhm, * 22.VII.1659 Riglasreuth, S.J. 26.IX.1675 Landsberg a. Lech, † 10.V.1695 San Carlos (Hugo STORNI, *Catálogo de los Jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata) 1585-1768*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1980 S. 40).

10 Vgl. Dr. Elisabeth NOICHL und Robert MAYR (Bearb.), *Jesuitica, Spezialverzeichnis, Briefe und Berichte aus den überseeischen Missionen. Repertorien des Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchivs*, München 2002, Sign. 595/V/36, 595/I/26, 595/I/29, 579/26, 579/29, 595/I/4, 607/1, 607/187, 607/2, 607/3, 607/4, 595/I/5, 607/6, 607/66.

11 *Transreligiös* deshalb, weil in den Texten des Anton Sepp im Gegensatz zu interkulturellen Dialogen keine interreligiösen Dialoge auszumachen sind, wie sie etwa aus den Missionen in China bekannt sind. Es entstehen zwar christliche Gemeinschaften, immer wieder tauchen aber in den Berichten verschiedene

Sepp den *Paraquarischen Blumengarten* ab, seinen letzten Bericht in deutscher Sprache. Das fünfte Buch dieses auf fünf Bücher hin angelegten Werkes liegt als autographes Manuskript in der Universitätsbibliothek München. Dieses auf uns gekommene fünfte Buch des *Paraquarischen Blumengartens* ist im ersten, längeren Teil eine sehr freie Bearbeitung von Antonio Ruiz de Montoyas *Conquista espiritual* und beschreibt darin die Anfänge der Jesuitenmissionen in ‚Paraquaria‘;¹² im zweiten, kürzeren Teil fügt Sepp einen Überblick über den Stand der Paraguay-Missionen im Jahr 1714 an.¹³

Den Berichten von Anton Sepp ist gemeinsam, dass sie wie erwähnt kein systematisches Wissen über die Missionen ausbreiten. Insbesondere die beiden gedruckten Werke enthalten keine Kapitel zu Themen wie Religion oder Fauna und Flora wie etwa Pauckes *Zwettler Codex 420*. Gilt das Interesse im Anschluss an kulturwissenschaftliche, kulturhistorische und postkoloniale Diskussionen jedoch performativen transgressiven und transformativen Prozessen – gerade im Hinblick auf räumliche Aspekte der Kulturverhandlung und Akkommodation –, dann bieten die Texte eine Fülle von noch nicht gestrafftem und geglättetem Material. Befasst man sich intensiv mit den sprachlich-performativen Prozessen in diesen Texten, so erscheinen sie immer komplexer und ambivalenter. Sie werden damit für bestimmte Fragestellungen aufschlussreich und lassen „eine räumlich gesehene Welt reicher, komplexer, mehrdimensionaler“ erscheinen.¹⁴

Räumlichkeit und Performativität

Von den verschiedenen ‚turns‘, die seit den 80er und 90er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts kulturwissenschaftliche, interdisziplinäre Forschungen anregend beeinflusst haben, sind für die vorliegende Arbeit insbesondere der ‚postcolonial turn‘ und der ‚spatial turn‘

Zeichen religiöser Unsicherheit auf. Kultur wird verhandelt, Religion hingegen nicht. Vgl. dazu die Textbeispiele weiter unten.

12 Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, * 13.VI.1585 Lima, S.J. 11.XI.1606 Lima, † 11.IV.1652 Lima (DHCJ IV, S. 3436f.); Antonio RUIZ DE MONTOYA, *Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesus en las provincias del Paraguay, Parana, Uruguay y Tape*, Estudio preliminar y notas Ernesto J. A. MAEDER, Rosario, Equipo Difusor de Estudios de Historia Iberoamericana, 1989.

13 Zu diesem Abschnitt vgl. MAYR, *Anton Sepp* und Anm. 5.

14 Karl SCHLÖGEL, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit. Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik*, München, Wien, Hanser, 2003, S. 15.

(,topographical‘ bzw. ,topological turn‘) wegleitend.¹⁵ Beide Perspektivierungen sind räumlich und performativ geprägt, d. h., sie gehen davon aus, dass Räume durch (Sprach-) Handlungen (,spacing‘ und ,Syntheseleistungen‘) immer wieder neu geschaffen und verhandelt werden.¹⁶ Während der anglo-amerikanische ,postcolonial turn‘ politische Implikationen aufweist und auf hybridisierte ,third spaces‘ der kulturellen, sozialen und politischen Verhandlung fokussiert (Bhabha, Soja, Said, White), zielt der ,topographical turn‘ im deutschsprachigen Raum stärker auf Repräsentationsstrategien von Räumlichkeit in Texten ab (Weigel).¹⁷ Der in jüngster Zeit von medienphilosophischer Seite eingebrachte ,topological turn‘ lenkt den Blick insbesondere auf relationale räumliche Beziehungen und Verknüpfungen.¹⁸

Frühneuzeitliche Reise- und Missionsberichte wurden lange Zeit als ,Tatsachenberichte‘ auf ihre ,realen‘ Sachinhalte hin gelesen, und es wurde deren ,historische Wahrheit‘ überprüft. Die vorliegende, an performativen Prozessen orientierte Forschungsarbeit legt den Fokus im Anschluss an die kulturwissenschaftlichen ,turns‘ auf produktive sprachliche Verfahren und Handlungen. Verschiedene theoretische und methodische Ansatzpunkte werden dabei miteinander verknüpft und für die Untersuchung produktiv gemacht. In seiner berühmt gewordenen Heterotopologie bezeichnet Foucault die frühneuzeitlichen ,Reduktionen‘ in Paraguay als Heterotopien,

15 Doris BACHMANN-MEDICK, *Cultural Turns. Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt, 2006; Sigrid WEIGEL, „Zum ,topographical turn‘. Kartographie, Topographie und Raumkonzepte in den Kulturwissenschaften“, *KulturPoetik* 2002/2, 2, S. 151-165; Stephan GÜNZEL, *Topologie. Zur Raumbeschreibung in den Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften*, Bielefeld, Transcript, 2007; Homi K. BHABHA, *Die Verortung der Kultur* [engl. 1993], Tübingen, Stauffenburg, 2000 (Stauffenburg discussion 5).

16 Vgl. dazu von soziologischer Seite – insbesondere zu den Begriffen ,spacing‘ und ,Syntheseleistung‘ – Martina Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp, 2001 (stw 1506); von kulturtheoretischer Seite Michel de CERTEAU, *Kunst des Handelns* [franz. 1980], Berlin, Merve, 1988.

17 Vgl. BHABHA, *Verortung der Kultur*; Edward W. SOJA, *Thirdspace. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Cambridge, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1996; Edward W. SAID, *Orientalism. Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London, Penguin Books, 21995; für die frühe Neuzeit insbesondere Richard WHITE, *The middle ground. Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815*, Cambridge u. a., Cambridge University Press, 1991 (Cambridge studies in North American Indian history); WEIGEL, *Zum „topographical turn“*.

18 Vgl. GÜNZEL, *Topologie*.

ausgeschlossene Orte, spezifisch organisiert und funktionierend, aber dennoch eingeschlossen in die Gesellschaft.¹⁹ Im Anschluss daran betrachtet Sabine Schülting auch die Texte aus der Neuen Welt selbst, die u. a. im Kontext der Missionen entstanden sind, als Heterotopien.²⁰ In einem zweiten Heterotopiekonzept werden Texte bei Foucault zu einem Raum, in welchem Dinge (sprachlich) zusammengebracht werden können, die im realen Leben keinen gemeinsamen Ort haben.²¹ Eine solcherart ‚kontrapunktische‘ kulturwissenschaftlich-literaturwissenschaftliche Lektüre der Berichte des Anton Sepp fragt also nach dem Status der Texte im frühneuzeitlichen jesuitischen Kontext im Zusammenhang mit spezifischen dynamischen (geographischen, historischen, kulturellen und sozialen) sprachlichen Verräumlichungsstrategien.

Der französische Historiker, Literaturwissenschaftler und Kulturtheoretiker Michel de Certeau S.J.,²² der als Wegbereiter des ‚performative turn‘ in den Kulturwissenschaften gilt, stellt in seiner grundlegenden Studie *Kunst des Handelns* einen Zusammenhang zwischen Sprachperformanz (Sprachpraktiken) und Raumperformanz (Gehen im Raum) her.²³ Ausgehend vom urbanen Raum spricht er von einer „Rhetorik des Gehens“ und von einer „poetischen“ respektive „Bedeutungs-Geographie“.²⁴ Die hier präsentierte, an performativen (Sprach-) Prozessen orientierte Untersuchung verschiebt im Anschluss an de Certeau den Fokus von der Beschreibung von Raum hin zu Fragen nach Prozessen der (sprachlichen) Verräumlichung und – in einem zweiten Teil – nach den Möglichkeiten einer ‚Ver-Änderung‘, die solche Prozesse eröffnen und mittransportieren.²⁵ Performative

19 Michel FOUCAULT, „Andere Räume“, in: Karlheinz BARCK u. a. (Hg.), *Aisthesis. Wahrnehmung heute oder Perspektiven einer anderen Ästhetik*, Leipzig, Reclam, 1993 (RUB 1352), S. 34-46.

20 Sabine SCHÜLTING, *Wilde Frauen, fremde Welten. Kolonisierungsgeschichten aus Amerika*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1997 (rowohlt's enzyklopädie), S. 45.

21 Michel FOUCAULT, *Die Ordnung der Dinge. Eine Archäologie der Humanwissenschaften* [franz. 1966], Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp, 1974 (stw 96), Vorwort, S. 17-28.

22 Michel-Jean-Emmanuel de la Barge Certeau, * 17.V.1925 Chambéry, S.J. 5.XI.1950 Laval, † 9.I.1986 Paris (DHCJ I, S. 737f.).

23 CERTEAU, *Kunst des Handelns*, S. 188-197.

24 Ebd., S. 192-208.

25 Dieter MERSCH, „Anderes Denken. Michel Foucaults ‚performativer‘ Diskurs“, in: Hannelore BUBLITZ, Andrea D. BÜHRMANN, Christine HANKE, Andrea SEIER (Hg.),

sprachliche Prozesse sind immer verbunden mit potenziellen Neusetzungen, Verschiebungen und Dezentrierungen. Bei einer auf Performativität hin ausgerichteten Lektüre geht es u. a. darum zu beobachten, wo in welcher Weise in der Sprache und durch die Sprache Ansatzpunkte für das Möglichwerden von anderen Denkformen neuer sozialer Verhältnisse performativ gesetzt respektive geschaffen werden.²⁶ Performativität ist verknüpft mit der „Macht des Diskurses, das hervorzubringen, was er benennt“,²⁷ es entsteht also in jedem Moment der sprachlichen Setzung die Möglichkeit einer neuen ‚Ordnung der Dinge‘²⁸ – und mit jedem Lesen des Textes die Wiederholung dieser prinzipiellen Möglichkeit. Es werden bei dieser Lektüre utopische Linien sichtbar, welche die Texte wie Meridiane durchziehen und Ansatzpunkte für mögliche Zirkulationen von sozialen und kulturellen Energien bieten.²⁹

Dass gerade die jesuitischen Texte besonders geeignet sind für räumliche Perspektiven, liegt auch in der Entstehung und Organisation des Ordens begründet. Von Beginn an war der Jesuitenorden interkulturell und global ausgerichtet. Bezeichnend für die Gesellschaft Jesu ist das vierte Gelübde des Sendungsgehorsams, welches beinhaltet, dass ein Jesuit jederzeit bereit sein soll, dahin zu gehen, wo er nach der Einsicht von Papst und Ordensoberen Gott

Das Wuchern der Diskurse. Perspektiven der Diskursanalyse Foucaults, Frankfurt a. M., New York, Campus, 1999, S. 162-176.

26 Uwe WIRTH, *Performanz. Zwischen Sprachphilosophie und Kulturwissenschaften*, Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp, 2002; SILVERMAN, *Textualitäten*.

27 Judith BUTLER, *Körper von Gewicht. Die diskursiven Grenzen des Geschlechts*, Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp, 1997, S. 309, zit. bei Uwe WIRTH, *Der Performanzbegriff im Spannungsfeld von Illokution, Iteration und Indexikalität*, in: DERS., *Performanz*, S. 41.

28 FOUCAULT, *Die Ordnung der Dinge*.

29 WIRTH, *Performanz*; SILVERMAN, *Textualitäten*; Marian FÜSSEL (Hg.), *Michel de Certeau. Geschichte – Kultur – Religion*, Konstanz, UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007; Stephen GREENBLATT, *Einleitung. Die Zirkulation sozialer Energie*, in: DERS., *Verhandlungen mit Shakespeare. Innenansichten der englischen Renaissance* [amerik. 1988], Berlin, Wagenbach, 1990, S. 7-24. In der Gastvorlesung zur ‚Geschichte der literarischen Utopie‘ in Zürich im Wintersemester 2005/06 interpretierte Wilhelm Voßkamp Paul Celans *Meridian* als „Utopisches, das durch die Worte hindurchgeht“, vgl. Paul CELAN, *Der Meridian. Rede anlässlich der Verleihung des Georg-Büchner-Preises (1961)*, in: DERS., *Der Meridian und andere Prosa*, Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp, 1988, S. 40-62.

und den Menschen am meisten nützen kann.³⁰ In der Tradition der augustinischen Pilgerschaft verstanden sich die frühneuzeitlichen Jesuiten als Pilger auf Erden; die ignatianischen Exerzitien hingegen führen zur persönlichen geistlichen und praktischen Entscheidungsfindung durch innere, geistige Räume.³¹ Mobilität und Flexibilität sowohl in der Imagination wie im praktischen Nachvollzug drücken sich denn auch in der in den Konstitutionen vorgeschriebenen ‚Akkommodationsmethode‘ aus. Sie weist die Jesuiten an, sich, wo immer sie hinkommen, mit den fremden Gegebenheiten vertraut zu machen und sich – soweit es mit dem christlichen Glauben und den Ordensregeln vereinbar war – ihnen anzupassen.³²

Die Jesuiten brachten ihre ‚mental map‘, ihre europäischen kulturellen und theologischen Vorstellungen mit in die Neue Welt und wurden selbst durch die ‚fremden‘ Gegebenheiten erfasst und transformiert. Auf der Sachebene lassen sich in den Texten kulturelle Hybridisierungen ausmachen, etwa, wenn – so wird berichtet – im Spital ‚Pestkranke‘ nicht in Betten, sondern in Fischernetzen (Hängematten) schlafen und mit sowohl einheimischen Heilmitteln als auch mit europäischen Methoden (dem Schröpfen) behandelt werden;³³ oder, wenn die Fenster der Häuser nicht durch Fensterglas, sondern durch „aufgeblasne Kuehe-Blatteren“ (wohl Kuhdärme

30 Zu diesen spezifischen Merkmalen der Gesellschaft Jesu vgl. MÜLLER, *Jesuiten*; FALKNER, *Jesuiten*; SIEVERNICH, SWITEK (Hg.), *Ignatianisch*.

31 Michael SIEVERNICH „Die Mission und die Missionen der Gesellschaft Jesu“, in: Johannes MEIER (Hg.), *Sendung – Eroberung – Begegnung. Franz Xaver, die Gesellschaft Jesu und die katholische Weltkirche im Zeitalter des Barock*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2005, S. 7-30.

32 Vgl. Alice ARNOLD-BECKER, Rita HAUB, *Jesuiten – Die Welt ist unser Haus. Die Jesuiten zwischen regionalem und universalem Horizont*, Katalog zur Ausstellung des Museums im Wittelsbacher Schloss Friedberg, 8. Mai – 6. September 2009, Lindenberg i. Allg., Josef Fink, 2009; Fernando Amado AYMORÉ, Michael MÜLLER, „Die Globalisierung des Christentums durch die Überseemission der Jesuiten. Das Beispiel zentraleuropäischer Missionare in Südamerika im 17./18. Jahrhundert“, in: Arthur BOGNER, Bernd HOLTWICK, Hartmann TYRELL (Hg.), *Weltmission und religiöse Organisationen. Protestantische Missionsgesellschaften im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg, Ergon, 2004 (Religionen in der Gesellschaft), S. 137-161; Johannes MEIER (Hg.), *„Totus mundus nostra fit habitatio“. Jesuiten aus dem deutschen Sprachraum in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika*, Mainz, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2007 (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg. 2007, Nr. 2).

33 Vgl. Cont, S. 104-134.

oder -mägen) geschützt werden;³⁴ oder wenn beim Orgelbau das Metall fehlt und die grossen Orgelpfeifen für die tiefen Töne deshalb aus einheimischem „Zederholz“ (südamerikanisch ‚Cedro‘) hergestellt werden müssen.³⁵

Auf der sprachlich-performativen Ebene wird die Sache komplexer. Denn dann steht nicht mehr der Prozess der ‚Akkommodation an‘ im Vordergrund, sondern vor allem der Prozess der ‚Transformation in‘. Besonders gut sichtbar sind diese Transformationsprozesse bei der Verwendung der Personalpronomina. Verwirrend bei der Lektüre ist nämlich, dass die Verwendung von ‚wir hier‘ und ‚sie dort‘ zwar im Laufe der Erzählungen die Blickrichtung wechselt, dass aber dennoch ständig neu geschaut werden muss, wer gerade spricht, und wo sich der Erzähler gerade positioniert. Insbesondere im spätesten Werk, dem Paraquarischen Blumengarten, sind die Stimmen so dicht ineinander verwoben, dass ein kultureller Flickenteppich entsteht und der Leser, die Leserin im Verlaufe des Lesens der Texte selbst dezentriert wird.³⁶

Deutlich werden diese Transformations- und Dezentrierungsbewegungen auch bei der Äquatorüberquerung, einer zentralen Textstelle in der Reißbeschreibung. Die Jesuiten stellen fest, dass zwar die Magnetnadel im Süden genauso zum Nordpol zeige wie im Norden, aber:

Der Unterschied ist alleinig Respectu nostri: Nemlichen / daß einer sein Concept gantz veraendere. Dann wo in Europa Mittag / ist bey uns Mitternacht und Nort / und also fort: Der Mittag=Wind oder Sur, ist bey ihnen warm / hier ist er frisch und kalt. Der Nord ist in Europa kalt / in America Bad=warm. Und eben dieser Ursachen halber ist hier alles umgekehrt: jetzt da ich dieses schreibe um Johanni nemlichen / seynd wir Mitten im Winter / doch ohne Kaelte / Frost / Schnee: Dahero wissen meine Indianer nicht was Schnee ist / ob er weiß oder schwarz / warm oder kalt. In December und Januarii, wo in Europa alles zum Stein gefrieret / essen wir Feigen und brocken Lilien; Mit einem Wort / wie gesagt / alles ist hier veraendert / und hat nicht uebel gesprochen / der Americam die verkehrte Welt genennet.³⁷

34 Vgl. ebd., S. 277.

35 Was auch als Hinweis auf den Wechsel von der Renaissance- zur Barock-Musik mit der Einführung der grundlegenden Bass-Stimmen gelesen werden kann, vgl. Cont, S. 85-91.

36 Vgl. SCHMID HEER, *Paraquarischer Blumengarten*.

37 RB, S. 69f.

Verschiedene Verfahren greifen hier ineinander: Zunächst berichtet der Erzähler – wie in einem früheren Brief versprochen – von den Ergebnissen eines Versuches mit der Magnetnadel. Die Ergebnisse sind von Europa her vertraut. Dann geraten die Unterschiede ins Blickfeld. Der Äquator ist ein Spiegelungspunkt von Europa und Amerika. Da der Bericht erst in der Neuen Welt niedergeschrieben wird, wechseln die Standpunkte ständig zwischen „bey uns“ und „bey ihnen“, und die Leserinnen und Leser werden in diese Spiegelungsprozesse hineingenommen. Sie müssen sich ständig verorten und werden hineingenommen in einen Prozess der sprachlich-imaginativen ‚Ver-Änderung‘.

Wer in die Missionen reist, muss sein Konzept ganz verändern. Eine genaue Lektüre von Sepps Berichten legt die These nahe, dass diese Veränderungen zum Teil durch die in den Konstitutionen vorgesehene Akkommodationsmethode bewusst angestrebt wurden, dass aber zu einem grossen Teil auch die jesuitischen Missionare in transkulturellen Prozessen von den fremden Gegebenheiten erfasst und transformiert wurden. Vermehrt weicht dann die distanzierende Formulierung ‚sie‘ dem transformierten, familiarisierten ‚wir‘: „wir haben keinen Stall“ oder „wir wissen nicht um dergleichen Europaeische Geschirr“.³⁸ Wer diese Texte aus der Neuen Welt liest, wird im sprachlich-performativen ‚Lesehandeln‘ selbst erfasst von diesen dezentrierenden Prozessen. Damit gerät – um die Figur des amerikanischen Literaturwissenschafters Stephen Greenblatt nochmals aufzurufen – die Zirkulation von sozialen respektive kulturellen Energien in Bewegung.³⁹

Topographie und Topologie

Die Titelblätter und Vorreden der beiden gedruckten Berichte bieten die räumlichen und kulturellen Rahmungen der Erzählungen. Es sind zunächst topologische Verknüpfungen, die Europa und Amerika über das Meer hinweg geographisch und kulturell in Beziehung zueinander setzen. Im Titelblatt wird die *Reißbeschreibung* der beiden Jesuiten Anton Sepp und Anton Böhmer aus Tirol und Bayern angekündigt: „wie dieselbe aus Hispanien in Paraquariam kommen, Und Kurtzer Bericht

38 Vgl. ebd., S. 274-275.

39 Vgl. dazu de CERTEAU, *Kunst des Handelns*, S. 27: „Das winzig kleine Schriftelement versetzt Berge und wird zu einem Spiel mit dem Raum. An die Stelle des Autors tritt eine völlig andere Welt (die des Lesers)“.

der denckwuerdigsten Sachen selbiger Landschafft / Voelckern / und Arbeitung der sich alldort befindenten PP Missionariorum“. Wird damit zunächst ein rahmender Blick von oben und aussen auf die Missionen geworfen, wechselt die Blickrichtung im Laufe der Erzählung immer mehr zu einem Blick von unten und innen – und schafft durch die Sprache diesen Raum ständig neu. Die Leserinnen und Leser nehmen im lesenden Vollzug teil an der Reise, werden selbst Teil der durchreisten Räume und schaffen diese Räume in ihrer Imagination mit. Diese performative ‚poetische Geographie‘ trägt die Möglichkeit mit sich, dass durch die Sprache, in der Imagination Neues, so noch nicht Gedachtes oder Realisiertes entstehen kann.

Zunächst werden also im Titelblatt der *Reißbeschreibung* die geographischen (sowie kulturellen und sozialen) Eckdaten der Missionsreise genannt, dann nimmt die eigentliche Reisebeschreibung der Fahrt übers Meer etwa ein Drittel des Werkes ein, bis die Reisegesellschaft schliesslich Buenos Aires erreicht und diese Stadt kurz beschrieben wird. Die Fahrt übers Meer ist dabei von zwei verschiedenen Erzählbewegungen gekennzeichnet: Einerseits von der Bewegung in Raum und Zeit, es werden geographisch bekannte Punkte wie die Capverdischen Inseln oder der Äquator genannt und die Passagen datiert; andererseits von Verräumlichungen von diesen Orten aus: Raum entsteht durch Handlung mit dem Ort.⁴⁰

Das Schiff selbst ist einerseits Mittel der Bewegung und Ort einer heterogenen Reisegesellschaft:

Deren Unsrigen waren Missionarii 44. vnterschiedlicher Nationen / Hispanier / Italiaener / Niederlaender / Sicilianer / Sardinier / Genueser / Milanese / Romaner / Boehmer / Oester / und ich ein Tyroler / samt meinen treuen Gefaehrten Patre Antonio Adami Boehm [...] Diese Almiranta [das Schiff, E.S.H.] bestiegen wir samt den neuen 3. Herrn Gubernatorn Bonos Aeres, Assumption und Chile: wie auch die Frau Gubernatorin samt ihren Kindern. Unterschiedliche Kauffleuth / Ladendiener / Barbierer / schwartze Leibeigene oder Moren / Morinen / 200. Soltaden / 100. Schiffknecht / und allerhand Sudelgsind: Schmutz Buben / und Lumpen Geschmeiß.⁴¹

40 CERTEAU, *Kunst des Handelns*, S. 218.

41 RB, S. 26-29.

Andrerseits ist es auch Ausgangspunkt für vielfältige Beobachtungen: ‚Meerwunder‘, Fische und Vögel, astronomische Auffälligkeiten und Regenbogen, ‚Feuerzeichen‘ und Farben des Meeres:

Den 10. hatten wir eine ueberaus heitere schoene Nacht: der Lucifer zuendete uns neben den schon bekannten gantz neue Himmels=Liechter an / so wir nicht nur in Horizonte, sondern weit daroben zwitzern gesehen. Unter andern waren folgende sehr sichtbar. Das Creutz / der Pfau / die Indianische Jmmen Apis Indica, Chamæleon, Nubecula major und minor. Das Creutz ist der Polus Antarcticus, nicht fast ungleich der Constellation Ursæ minoris, so wir / wie oben gemeldt / nicht mehr sehen koennen in Paraquaria, so gibt es noch weit mehrer neue Stern / so ich nicht zu nennen weiß / weilen selbige insgemein in den Globis nicht verzeichnet / und denen Europæischen Stern=Guckern unbekannt: Gleichwie in denen Landt=Carten dieses unserigen Americæ und Paraquariæ sehr viel Flueß und Oerter gefunden werden / so die Mappæ nicht anzeigen.⁴²

Vom Ort des Schiffes aus wandert der Blick in den Raum und schafft durch die Beschreibung des Wahrgenommenen einen kulturell hybriden und heterogenen Erzählraum. Neues Wissen wird mit altem verbunden: Die Sternbilder im Süden sind zum Teil bereits bekannt, zum Teil werden sie als neu benannt wie die „Indianische Jmmen Apis Indica“. Auch hier sind Spiegelungs-, Verschiebungs- und Dezentrierungsfiguren auffällig: Das „wir [...] in Paraquaria“ vermeldet vom Schiff aus, dass der Südpol ähnlich „der Constellation Ursæ minoris“ im Norden sei, dass es aber auch noch viele neue Sterne gebe, die den „Europæischen Stern=Guckern unbekannt“ und deshalb auch auf keinem Globus verzeichnet seien. Ebenso würden „in denen Landt=Carten dieses unserigen Americæ und Paraquariæ sehr viel Flueß und Oerter gefunden werden / so die Mappæ nicht anzeigen“. Dadurch, dass die Orte in der Erzählung ständig gewechselt und verschoben werden („wir [...] in Paraquaria“, „denen Europæischen Stern=Guckern“, „in denen Landt=Carten dieses unserigen Americæ und Paraquariæ“, „die Mappæ“), entsteht beim Lesen, im performativen Nachvollzug der Bewegungen ein dynamischer, dezentrierter und dezentrierender Raum des Neuen, noch nicht in die Karten und Globen, sondern erst in der Erzählung des Augenzeugen und in der Imagination der Lesenden eingezeichneten. Die an dieser Stelle sichtbare Verflechtung von diskursiven, performativen, repräsentativen und narrativen Verfahren kann

42 Ebd., S. 80f.

kulturwissenschaftlich als ‚sprachliche (Neu-) Kartierung‘ der Neuen Welt im Vergleich zum Wissen aus der Alten Welt bezeichnet werden.⁴³

Buenos Aires, erster Ankunftsort in der Neuen Welt, wird nicht nur kurz, aber detailliert beschrieben, sondern wiederum am Äquator gespiegelt und damit auch topologisch mit der Alten Welt verknüpft: Die Stadt – so der Erzähler – würde auf gleicher Höhe südlich der Äquatorlinie liegen wie Cádiz nördlich.⁴⁴ Von Buenos Aires aus reisen die Jesuiten in die ‚Reduktionen‘ an den Flüssen Paraná, Paraguay und Uruguay. So schreibt Anton Sepp:

Als wir 8. Taeg in dem großen Rio de plata, so von hier an Rio Paraguay (Rio Spanisch heist so viel als Fluß) genennet wird / liessen wir auff der rechten Hand einen andern grossen Rio Negro, den schwartzen Fluß liegen: auff der Lincken Rio Terzero: und dann auch den grossen silbern Fluß Paraguay, von deme Paraquaria den Namen schoepffet. Schiffeten rechter Hand in dem Flueß Vruguy hinein / so in der Breite ueber die 300. Meil gegen Brasil hinein seinen Ursprung sucht: am welchen wir 2. hundert Meil von Bonos Aëres entlegen / unsere Indianische Reductiones, Doerffer / oder Voelckerschafften haben / nemlichen 14. an Vruguy, die uebrigen 12. an den Fluß Parana rechter Hand besser hinein / wie gar wohl R. P. Scherer in seiner ueberaus schoenen / nutzlichen Universal-Land=Charten gantz klar verzeichnet hat.⁴⁵

Hat der Erzähler anlässlich der Überfahrt auf dem Meer noch vermeldet, sie hätten ganz neue, noch nirgends verzeichnete Sterne gesehen, so wird hier zunächst auf eine Karte von Heinrich Scherer S.J. verwiesen.⁴⁶ Dort seien alle ‚Reduktionen‘ eingezeichnet. Die sprachliche Karte, die hier gezeichnet wird, soll durch eine schon vorhandene Karte ergänzt werden. So schreibt Sepp weiter:

43 Vgl. SCHLÖGEL, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit*, S. 81: „Karten sind meist schon in dem Augenblick, da sie erscheinen, überholt“, wobei dann auch gefragt werden muss, was Karten genau wiedergeben können oder sollen.

44 Vgl. RB, S. 140f. Im spanischen Cádiz befand sich der Ausschiffungshafen für Südamerika.

45 RB, S. 168f.

46 Heinrich Scherer, * 24.IV.1628 Dillingen, S.J. 23.IX.1645 Landsberg a. Lech, † 21.XI.1704 München (DHC/IV, S. 3519). Vgl. Heinrich SCHERER, *Atlas novus*, 7 Teile, München, Johann Kaspar Bencard, 1702-1710, insbesondere die Südamerika-Karten, die als Einzelblätter schon vor der Drucklegung des Werkes in Umlauf gewesen sein müssen.

Der guenstige Leser belibe gemeldte Mappam in die Hand zu nehmen / ich will ihme bey der Hand gar schoen in unsere Reductiones hinein fuehren. Suche also vor allen Bonos Aëres, und lasse Cabo de S. Maria auff der rechten Hand liegen: alsdann ein klein wenig weiter hinein / wird er einen Fluß finden klein und ohne Namen verzeichnet: dieses ist der Fluß Vruguyay so groß als die Donau zu Wien / an welchem ich auch an heunt gleich in der ersten Reduction wohnhafft / dieses schreibe. Alsdann wird er verzeichnet sehen. S. Nicolar besser hinauf S. Xavier, noch weiter hinauf SS. Sacramentum S. Joseph und also fort. Hier ist doch zu mercken / daß R. P. Scherer wegen enge der Mappa nicht alle Ort nach Fleiß hat namsen koennen: setzet also S. Nicolas die erste an unsern Uriguay, so doch 6. andere vor sich hat. Und diese erst die 7. der Ordnung gezehlet wird.⁴⁷

Sukzessive wird der Leser, die Leserin hineingenommen in diese fremde Welt. Die Lesenden sollen Scherers Karte in die Hand nehmen und Schritt für Schritt die Orte besuchen, die der Erzähler sprachlich ausbreitet. Sie werden an der Hand genommen und in diese, den meisten Lesenden in Europa nur durch Berichte und Karten bekannte Welt hineingeführt. Dabei entsteht durch die sprachliche Kartierung eine neue, nur durch den Körper des Erzählers und seine Sprache möglich gewordene, präsentische Karte.

Am Ort der Reduktion selbst macht schliesslich die Erzählung mit dem Erzähler und den Lesenden nochmals einen Schritt weiter, hinein in den Garten:

Wir haben einen ueberaus schoenen / grossen Garten / indem ich gleich einem Schritt weit von meinem Zimmer gehen kan / nemlichen ein Kraut und Salat=Garten / ein Baum= und Aepffel=Garten / ein Blum= und Kraeuter=Garten fuer die Krancken / hier weiß man umb keine Herren Medicos, Herren Apotheker: ueberaus schoene Wein=Garten. Lasset uns in allen einen Tritt hinein gehen / damit wir sehen / wie fruchtbar diese Erden / und was doch in America wachse.⁴⁸

Die Lesenden sollen selbst – in der Imagination – in diesen Garten hineintreten und sehen, was in Amerika wachse; so wie sie später mit der beschriebenen „Tag=Ordnung“ auch durch alle Bereiche

⁴⁷ RB, S. 169f.

⁴⁸ Ebd., S. 226.

des heterotopen Ortes der ‚Reduktion‘ geführt werden.⁴⁹ Durch die topographische Beschreibung und die topologische Verknüpfung der durchreisten Orte entstehen präsentische Räume, die die Lesenden durch ihr Lesen und ihre Imagination mitgestalten. Diese performativen Vorgänge enthalten das Potenzial, imaginative Verschiebungen und Neuordnungen vorzunehmen, die weder kontrollierbar noch steuerbar sind. Besonders deutlich wird dies auch, wenn historiographische Aspekte eines ‚Zeitraums‘ und soziale Aspekte der Vergemeinschaftung in den Blick kommen. Denn in die bisher beschriebenen Verräumlichungen sind Räume der Verzeitlichung und der Vergemeinschaftung eingefaltet.⁵⁰

Historiographie und Vergemeinschaftung

Im Rahmen der Patronatsverhältnisse, die den spanischen (und portugiesischen) Königen die Aufsicht über die Missionen in der Neuen Welt übertrugen, und aufgrund der sich günstig entwickelnden habsburgischen Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen war es zentraleuropäischen Jesuiten ab Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts vermehrt erlaubt, in die südamerikanischen Missionen zu reisen. Die frühneuzeitlichen Verhältnisse waren komplex und unübersichtlich, die Machtverhältnisse noch an keine festen Grenzen gebunden und keineswegs gesichert. Einerseits nahm das Verwaltungsschriftgut gerade im Zusammenhang mit den Kolonien in Übersee zu, andererseits gab es aber auch diverse Bestrebungen, diese ‚skripturale Ökonomie‘ zu unterlaufen.⁵¹ In der *Reißbeschreibung* berichtet der Erzähler, wie er und sein Mitbruder Anton Böhm zunächst in Sevilla über ein Jahr auf ein geeignetes Schiff warten mussten, das sie nach Südamerika bringen konnte. Nachdem sie die strapaziöse Meerfahrt überstanden und im Kolleg von Buenos Aires herzliche Aufnahme gefunden hatten, wollten die dortigen Jesuiten über die neusten politischen Verhältnisse in Europa ins Bild gesetzt werden. Die Patres in Buenos Aires beklagen, dass nicht mehr Jesuiten aus der „Heiligen Provinz“ nach „Indien“ kommen würden. Worauf Anton Sepp erklärt:

49 Vgl. ebd., S. 320-332.

50 Gilles DELEUZE, *Die Falte. Leibniz und der Barock* [franz. 1988], Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp, 2000 (stw 1484). Deleuze untersucht die Figur der Falte respektive der Einfaltung als spezifisch barockes Phänomen.

51 Vgl. FRIEDRICH, *Der lange Arm Roms?*; Bernhard SIEGERT, *Passagiere und Papiere. Schreibakte auf der Schwelle zwischen Spanien und Amerika*, München, Fink, 2006.

Die einige Ursach dessen seye / daß wir gar wenig Collegia und folgendes Subjecta haben / die immediate dem Haus Oesterreich unterworfen; sie widersetzen: Ob dann nicht das gantze Roem. Reich Kaeyserlicher Faction? Wir bejaten es: wann diesem also / sagten sie und unsere Collegia im Roemischen Reich / was hindert dann / daß diese nicht geschickt werden: insonderheit weilen / das Hauß Spannen nicht nur alleinig Oesterreicherisch / sondern auch Keyserisch: Die Beyren aber belangend / nunmehr gantz Keyserisch / ja Oesterreicherisch und Spanisch / wegen Jhro Durchleucht MARIA Antonia. Und auch dieses alles ungeacht / sag ich / und hab es schon von Sevilla gleicher massen beschrieben / daß in der Warheit ihme nicht also / und wir in unser Provinz nit recht informiret seyn / es seyn Baeyren / Schwaben / Schweitzer / Pfaeltzer [etc.] ist eben so viel / als waren es Tyroler / ja Wiener: man gibt in Hispania auff dieses gantz und gar nicht Achtung: Ja die Spanier distingviren gar diese Nationes nicht voneinander / weilen alles zu dem Roemischen Reich und Teutschland gehoerig / wie sie sagen: Genug ist / daß die / so wir ad Indios schicken / seyen Provinciae Germaniae superioris: und nicht Frantzosen / welche Nation alleinig in Hispania verhasst und ausgeschlossen wird.⁵²

Einerseits wurde versucht, durch einen gigantischen Apparat die Subjekte (und das Kolonialsystem sowie auch die Ordensstruktur) zu verwalten und zu kontrollieren, andererseits wurde dieser Apparat aber durch ebendiese Subjekte auf verschiedenen Ebenen unterwandert und umgedeutet. Um möglichst keine Zweifel an ihrer habsburgischen Zugehörigkeit zu wecken, spielten die Jesuiten – so geht es aus Sepps *Reißbeschreibung* hervor – oft mit ihren Identitäten. So wird auf der Reiseliste aus Sepps Reisegefährten Anton Böhm kurzerhand ebenfalls ein Tiroler:

Dieses zu bekraefftigen noch eines / es ware mein lieber Pater Antonius Boehm ueberaus sorgfaeltig / daß man ihme fuer keinen Amberger oder Pfaeltzer ansehete / und darumben nicht etwann moechte von Indien ausgeschlossen werden: veraenderte also in etwas den Namen / Antonius Adami Bohemi, Adami von seinen gnaedigen Herrn Vattern seeliger: Montipolitanus ein Amberger von Jnsprugg: heisset eben so viel als Venetia von Munchen. In einer andern information, so man allezeit nacher Madritt dem Koeniglichen Rath von denen Missionariis Namen und Herkommen ueberschicken muß: ware er also geschrieben: Pater Antonius Adami Bohemi

Montipolitanus Ratisbonæ in Tyroli natus An. [etc.] wer lachen will der lach: ich und mein geliebter Pater Antonius lacheten ein gutes Stuck herab / und hatten einen guten Muth. Dieses ware in der Sach selber ein Fehler: dann der Pater Procurator Indiarum, damit er nit soviel unterschiedliche Nomina de[r] Laender schreiben mueßte / setzte die Patres einer Provinz alle unter einem Nomine Patrio: weilen aber unsere zwey Nomina gleich beyeinander und mich ex Tyroli schreibe: muesste der gute Pater auch ein Tyroler seyn / und zwar von Regenspurg.⁵³

Die Gesellschaft Jesu, deren Mitglieder über die ganze Welt zerstreut tätig waren, wurde zusammengehalten durch ein auf verschiedenen Stufen differenziertes schriftliches Kommunikationswesen.⁵⁴ Briefe von den Missionen in Übersee in die Heimatprovinzen und nach Rom waren aber oft Jahre unterwegs, ihr Ankommen in Europa war oft ungewiss. So erweisen sich die Jesuiten in Buenos Aires als gänzlich uninformiert, was den aktuellen politischen Stand in Europa angeht. Dadurch, dass die Informationen im Text ausgetauscht werden, entsteht in der Sprache ein Zeitenraum, der verschiedene Zeiten, Kulturen und politische Verhältnisse über das Meer hinweg miteinander verbindet und in Beziehung setzt. Ebenso wird deutlich, dass das im Zusammenhang mit den frühneuzeitlichen jesuitischen Missionen entstandene Schriftgut keineswegs gesichertes Wissen transportiert, sondern in hohem Masse kontingent ist.

In diesen Erzählungen wird deutlich, dass das Sprechen von Politik und Geschichte sowohl Informations- als auch Unterhaltungswert hat. Es bildet eine Erzählgemeinschaft über die Kontinente sowie über Stände und Kulturen hinweg. In der Reißbeschreibung war anlässlich der Meeresüberfahrt nämlich schon einmal von einer ähnlichen Erzählgemeinschaft die Rede. Den mitreisenden schwarzen Sklaven und anderen Dienstleuten auf dem Schiff habe der Tiroler Pater von seinen Geschwistern und den Klöstern in Europa, in denen sie leben würden, erzählt, „alles in Spanischer Sprach [...]: und kunte ich diesem Volck / wie an heunt meinen Indianern nichts gefaelligers und angenehmers erzehlen / als wann ich ihnen von des Roemischen Reichs und Teutschlands Sachen / Gespraech halte: so ihnen nicht anderst vorkommet / als denen

53 Ebd., S. 157-159.

54 Vgl. FRIEDRICH, *Der lange Arm Roms?*; BORJA GONZÁLEZ, *Jesuitische Berichterstattung*.

Europaeern die Indianische Geschichten“.⁵⁵ De Certeau stellt fest, dass Geschichte durch das produktive Erzählen von Abwesendem entstehe. Hier wird deutlich, dass dies nicht nur in der sprachlichen Tätigkeit von Historikerinnen und Historikern geschieht,⁵⁶ sondern in allem Erzählen. Historisch-politische wie familiäre Geschichten aus Europa haben dabei für Schwarze, Dienstleute, Indigene und europäische Mitbrüder im Übergangs- und Zwischenraum von Europa und Amerika und in Südamerika den gleichen (positiven und ‚egalisierenden‘) Stellenwert und Effekt wie „Indianische Geschichten“ für Lesende und Zuhörende in Europa.

Liest man diese Geschichten zusammen, so entsteht auf der sprachlich-performativen Ebene ein kulturell hybrider ‚third space‘. Ein historiographischer Erzählraum, der entsteht durch das Erzählen, Zuhören und Beschreiben von Europäern, Schwarzen und Indigenen, Missionaren, Sklaven und Dienstleuten. Ein im Übrigen durchaus prekärer Erzählraum, denn ob die in Buenos Aires erzählten historisch-politischen Informationen noch den neusten Stand wiedergeben, ist keineswegs gesichert. Nahezu zwei Jahre vergehen von der Abreise in Deutschland bis zur Ankunft in Buenos Aires; bis zum Druck der Reißbeschreibung vergehen nochmals fünf Jahre. In dieser langen Zeitspanne konnte sich manches ändern. Die Lesenden vollziehen also mit dem Lesen der Berichte den Prozess des Produzierens, den Wandel und die ‚Unwägbarkeiten‘ von Geschichte mit. In dem Moment, in dem der Bericht gedruckt zur Verfügung steht, werden sich die darin festgehaltenen Ereignisse u. U. bereits wieder verändert haben. Ebenso bleibt die ‚Authentizität‘ der beschriebenen Ereignisse und der Zuschreibungen prekär.

Die Erzählbewegungen führen auch im Hinblick auf Aspekte der Vergemeinschaftung von oben und aussen nach unten und innen. Immer wieder sind in den allgemeinen performativ geschaffenen Sprachraum ‚intimere‘ Räume der Begegnung und Vergemeinschaftung eingefaltet. Vom allgemeinen Raum Amerika-Europa über den Meerraum in das Schiff führt die Erzählung zu einer heterogenen Schiffsgesellschaft und schliesslich zu einer Begegnung des Erzählers mit schwarzen Mitreisenden. Davon berichtet Sepp:

55 RB, S. 97f.

56 François Dosse, „Michel de Certeau und die Geschichtsschreibung“, in: Marian Füssel (Hg.), *Michel de Certeau. Geschichte – Kultur – Religion*, Konstanz, UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007, S. 47-66.

Nach der Abend=Collation haltete ich denen Weibern dieser Moren / so auch Morinnen waren / die Christliche Lehr / erzehlte ihnen Exempel / zeigte ihnen die Mutter GOTTES von alten Oettingen / zu Dero sie ein sonderbare [sic] Affection getragen: kuessten solche / und verehrten sie wie obgemeldter krancke Mohr: ein jede aus diesen Kohlschwarzen Weibern wollte dieses Bildlein vor sich behalten: welche dann zu befriedigen / gabe ich ihnen andere kleine dergleichen Bildlein / deren ich und der P. Antonius Boehm zu Sevilla und Gadiz viel hundert aus Hafner=Leim gemacht. Schaetzten selbige ueber Gold und Silber / weil sie bißhero kein schwarzes und ihres gleichen Frauen=Bild niemahlen gesehen. Hier ist zu wissen / daß / ob gleichwohl diese Moren schwarz wie ein Kessel / und sehr abscheulich: nichts destominder diese Farb ihnen mehrer gefaelllet / als unsere weisse Europaeische Angesichter / dergestalt / daß sich nicht leicht ein Mohr mit einer weissen Europaeerin verehlichen wird.⁵⁷

Wichtig in diesem Verständigungsprozess sind die Mittler und Mittlerinnen wie z. B. die erwähnten Geschwister oder auch die Schwarze Mutter Gottes von Altötting, zu der Sepp während seines Tertiats eine besondere Zuneigung gefasst hatte. Sie erweist sich über die schwarze Hautfarbe als hervorragende Mittlerin zwischen Kulturen und Religionen.

Christliche Identifikation geschieht hier über das Material und die schwarze Hautfarbe. Noch nie haben die schwarzen Frauen ein schwarzes Frauenbild, das ihnen gleicht, gesehen, und sie lassen sich von dem Bildlein der Schwarzen Mutter Gottes von Altötting anrühren. Schwarze waren in der frühen Neuzeit in Südamerika Sklavinnen und Sklaven, oft auch in den Niederlassungen der Jesuiten. Hier aber scheinen sie sich (in der Sprache) zu emanzipieren: Sie seien zwar, so der Erzähler, schwarz und hässlich, würden aber ihre schwarze Hautfarbe viel schöner finden und kaum eine weisse Europäerin heiraten. Diese höchst ambivalente Aussage lässt die Möglichkeit zumindest aufscheinen, dass auch andere Werteordnungen denkbar sind als die dominante Vorrangstellung der weissen Europäer.

Sprachraum als Möglichkeitsraum

So wird der Sprachraum zu einem Möglichkeitsraum, der von utopischen Linien eines ‚ver-änderten Denkens‘ durchzogen

57 RB, S. 85f.

ist und veränderbare Verhältnisse in die frühneuzeitliche Welt einzeichnet. Immer wieder wurde in der Forschung diskutiert, ob die Missionen der Jesuiten in Paraguay von Utopien der Renaissance wie etwa Morus' *Utopia* beeinflusst gewesen seien; es konnten keine entsprechenden Zusammenhänge hergestellt werden.⁵⁸ Unterzieht man jedoch die frühneuzeitlichen Reise- und Missionsberichte wie in der hier vorgestellten Arbeit einer kontrapunktischen Lektüre, die sich auf Ambivalenzen in den sprachlichen Zwischenräumen der Texte konzentriert, werden vielfältige Formen von Setzungen und Gegenläufigkeiten, von Ordnungsversuchen und subversiver ‚agency‘, von Transgressionen und Passagen, von den Text dynamisierenden ‚Sprachpraktiken‘ sichtbar. Zahlreiche Wundergeschichten im Paraquarischen Blumengarten etwa zeichnen eine neue Ordnung in die frühneuzeitlichen kolonialen Verhältnisse ein.⁵⁹ Maria durchzieht als transgressive helfende und heilende Figur die Texte und erhält im Paraquarischen Blumengarten eine – optisch im Manuskript – hervorragende Position, indem sie durchwegs mit Grossbuchstaben geschrieben wird. Zahlreiche Spiegelungsfiguren erzählen von Ähnlichem, aber nicht Gleichem. In kulturell unsicheren Situationen erscheint das Lachen als subversives Moment sowohl der europäischen Missionare als auch der indigenen Guaraní. Die hier vorgeschlagene Lektüre betrachtet die überlieferten Texte „ als ein Feld von Möglichem“,⁶⁰ als „polyphones Gewebe von heterogenen Stimmen“⁶¹ und fokussiert auf performative, den Text dezentrierende Sprachpraktiken.⁶²

58 Vgl. Einleitung zu PAUCKE, *Hin und Her*, S. 57-63.

59 Zu Wundererzählungen im missionarischen und kolonialen Kontext vgl. de CERTEAU, *Kunst des Handelns*, S. 59: „Die Benutzung einer von anderen geschaffenen Ordnung führt zu einer Neuaufteilung des Raumes in dieser Ordnung; sie schafft zumindest einen Spielraum für die Bewegungen von ungleichen Kräften und für utopische Bezugspunkte“.

60 Dosse, *Michel de Certeau*, S. 63.

61 Michail M. BACHTIN, *Chronotopos* [russ. 1975], Aus dem Russ. v. Michael DEWEY, Mit einem Nachwort v. Michael C. FRANK und Kirsten MAHLKE, Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp, 2008 (stw 1879).

62 Zu den Ausführungen dieses Beitrags vgl. auch Esther SCHMID HEER, „Anton Sepp SJ: ‚Reißbeschreibung‘ (1696)“, in: Cornelia HERBERICHs, Christian KIENING (Hg.), *Literarische Performativität. Lektüren vormoderner Texte*, Zürich, Chronos, 2008 (Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 3), S. 413-429; DIES., „Ver(un)ortungen im frühneuzeitlichen Raum Europa-Amerika:

Zusammenfassung

Lange Zeit wurden die Reise- und Missionsberichte aus den frühneuzeitlichen jesuitischen Missionen als ‚Tatsachenberichte‘ gelesen und auf ihren ‚historischen Wahrheitsgehalt‘ hin geprüft. Die hier präsentierte literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung lenkt im Anschluss an neuere kulturwissenschaftliche ‚turns‘ den Blick auf räumliche, den Text dynamisierende, performative kulturelle (Sprach-) Praktiken. Eine solcherart ‚kontrapunktische‘ Lektüre der Paraguay-Berichte des Tiroler Jesuiten Anton Sepp (1655-1733) vermag sichtbar zu machen, in welcher Weise die Texte durchzogen sind von dezentrierenden Ambivalenzen, utopischen Linien und kultureller ‚agency‘ sowohl der europäischen Missionare als auch der indigenen Guaraní.

Resumen

Durante mucho tiempo, los relatos de viaje y misión de las misiones jesuíticas de la edad moderna temprana se consideraron como ‘relatos verídicos’, leídos con un enfoque sobre su ‘contenido de verdad histórica’. La investigación de la ciencia literaria aquí presentada se basa en nuevas tendencias de las ciencias culturales y pone la mirada en prácticas culturales representativas, espaciales y que dinamizan el texto. Una lectura ‘con contrapunto’ de los relatos del Paraguay del jesuita tirolés Antonio Sepp (1655-1733) demuestra de que manera en estos textos se entrecruzan ambivalencias descentralizantes, líneas utópicas y la actuación cultural, tanto de los misioneros europeos como de los indígenas guaraníes.

Summary

For a long time the travel stories and mission reports of the Jesuit Mission in early modern times were taken as ‘documentaries’. Thus they were checked for their ‘historical content of truth’. Based on new methodical ‘turns’ of cultural studies the investigation of literary studies which is presented here places the focus rather on spatial, performing cultural practices which are able to give

Jesuitische Reisebeschreibungen und -berichte um 1700“, in: Matthias DÄUMER, Annette GEROK-REITER, Friedemann KREUDER (Hg.), *Unorte. Spielarten einer verlorenen Verortung, Kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven*, Bielefeld, Transcript, 2010, S. 53-74 (Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften 3); DIES., „‘Kulturelle Übersetzung’ im Grenzraum Brasilien/Paraguay. Transgressive Prozesse in den Berichten des Tiroler Jesuiten Anton Sepp (1655-1733)“, in: Wiebke RÖBEN DE ALENCAR XAVIER, Ulrike ZEUCH (Hg.), *Kulturelle Übersetzung: Das Beispiel Brasilien*, DAJ 34.2 (2010), S. 171-176.

the text some sort of dynamics. Such a 'counterpointed' reading of the Paraguay reports of the Tyrolese Jesuit Anton Sepp (1655-1733) is able to visualize the way in which the texts permeated by decentralizing ambivalences, utopian lines and the cultural 'agency' of European missionaries as well as indigenous Guaraní.

Jesuitenkollegien und Jesuitenpädagogik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert

Heinz Sproll*

In einer sich immer weiter ausdifferenzierenden Kultur der Postmoderne mit ihren pluralisierten Lebensstilen erwächst die Erfordernis nach normativ-begründeten Erziehungskonzepten, die Anspruch auf allgemeine Geltung erheben können.

Die heutigen, von Jesuiten geleiteten Bildungseinrichtungen werden auch und gerade in einer säkularen Bildungslandschaft daran gemessen, ob sie die in der Tradition des christlichen Humanismus stehenden Bildungsideale glaubwürdig vertreten und in die Erziehungswirklichkeit umsetzen, gelten sie doch mit ihrem Paradigma der «Erziehung zur Würde» (L. Kolakowski) als ernsthafte Alternative zu einer Pädagogik der Verdinglichung, Verzweckung und ökonomischen Funktionalisierung.

Um die Überprüfbarkeit der Bildungsleistungen von Jesuitenkollegien und -Hochschulen nicht auf ein Ranking nach Input-Output-Kriterien zu reduzieren, sollte das praktische Erkenntnisinteresse einer verstärkten Humanisierung von Bildungsprozessen von einer geschichtlichen Neubesinnung über die durch die Exerzitien des Hl. Ignatius von Loyola¹ geprägten Kollegien begleitet werden.

In der Selbstvergewisserung ignatianischer Spiritualität, von der die Grundlagen jesuitischer Pädagogik und Erziehung seit ihren Anfängen im 16. Jahrhundert ihren Ausgang nahmen, lässt sich über die Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu 1773 und ihre Wiederzulassung 1814 trotz der Inkulturierung in die Vielzahl der Kulturen in Raum und Zeit die erstaunliche Kontinuität ihrer pädagogischen Anthropologie und «Vision» bis heute feststellen, so dass durch ihre erneute Reflexion und dezidierte Umsetzung auch unter veränderten gesellschaftlich kulturellen Herausforderungen die ignatianischen Ideale nicht nur in der

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1 Ignatius von Loyola, * 31.V.1491, Gründer der S.J., † 31.VII.1556 (DHCJ II, S. 1595-1601).

technisierten Lebenswelt Europas und Nordamerikas, sondern weltweit ihre Bedeutung und ihre geistige Ausstrahlung erneut zur Wirksamkeit bringen.

Die Ausgangslage 1773

Im Folgenden werden Befunde meiner Studie zur jesuitischen Kollegspädagogik seit den Anfängen bis 1773 zusammengefasst.²

Die Errichtung eines Netzwerks von Kollegien seit der Gründung der ersten Schule in Goa 1546 auf der Grundlage des von der Inkarnationstheologie inspirierten christlichen Humanismus stellte ein globales Erziehungssystem dar, das die Welt in dieser Einheitlichkeit der Konzeption und Organisation aber auch der Anpassungsfähigkeit («Akkomodation») an diverse kulturelle Voraussetzungen nicht gekannt hat.

In der *Ratio studiorum* von 1599 unter dem Generaloberen Claudio Aquaviva S.J.³ wurden die pädagogischen Grundlagen, die Organisation von Schule und Unterricht, die einem humanistischen Kanon folgenden Inhalte und die Lernmethoden normiert und bis 1773 verbindlich angewendet. Ohne auf die Organisation der Kollegien und des Unterrichts im Einzelnen einzugehen, werden einige Charakteristika dieses Bildungskonzepts und seiner Schulen thesenartig benannt:

I. Ausgehend von der Theologie der *Exercitia Spiritualia* stand das Seelenheil der Zöglinge an oberster Stelle aller pädagogischen Überlegungen und Bemühungen.

II. Diesem Apostolat der cura personalis dienten die *Studia humanitatis* als Lerninhalte und Lernmethoden. *Sapientia* und *pietas* galten als kongruente Bildungswerte, die das *sentire in ecclesia* zu fördern hatten.

III. Durch die Rezeption des *modus Parisiensis* entfaltete die Pädagogik der Jesuiten eine große Lerneffizienz. Die leistungsorientierte Organisation des Unterrichts in Klassen und durch Prüfungen ermöglichte die kontrollierbare Operationalisierung der klar formulierten Lernziele und des strukturierten Lehrplans.

IV. Dadurch wurden nicht nur die Leistungsmotivation

2 Vgl. Heinz SPROLL, „Die Begründung Historischer Bildung aus dem Geist des christlichen Humanismus der Societas Jesu“, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* LXXIX/158 (2010), S. 345-380.

3 Claudio Aquaviva, * 04.IX.1543 Atri, S.J. 22.VII.1567 Rom, Wahlzum 5. General 19.II.1581, † 31.I.1615 Rom (DHCJ II, S. 1614-1621).

und Leistungsdifferenzierung optimiert, sondern durch die Präsentation in Deklamationen, Disputationen und Theaterspielen wurde soziales Lernen gefördert und in Folge davon eine hohe Kohäsion der Klassen und der Kollegien erreicht, in denen Kleriker und Laien gleichermaßen kostenlos unterrichtet wurden. V. Der hohe Bildungsstandard der Kollegien generierte ein *Teaching under Teaching*. Aus der Dynamik der Exerzitien erzeugten die lehrenden Jesuitenpatres ein Lernklima der *familiaritas*, in dem sich ihr pädagogisches Ethos durch die Zuwendung zu den Zöglingen (*caritas*) voll entfalten konnte.

VI. Das ebenso kohärente katechetische Programm förderte die religiöse Bildung als Propädeutik für eine Frömmigkeitspraxis, in der religiöse und sittliche Werte internalisiert wurden. Die Marianischen Kongregationen und Ignatianischen Bruderschaften implementierten zusätzlich das jesuitische Paradigma.

VII. Das globale Netzwerk der Kollegien unter einheitlicher Leitung des Generaloberen in Rom ermöglichte einen intensiven Informations- und Erfahrungsaustausch zwischen den einzelnen Schulen, die mit der Missionierung der Gesellschaft Jesu auch in Indien, Amerika und Ostasien gegründet wurden. Damit konnte die Exzellenz der Kollegien verbessert und ein hohes Maß an Einheitlichkeit im Hinblick auf die Ziele bei gleichzeitiger methodischer, organisatorischer und bildungsökonomischer Flexibilität durch Anpassung an die verschiedenen kulturellen Bedingungen erreicht werden.

Die jesuitische Pädagogik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert

Trotz eintretender Krisen konnten die Kollegien ihre Monopolstellung innerhalb des katholischen Bildungswesens bis 1773 behaupten. Auch nach Wiedezulassung der Gesellschaft Jesu durch die Bulle *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* vom 7.8.1814, die durch die Intention von Pius VII. motiviert war, «dass die katholische Kirche wieder in den Genuss ihrer [der S. J.] erzieherischen Erfahrung gelangen könne»,⁴ knüpfte die Kollegspädagogik an ihre Erfolgsgeschichte an.

Mit dem Zurückdrängen des humanistischen Bildungsideals durch die von der Aufklärung promulgierte instrumentelle Vernunft mit ihrer positivistischen Anthropologie in der «Sattelzeit» (R. Kosseleck), mit dem Vordringen der

4 Bulle *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*; zitiert nach: Generalskurie der Gesellschaft Jesu (Hg.), *Grundzüge jesuitischer Erziehung*, Rom, 1986, S. 54.

Naturwissenschaften und der allmählichen Indienstnahme des Bildungswesens durch die Nationalstaaten wurde es nach 1814 schwieriger, die Einheitlichkeit der *Ratio studiorum* von 1599 unter den neuen geschichtlichen Herausforderungen wieder zu beleben.

Daher wurde auch eine Neufassung von 1832 nicht implementiert, um bei den unterschiedlichsten nationalen und kulturellen Bedingungen und der gerade in der Schweiz (1847-1973)⁵ und in Deutschland (1872-1917) aufbrechenden Frontstellung der Nationalstaaten gegen die Gesellschaft Jesu die Kontinuität der ignatianischen Vision besser (*magis*) zu behaupten.

Gleichwohl wurde dieser Vision und ihrem pädagogischen Paradigma auch in der Zeit der Industrialisierung und der Hegemonie eines empiristischen Wissensverständnisses eine fundamentale Bedeutung von Seiten des Ordens und der Kirche beigemessen, da sie ein hohes Maß an methodischer Elastizität ermöglichte.

Im Zentrum meiner Analyse soll das Präfektenhandbuch von P. Anton David S.J.⁶ - Feldkirch - stehen. Die dort aufgestellten pädagogischen Prämissen und Prinzipien durften nicht nur für das Kolleg der *Stella Matutina* in Feldkirch mit österreichischem und deutschem Gymnasium⁷ Geltung beansprucht haben, das

5 Otto PFÜLE, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Provinz der neu entstandenen Gesellschaft Jesu und ihr Wirken in der Schweiz 1805-1847*, Freiburg/Br., Herder, 1922; Ferdinand STROBEL, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, Olten, Walter Verlag, 1954; Manuel BORUTTA, *Antikatholizismus*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.

6 Anton David, * 20.V.1851 Willebadessen, S.J. 1872 Münster, † 7.V.1931 Feldkirch (Ferdinand STROBEL, *Schweizer Jesuitenlexikon*, Zürich, Schweizer Provinz SJ, 1986, S. 140). Anton DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, Feldkirch, Sausgruber, 1916; zu David vgl. Ludwig KOCH, *Jesuitenlexikon*, Bd. I, ND Löwen, Verlag der Bibliothek SJ, 1962, Sp. 381-382; vgl. André RAVIER, *Fils de lumière*, Paris, J. de Gigord, 1948; Zürich, Archiv der Schweizer Jesuitenprovinz, Schachtel 4: *Stella Matutina 1900-1938*. Auszug aus der *Historia domus Collegii Feldkirchensis 1856-1930*, MS 8 Seiten, S. 5: «1904-1907 war P. A. David Rektor».

7 Vgl. Zürich, Archiv der Schweizer Jesuitenprovinz, Schachtel 50: *Erziehung/Erzieher: Anwendung der allgemeinen und besonderen Regeln der Gesellschaft auf das Amt des Präfekten*; MS 5 Seiten o. Datum: *Zur normativen Grundlage: Regulae Societatis Jesu*, Bruxelles 1910, hier: *Summarium Constitutionum* S. 1-15; *Regulae communis* (sic!), S. 16-22; Zur Geschichte der *Stella Matutina* vgl. *Stella Matutina* (Hg.), *75 Jahre Stella Matutina*, 3 Bde., Feldkirch, Selbstverlag, 1931; Bernhard LÖCHER, *Das österreichische Feldkirch und seine Jesuitenkollegien „St. Nikolaus“ und „Stella Matutina“*, Frankfurt/M., Lang, 2008; KOCH, *Jesuitenlexikon*, Bd. I, Sp. 544-546; Christoph VALLASTER, *Stella Matutina 1856-1979*, Bregenz, Russ, 1985.

durch Thomas Manns «Zauberberg» 19248 auch einen hohen literarischen Rang erhielt. Diese Prinzipien durften für die deutschen Ordensprovinzen vor 1872 und nach 1917 als Quelle pädagogischen Handelns einen breiten normativen Rang besessen haben. Für die Qualität dieser Prinzipien spricht, dass u. a. so berühmte Jesuiten wie der Kirchenhistoriker Franz Ehrle S.J.,⁹ der Sozialwissenschaftler Oswald von Nell-Breuning¹⁰ (1890-1991), der Kirchenhistoriker Hugo Rahner S.J.,¹¹ Franz von Tattenbach S.J.¹² und der Kirchenrechtler Franz Xaver Wernz¹³ aus dem Kolleg hervorgingen.

Apostolische Zielperspektive und anthropologischer Hintergrund

Dominiert wird das Verständnis der Erziehung von der apostolischen Zieldimension,¹⁴ wie sie in den *Exercitia Spiritualia*¹⁵ und den Satzungen¹⁶ grundgelegt wurden. Dabei unterzieht sich der Präfekt, ganz im Sinne der Exerzitien einem «Experiment», «wodurch dem Oberen klar wird, wie viel in dem einzelnen Präfekten an Tüchtigkeit und Brauchbarkeit steckt».¹⁷

8 Thomas MANN, *Der Zauberberg*, 2 Bde., Berlin, Fischer, 1924, Bd. 2; S. 170-174; vgl. Wolfgang FRÜHWALD, „Jesuiten in der deutschen Literatur“, *Stimmen der Zeit* 5 (2007), S. 330-340.

9 Franz Ehrle, * 17.X.1845 Isny, S.J. 29.IX.1861 Gorheim, † 31.III.1934 Rom (*DHCJ* II, S. 1221).

10 Oswald von Nell-Breuning, * 8.III.1890 Trier, S.J. 1.X.1911, † 21.VIII.1991 Frankfurt/M. (*Catalogus Prov. Germaniae* 1992, S. 45).

11 Hugo Rahner, *3.V.1900 Pfullendorf, S.J. 11.I.1919 Feldkirch, † 21.XII.1968 München (*DHCJ* IV, S. 3279).

12 Franz von Tattenbach, * 17.I.1910 München, S.J. 14.IX.1929, † 12.VIII.1992 Isny (*Catalogus Prov. Germaniae* 1993, S. 80).

13 Franz Xaver Wernz, * 4.XII.1842 Rottweil, S.J. 5.XII.1857 Gorheim, zum 25. General gewählt 8.IX.1906 Rom, † 19.VIII.1914 Rom (*DHCJ* II., S. 1682).

14 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 5 und 155; so auch im systematisierenden Diskurs bei François CHARMOT, *La Pédagogie des Jésuites*, Paris, ed. Spes, 1943, bes. S. 65-95.

15 Ignatius von LOYOLA, *Geistliche Übungen*, übers. v. Peter Knauer S.J., in: Peter KNAUER (Hg.), *Gründungstexte der Gesellschaft Jesu*, (Deutsche Werkausgabe), Würzburg, Echter, 1998, S. 85-269.

16 Ignatius von LOYOLA, *Die Satzungen der Gesellschaft Jesu*, übers. v. Peter Knauer S.J., KNAUER (Hg.), *Gründungstexte*, S. 580-885, 4. Hauptteil, S. 676-727.

17 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 5.

Der Experimentcharakter erzieherischen Handelns wird vom Autor in Form einer moralischen Kasuistik diskursiv erörtert, die diversen Handlungsoptionen in einem «übernatürlichen Standpunkt»¹⁸ verankert, der von der ignatianischen Vision¹⁹ bestimmt wird. Neben der Spiritualität des Hl. Ignatius von Loyola ist für David die *Imitatio Christi* des Thomas von Kempen²⁰ Referenzpunkt für seine Handlungsempfehlungen. Dabei ist die grundsätzliche theologische Bestimmung des Verhältnisses von Natur und Übernatur²¹ konstitutiv für das Erziehungshandeln: Damit Gottes unverfügbare, freie Gnade in diesem Handeln zur Wirksamkeit kommt, hat sich der Präfekt von jeder Ich-Bezogenheit freizumachen, - ein Grundsatz ignatianischer Spiritualität.²²

Überantwortet sich der Präfekt in seinem freien Handeln ganz der Gnade Gottes, so kann er auch die Zöglinge für das göttliche Heilswirken disponieren: «Unser erzieherisches Wirken hat bei einem Zögling nur dann eingreifenden, nachhaltigen Erfolg, wenn es uns gelingt, ihn so an die Hand Gottes zu bringen, dass er an ihr durch das Leben geht und bis zum Sterben an ihr verbleibt».²³

Im Horizont von erzieherischem Handeln und Gottes Gnadenwirken lässt sich das ganze Spektrum von Zielen und Optionen verstehen, an deren erste Stelle David die Triebbeherrschung bei den Zöglingen setzt, um ungeordnete Begierden in geordnete Bahnen zu lenken.²⁴ Im Widerspruch zur «neuzeitige(n) Züchtung und Pflege der Triebe»²⁵ geht er im Sinne der aristotelisch-thomistischen Anthropologie von der Prämisse aus, dass der seinen Trieben folgende Mensch das von

18 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 154.

19 Vgl. Generalskurie, *Grundzüge jesuitischer Erziehung*, S. 53 und 55.

20 THOMAS VON KEMPEN, *De imitatione Christi*, 3. Buch, Kap. 54, Stuttgart, Reclam, 1950, S. 175-178.

21 HENRY DE LUBAC, *Surnaturel, études historiques*, Paris, Aubier, 1946; vgl. CHARMOT, *Pédagogie*, S. 533-534.

22 Ignatius von LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, übers. v. Peter Knauer S.J., Würzburg, Echter, 1993: Ignatius an Francisco de Borja, Herzog von Gandía. Rom, Ende 1545, Brief 101, S. 104-105; vgl. LOYOLA, *Geistliche Übungen*, 21; KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 108; LOYOLA, *Geistliche Übungen*, 189; KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 180-181.

23 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 158.

24 Vgl. LOYOLA, *Geistliche Übungen*, 21; KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 108.

25 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 7.

Gott bestimmte und von der Vernunft erkennbare *telos* sowie das in der Schöpfung angelegte Maß guten, naturgemäßen Handelns missachtet und verfehlt. Erst «mit der Beherrschung und Ordnung derselben [= der Triebe; Anmerkung des Verfassers] [hebt] die natürliche Größe des Menschen [an], weil dann der höhere Teil seiner Natur, der Geist, den niederen Teil, den er mit dem Tiere gemein hat, niederhält und der Geist als Fürst und Herrscher waltet».²⁶ So erst wird der Mensch als Geschöpf Gottes seiner Bestimmung zu einem «übernatürlichen Leben»²⁷ in Gott gerecht.

Die normethischen Grundlagen: Erziehung der Zöglinge zur Selbsterziehung im Ordnungsrahmen des Kollegs

Die Zöglinge müssen unter der anthropologischen Zielfunktion der Triebkontrolle dazu erzogen werden, dass sie selbst lernen, zu gehorchen, zu beten und zu arbeiten. «Das ganze Triebleben eines jungen Menschen kommt ja allmählich in die von Gott gewollte Ordnung und Zucht, wenn er gehorcht und arbeitet, wann und wie er soll, und er mit seinem Gott und Herrn in Verbindung und Verkehr ist».²⁸ Auch das Spiel dient dieser Aufgabe.

Die Haus- und Tagesordnung der *Stella Matutina*,²⁹ die sich eng an die *Ratio studiorum* von 1599³⁰ anlehnt, normiert diese Erziehungsmittel so, dass ein selbstgestützter Lernprozess induziert und nachhaltig gefördert wird.

Die Ordnungsnormen sollen von den Zöglingen internalisiert und praktiziert werden: «[...] vielmehr ist das Hauptmittel beim Zögling selbst, nämlich das Anpacken und das Durchführen dessen, was die Tagesordnung jeweils von ihm will».³¹

Diese intrinsische Motivation und Methode zur Selbsterziehung der Zöglinge führt das jesuitische Paradigma eines *Teaching under*

26 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

27 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd. Der Autor bezieht sich auf Thomas von KEMPEN, *De imitatione Christi*, 3. Buch, Kap. 54. Die theologisch-anthropologischen Prämissen der Jesuitenpädagogik erkennt Gustav WEICKER, *Das Schulwesen der Jesuiten nach den Ordensgesetzen*, Halle, Verl. Der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1863, bes. S. 266-281.

28 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

29 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

30 *Mon. paed.* V, S. 355-454.

31 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 8.

*Teaching*³² in Kontinuität fort, indem aus dem objektiven Müssen ein subjektives Wollen der Zöglinge wird, das es nach David zu fördern gilt:³³ «So ist der ganze Tag gespickt mit Gelegenheiten, mit Forderungen der Selbstüberwindung, klarer gesagt mit Überwindung des niederen Selbst mit seinen Trieben, soweit diese Entfaltung des höheren Selbst, des Geistes- und Gnadenlebens, im Wege stehen».³⁴

Tugendethische Grundlagen: Der Präfekt als tugendhaftes Vorbild

David erwartet von den Präfekten solche Tugenden,³⁵ die sie zu einem erzieherischen Handeln qualifizieren. Dabei setzt er voraus, dass sie als Ordensgeistliche «die übernatürliche Auffassung und Handhabung ihres Amtes [...] als Dienst Gottes und als Übung des Seeleneifers»³⁶ besitzen. Mit der Selbstvergewisserung über seine übernatürliche Berufung wird der Präfekt offen für das Wirken der Gnade Gottes, damit diese der Schwäche seiner menschlichen Natur bei der Pflichterfüllung zuvorkommt: «Alle unsere Amtssachen sind ja Gottes Sache».³⁷ Als «contemplativus in actione»³⁸ setzt der Präfekt «seine natürlichen Kräfte getreulich für die Zöglinge ein [...] Und den Erfolg seiner Mühe überlässt er Gott».³⁹ Das Einüben der Tugenden hat zudem eine kommunikative Funktion: Der Präfekt kann von seinen Zöglingen nur dann ein sittliches Handeln erwarten, wenn er selbst tugendhaft handelt.⁴⁰

32 Vgl. SPROLL, „Die Begründung Historischer Bildung“, S. 359.

33 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 8.

34 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

35 Vgl. Brief 4020; LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 530-531.

36 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 9.

37 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 12.

38 Vgl. Gabriel Hevenesi S.J., «Dies sei die erste Regel allen Tuns: Vertraue so auf Gott, als ob der Erfolg allein von Dir, nicht von Gott abhinge; so aber gib Dir alle Mühe, als ob Du selbst nichts, Gott alles vollbringen werde». Zitiert nach Ignatius von LOYOLA, *In allem – Gott*, Würzburg, Echter, 2006, S. 93; vgl. dazu Mabel LUNDBERG, *Jesuitische Anthropologie und Erziehungslehre in der Frühzeit des Ordens (ca. 1540-1650)*, Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1966, S. 254-270.

39 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 12.

40 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 9.

An erster Stelle der Tugenden erwartet David von den Präfekten «Pünktlichkeit und Postentreue»⁴¹ in dem Sinne, dass er zur rechten Zeit seiner Aufsichtspflicht über die Zöglinge nachkommt. Als weitere geforderte Tugend folgt die Festigkeit, so dass seine an die Zöglinge gerichteten Erwartungen konsistent und beharrlich gestellt werden, ohne Furcht, ihr Wohlwollen zu verlieren. Diese sekundären Tugenden werden fundiert in der Primärtugend der Gerechtigkeit. Besonders diese Tugend, so David, ermöglicht praktisches Handeln in konkreten Präfekten-Zöglingen- bzw. Lehrer-Schüler-Beziehungen. Der Autor vermeidet es, die Präfekten tugendethisch zu überfordern, da er um die Egozentrik und der daraus resultierenden Irrtumsfähigkeit auch der Präfekten weiß. Ungerechtes Handeln der Präfekten im Sinne von Bevorzugungen oder Benachteiligung der Zöglinge wirkt sich auf deren Verhalten nicht nur negativ aus, sondern die Bildung der Schülerpersönlichkeiten wird behindert und gruppensdynamische Prozesse werden gestört. Ganz besonders die von Natur Benachteiligten empfiehlt David dem gerechten Handeln des Präfekten: «Jetzt ist es unsere Sache, sie [=die benachteiligten Zöglinge; Anmerkung des Verfassers] gerecht zu behandeln und dadurch aus der inneren Verkümmderung zu gedeihlicher Entwicklung zu bringen».⁴² Wie der Hl. Ignatius von Loyola⁴³ plädiert der Autor dafür, die Beurteilungsmaßstäbe flexibel der jeweiligen Person und Situation der Zöglinge anzupassen, um ihnen ein Höchstmaß an Gerechtigkeit zukommen zu lassen. Jeglichen Rigorismus ablehnend, spricht sich David auch dann für ein von Güte geleitetes Handeln des Präfekten aus, wenn er von einem Zögling beleidigt wurde: «[...] denn die rachsüchtige Natur wird überwunden und der Zögling zu Dankbarkeit gestimmt».⁴⁴

Das ignatianische Prinzip der *Discreta caritas*⁴⁵ wendet David bei der Erörterung der Tugend des Wohlwollens an, indem er unter Bezug auf Peter Fabers S.J. «indefessus animarum zelus

41 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

42 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 16.

43 Ignatius an die Mitbrüder in Coimbra. Rom, 7. Mai 1547: Brief 169, LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 145-146.

44 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 17.

45 Vgl. LOYOLA, *Geistliche Übungen* 333, KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 252.

– proximos nostros opere et caritate diligere et juvare»⁴⁶ in den Zöglingen «unsere Nächsten [sieht; Anmerkung des Verfassers], die Gott selbst uns an die Hand gab».⁴⁷ Komplementär zur Tugend der Gerechtigkeit schafft das Wohlwollen des Präfekten, das er seinen Zöglingen aufgrund der Geschöpflichkeit beider geradezu schuldet, das kreative erzieherische Klima, in dem die Persönlichkeiten der Zöglinge reifen können.

Das Wohlwollen muss, um dieser erzieherischen Aufgabe zu dienen, im Sinne der *Discreta caritas* Trost spenden⁴⁸ und auch dann beständig und unerschütterlich sein, wenn der Zögling es verwirkt zu haben scheint: «Das hält ihn [= den Zögling; Anmerkung des Verfassers] ab von dem verzweifelden oder trotzigem Sichselbstüberliefern an das Schlechte, das bewahrt ihn vor Erbitterung oder hilft ihm später die Bitterkeit zu vergessen und er behält die Stätte seiner Erziehung in liebem Andenken und ist dadurch die Erinnerung daran stets der Gnade zugänglich».⁴⁹

Persönlichkeitsprofile der Präfekten

Handelte es sich bei der Bildung von Präfekten-Tugenden um die ethische Dimension, so bei der Entwicklung von Persönlichkeitsprofilen um psychologische Aspekte, denen Davidgleichermaßen seine Aufmerksamkeit widmet. Das übernatürliche Aufgaben- und Amtsverständnis des Präfekten wird auch hier vom Autor als normative Zielorientierung herangezogen, um einem psychologisierenden Naturalismus zu entgehen.

Dabei stellt er folgende Typologie auf: Entgegen anderer Neigungen, z. B. in Richtung einer wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit, übt der «Musspräfekt»⁵⁰ sein Amt gegen innere Vorbehalte aus. David stellt einem solchen Präfekten wider Willen, solche Laien als Vorbild hin, die ihren Beruf ohne Rücksicht auf ihre Ich-Bezogenheit pflichtgemäß ausüben: «Und nun wir Jesuiten mit unseren hohen Zielen eigener Vervollkommenung, Gottes größerer Ehre und der Zöglinge Heil sollten nicht zu dem imstande sein,

46 Zitiert nach DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 18.

47 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

48 Vgl. LOYOLA, *Geistliche Übungen*, KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 198.

49 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 19.

50 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 20.

sollten nicht aus ganzem Herzen müssen können, wie 1000 Weltlinge es uns täglich vormachen?»⁵¹

Dem Realtypus des «Musspräfekten» stellt der Autor den des «Gernpräfekten»⁵² gegenüber, der sich dem Typus des idealen Präfekten soweit annähert, dass er sich unter Hintanstellung seiner Eigenliebe mit seinen Amtsaufgaben identifiziert, «vorausgesetzt, dass er seine Absicht auf Gottes Ehre und der Zöglinge Wohl und Heil gerichtet hält».⁵³

Der Realtypus des «Hurrapräfekten»⁵⁴ sucht in seiner Egozentrik im Präfektenamt sich selbst, goutiert seine Scheinerfolge bei den Zöglingen und verrät damit das telos seiner Berufung: Seinen Zöglingen *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam* erzieherisch zu dienen.

David bleibt nicht bei der Beschreibung von aus der Erfahrung gewonnenen Persönlichkeitsmerkmalen stehen. Seinen tugendethischen Anspruch vertritt er auch, wenn er für den grundsätzlichen, schöpfungstheologisch motivierten pädagogischen Optimismus plädiert im Wissen, «dass niemals eine Mühe vergeblich ist, welche Menschen in Gottvertrauen für Gottes Sache aufwenden».⁵⁵

Er folgt hier, wie bei seinen Argumenten für eine präzise aber großzügige Auslegung der Haus- und Tagesordnung dem Prinzip der «Unterscheidung der Geister».⁵⁶

In dieser Spannung von genauester Pflichterfüllung auch im Kleinsten und Offenhalten der Perspektive für das übernatürliche Ziel soll der ideale Präfekt «sich indifferent machen»⁵⁷ gegenüber allen geschaffenen Dingen. In Anlehnung an die aristotelische Ethik der *recta ratio* und des rechten Maßes (*mesotes*),⁵⁸ das zwischen den Extremen liegt, und in der Kontinuität ignatianischer Pädagogik

51 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 21.

52 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

53 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 22.

54 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

55 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 23.

56 Vgl. LOYOLA, *Geistliche Übungen* 328-336, KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 251-254.

57 Vgl. LOYOLA, *Geistliche Übungen: Prinzip und Fundament* 23, KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 110.

58 ARISTOTELES, *Nikomachische Ethik* 1106a, 14 – 1109b, 26. Vgl. Ignatius an die Mitbrüder in Coimbra. Rom, 7. Mai 1547: Brief 169, LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 145-146.

sieht David in der Milde den Maßstab, der die flexible Anpassung in der *cura personalis* an je unterschiedliche Begabungen und sozio-kulturelle Hintergründe der Zöglinge bei gleichzeitiger Konsistenz der Erziehungsziele praktiziert.⁵⁹

Die Kommunikation zwischen den Präfekten

David tritt für einen offenen brüderlichen Umgang der Präfekten untereinander ein, der Missverständnisse und Konflikte diskursiv nach der *Formula Instituti*⁶⁰ und der geltenden Hausordnung⁶¹ löst. Das hierarchisch bestimmte Verhältnis des zweiten zum ersten Präfekten bestimmt der Autor subsidiär im Bereich der Aufsicht und der Nachprüfung des Studiums,⁶² um Kompetenzüberschreitungen und in Folge davon Konflikte zu vermeiden. Zudem weist er dem zweiten Präfekten eine Mittlerrolle zwischen dem ersten Präfekten und den Zöglingen⁶³ zu. Die Aufgaben- und Arbeitsverteilung soll zwischen dem ersten und dem zweiten Präfekten freiwillig abgesprochen und dem Generalpräfekten mitgeteilt werden.⁶⁴ Leistet der Präfekt dem Generalpräfekten den geschuldeten Gehorsam, so kann ersterer auch den von den Zöglingen ihm schuldigen Gehorsam einfordern.⁶⁵

Generell liegt die Strafgewalt beim ersten Präfekten gemäß der

59 Vgl. LOYOLA, *Satzungen* 822, KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 825-826.

60 LOYOLA, *Satzungen*. Die fünf Kapitel und die *Formulae Instituti*, KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 303-320.

61 Zürich, Archiv der Schweizer Jesuitenprovinz, Schachtel 47: Hausordnung: Hausordnung des Kollegs Stella Matutina, MS 22.5, o. Datum; vgl. ebd.: Regeln des Pensionats U. L. F. Stella Matutina, Feldkirch Druck 195, Feldkirch 1898.

62 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 29; vgl. Luis Gonçalves da CÂMARA, *Memoriale. Erinnerungen an unseren Vater Ignatius*, übers. v. Peter Knauer S.J., n. 270, Frankfurt/M., Selbstverlag d. Übers., 1988, S. 149-150; Ignatius an Diego Mirón. Rom, 17. Dezember 1552, Brief 3104, LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 447-449; vgl. LOYOLA, *Satzungen*, 797, S. 815-816.

63 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 28; vgl. Franz Graf ZEDWITZ, *Feldmünster*, Berlin, Nordland Verl., 1940, passim: Von dieser Mittlerrolle scheint der Autor nichts zu wissen.

64 Vgl. Zürich, Archiv der Schweizer Jesuitenprovinz, Schachtel 50: Anwendung (Anm. 7), S. 2-3.

65 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 132-133; vgl. LOYOLA, *Satzungen*, 434, KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 709. Auch diese doppelte, aufeinander bezogene Gehorsamspflicht übersieht ZEDWITZ, *Feldmünster*.

Goldenen Regel (Mt. 7,12), so dass der zweite Präfekt bzw. der Nebenpräfekt klug handelt, wenn er kleinere Strafen nur selten vergibt.

Der Konsens aller Präfekten ist nicht nur um der Gewährleistung der Disziplin willen notwendig, sondern zum Wohle der Zöglinge und zur Ehre Gottes.⁶⁶

Die Kommunikation zwischen Zöglingen und den Präfekten

David will die Beziehung zwischen den Zöglingen und ihrem Präfekten als eine von Gott gestellte Aufgabe verstanden wissen. Daraus resultiert, wie bereits erwähnt,⁶⁷ dass die Grundhaltung des Präfekten von «pflichtschuldige[m], uneigennützig[e] Wohlwollen»⁶⁸ geprägt sein muss.

Von Seiten der Zöglinge aus nimmt der Autor an, dass sie prinzipiell erziehungsfähig und erziehungswillig sind. Selbst bei solchen, denen es an beiden Kriterien graduell mangelt, «ist der Eintritt ins Haus die für das ganze Leben entscheidende Gnade».⁶⁹

Die adäquate Beurteilung der Persönlichkeiten der Zöglinge, jenseits aller Projektionen von Seiten des Präfekten, ist Voraussetzung allen erzieherischen Handelns. So stellt Davideine Klassifikation von Zöglingen vor, die vom Realtypus des Musterzöglings aus katholischem Elternhaus über den mittelmäßigen Zögling bis zum «mehr oder weniger unausstehlichen Zögling»⁷⁰ reicht, der «darum auch bisher noch wenig Liebe erfahren [hat] [...], vielleicht nicht einmal daheim, nicht von den Geschwistern und selbst von den Eltern nicht».⁷¹

Gerade für diese Zöglinge empfiehlt David dem Präfekten eine liebevolle Zuwendung, die allerdings die unbestrittene Autorität des Erziehenden zur Voraussetzung hat.

Dabei scheut sich der Autor nicht, die Metapher des Militärverbands zu benutzen, um auf die asymmetrische Kommunikation zwischen dem Präfekten und der Division zu

66 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 27 und 131-133.

67 Vgl. Kap. Tugendethische Grundlagen: Der Präfekt als tugendhaftes Vorbild.

68 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 31.

69 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 34.

70 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 37.

71 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

verweisen.⁷² Der Präfekt «wird dann auch bald erkennen, dass alles, was er für die gute Ordnung und Zucht der Gesamtheit tut, auch dem Einzelnen zugutekommt, der darin zum richtigen Anfangen eine Hilfe und zum Festhalten und Fortschreiten den sichersten, natürlichen Halt hat».⁷³

Erst so kann der Präfekt sich dem Einzelnen in väterlicher und mütterlicher Liebe zuwenden. Die Strenge gegenüber der Gruppe bei gleichzeitiger Güte gegenüber den Einzelnen entspricht ganz der *cura personalis* jesuitischer Pädagogik.⁷⁴

David überhöht das Bild vom Militärverband durch das der Familie im Sinne des alten «ganzen Hauses»,⁷⁵ in dem die mütterliche Güte ebenso waltet wie die väterliche Strenge.⁷⁶ Beide Metaphern implizieren eine Gehorsamspflicht der Zöglinge gegenüber ihrem Oberen.⁷⁷

Das Bild des Polizisten lehnt David umso entschiedener ab, da der Präfekt den Zöglingen in keinem Fall unterstellen darf, dass sie potentielle oder tatsächliche Straftäter sind. Ganz im Gegenteil hat er von ihrem Gut-Sein auszugehen und sie mit freundlichen, wohlwollenden Handlungen zu begleiten und in der Wahl der Mittel Augenmaß zu bewahren.⁷⁸

Auch hier folge David dem Hl. Ignatius von Loyola,⁷⁹ wenn

72 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 107. Das Bild des Kollegs als Militärverband bei ZEDWITZ, *Feldmünster*, in antijesuitischer Perspektive und deutlicher Nähe zum Nationalsozialismus. Der Autor verkennt völlig die ignatianischen Grundlagen der Kommunikation im Kolleg.

73 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

74 Vgl. SPROLL, „Die Begründung Historischer Bildung“, S. 359.

75 Vgl. OTTO BRUNNER, „Das ‚ganze Haus‘ und die alteuropäische ‚Ökonomik‘“, in: OTTO BRUNNER (Hg.), *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968², S. 103-127.

76 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 113.

77 DA CAMARA, *Memoriale*, n. 116, S. 60-62; vgl. Regeln für das innere Verhalten, Regel 2, KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 882; Ignatius an die Scholastiker in Gandía. Rom, 29. Juli 1547, Brief 182, LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 178; Ignatius an die Mitbrüder in Portugal. Rom, 26 März 1553, Brief 33304, LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 460. Eine neuere Interpretation der Gehorsamspflicht bei Karl H. NEUFELD S.J., „Kirche und Jesuiten“, *Zs. f. katholische Theologie* 128 (2006), S. 183-204.

78 Vgl. Kap. Erziehungsmittel

79 Vgl. Unterweisung für die Mitbrüder in Trient. Rom, Anfang 1546, Brief 123, LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 112.

er dem Präfekten rät: «Er selbst sei zuverlässig in allen seinen Aussagen, spreche daher nicht übereilt, sondern überlege, was er sagt, und sei mäßig in seinen Anforderungen».⁸⁰ Dies führt zu dem Appell Davids, der Präfekt müsse im Vertrauen auf Gottes Gnade aus seinen erzieherischen Fehlern lernen, vor allem aber der Versuchung der Ich-Sucht widerstehen.

Erziehungsstile

Außerdem klassifiziert der Autor die Zöglinge in «Bequeme, Halbbequeme und Unbequeme»,⁸¹ um die ihnen adäquaten Erziehungsstile zu erörtern. Die «Unbequemen» erfordern in den unteren Divisionen eine große Zuwendung, in den oberen Abteilungen sollen sie als Herausforderung vom Präfekten angenommen werden, «denn 1. bewahren sie ihn vor dem behaglichen Sichgehenlassen [...], 2. halten sie ihn dazu an, bei seinem Reden und Tun sich so einzurichten, dass er vor ihrer Kritik bestehen kann».⁸² Dem Präfekten legt David dabei einen sozial-integrativen Erziehungsstil nahe, damit «die sog. Guten der Division»⁸³ mit den «Unbequemen» kommunizieren und sie positiv sozialisieren. So lernen erstere, aus ihrer Selbstbezüglichkeit herauszutreten und an und mit den «Unbequemen» sittlich zu wachsen. Denn: «Gott schlägt den Teufel nicht tot und der selbst fürchtet mehr das Händerühren als das Händefalten».⁸⁴

Bei den «Halbbequemen», die im Unterricht Lernschwierigkeiten haben, soll der Präfekt eine vermittelnde Rolle dem Lehrer gegenüber übernehmen, ebenso wie der Lehrer gegenüber dem Präfekten bei leistungsstarken aber verhaltensauffälligen Zöglingen vermitteln soll. Den bequemen Zöglingen gegenüber empfiehlt der Autor eine gewisse Distanz, vor allem aber soll ein vertrauensseliges Verhältnis zu ihnen vermieden werden.

David empfiehlt, gruppendynamische Prozesse unter den Zöglingen zu beobachten und zu steuern, nicht nur um Klüngelbildungen zu vermeiden,⁸⁵ sondern auch dann, wenn die

80 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 117.

81 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 37.

82 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 38.

83 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

84 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

85 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 49.

Mehrheit der Zöglinge einer Division nicht oder nur oberflächlich religiös sozialisiert sind. Der Präfekt hat deren «nicht selten [...] natürliche gute Eigenschaften»⁸⁶ in ihrer gleichwohl schädlichen Wirkung auf die Mitzöglinge richtig einzuschätzen und sie mit Kindern aus gefestigtem christlichem Sozialisationshintergrund zusammenzubringen. Kommen diese allerdings aus schwachen Elternhäusern, werden sie «religiösen Übungen nur eine äußerliche Bedeutung beimessen»,⁸⁷ so dass sie dem achristlichen Einfluss der erstgenannten kaum standhalten. Daraus folgert der Autor, dass diese Gruppe nicht bis zur Matura im Kolleg bleiben darf.

Gegenüber willensschwachen Zöglingen wird dem Präfekten «eine ruhige, feste Führung»⁸⁸ zur Stärkung des Selbstvertrauens und zur Bildung des Charakters gegenüber anderen Zöglingen mit negativen Einstellungen empfohlen. Solche mit starkem Willen sollen ihre Energien «in nutzbarer Weise»⁸⁹ anwenden lernen, indem sie die «rechtmäßige menschliche Autorität»⁹⁰ anerkennen. Dabei muss der Präfekt immer wieder von Neuem lernen, sich selbst zu überwinden, um dem Willensstarken eine ihm gemäße Erziehung angedeihen zu lassen.

Altersgemäßes Erziehen

Die feste Tagesordnung⁹¹ gibt den Zöglingen der III. Division einen festen institutionellen Rahmen, um die täglichen Geschäfte regelmäßig zu betreiben. Mehr noch: Sie lernen, eine äußere und innere Form zu gewinnen. Diese Formbildung geschieht «nicht ohne große Entschiedenheit und unermüdliche Ausdauer»⁹² von Seiten des Präfekten. Die geistige Bildung im Unterricht erweitert die Erziehung im Umfeld der Organisation des Alltags. Auch hier werden Schlüsselqualifikationen zur Formalbildung erworben.

David regt zu einer besonderen Sorgfalt bei der Steuerung von gruppendynamischen Prozessen in der untersten Altersstufe an,

86 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 42.

87 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

88 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

89 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 43.

90 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

91 Vgl. Zürich, Archiv der Schweizer Jesuitenprovinz, Schachtel 50: Tageseinteilung in der Stella vor 1914; MS 15, Ostern 1910.

92 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 44; vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 152-153.

um die ins Internat neu aufgenommenen Zöglinge zu integrieren. Da diese Zöglinge der III. Division selbstständig werden sollen, darf der Präfekt gerade ihnen gegenüber kaum Anzeichen von Willfährigkeit zeigen. Er würde in diesem Fall die Selbstsucht der Zöglinge fördern, seine Autorität⁹³ untergraben, schlimmer noch: seiner von Gott gestellten Aufgabe nicht gerecht werden.

Generell empfiehlt der Autor dem Präfekten, mit Strafen sparsam und «frei von Härte und Beimischung von Rachsucht»⁹⁴ umzugehen, nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil Fehlverhalten der Zöglinge «gar häufig nicht ohne sein [= des Präfekten; Anmerkung des Verfassers] eigenes Verschulden zutage treten».⁹⁵ Wie hier Davidder *Ratio studiorum* von 1559⁹⁶ folgt, so empfiehlt er dem Präfekten ganz im Sinne des Hl. Ignatius von Loyola⁹⁷ auch das gesundheitliche Wohl der Zöglinge.⁹⁸

Den Präfekten der II. Division empfiehlt der Autor, pubertierende Zöglinge in ihrer entwicklungspsychologischen Disposition adäquat zu verstehen und «das sich regende Kraftgefühl und den Trieb, dasselbe auszulassen und anzubringen, gleich anfangs [...] [zu fangen, zu zügeln; Anmerkung des Verfassers] und für das Werk der Erziehung und des Studiums [...] dienstbar»⁹⁹ zu machen. Zur «ruhige[n] und gerechte[n] und wohlwollende[n] Führung der Division»¹⁰⁰ verweist David auf die Tugenden des Präfekten: «Pflichttreue, feste Handhabung der Regeln und

93 Vgl. Kap. Erziehungsmittel

94 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 50.

95 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 49; vgl. Regeln für das innere Verhalten, Regel 3, KNAUER, *Gründungstexte*, S. 882.

96 *Mon. paed. V, Regulae communes professoribus classium inferiorum*, regula 40: *Puniendi ratio*, S. 422; vgl. Zürich, Archiv der Schweizer Jesuitenprovinz, Schachtel 50: Anwendung (Anm. 7), S. 3; vgl. ebd., Schachtel 4: Druck: *Der Rektor der „Stella Matutina“: Unsere Erziehungs-Anstalt „Stella Matutina“*.

97 Vgl. Ignatius an Francisco de Borja, Herzog von Gandía. Rom, 20. September 1548, Brief 466, LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 248-249; Juan de Polanco im Auftrag an die Oberen der Gesellschaft Jesu. Rom, 2. November 1552, Brief 3000, LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 433.

98 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 124-127.

99 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 51.

100 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 52.

unablässige, aber ruhige und verständige Aufsicht».¹⁰¹ Die Folge eines solchen erzieherischen Handelns «ist bei allen ordentlichen Zöglingen innere Zufriedenheit (ein gutes Gewissen) und auch äußerer Erfolg, der zunächst in ordentlichen Wochennoten aus Schule und Pensionat zum Ausdruck gelangt».¹⁰²

Die Disziplin der äußeren Ordnung ist aber nicht Selbstzweck; sie dient der Selbstüberwindung und damit der formalen Bildung des Charakters der Zöglinge. Als selbstverständlich mahnt David eine enge Kooperation zwischen Präfekten und Lehrern an, um Bildungs- und Lernprozesse zu motivieren und nachhaltig zu unterstützen und um eine Erziehung zu betreiben, die Werte wie Kameradschaft vermittelt und verinnerlicht. Tauschgeschäfte zwischen den Zöglingen lehnt David ab, da sie Abhängigkeiten und «schnödeste Gewinnsucht»¹⁰³ fördern. Der Autor führt Beispiele von Zögling-Fehlverhalten an, um sie kasuistisch zu erörtern.¹⁰⁴ In allen Fällen legt er dem Präfekten eine unterscheidende Analysefähigkeit nahe, die Potentiale sittlichen Reifens¹⁰⁵ von Lernunfähigkeit auseinanderhält, und grundsätzliches Wohlwollen den Zöglingen gegenüber.

Ganz im Sinne jesuitischer Erziehung verweist der Autor auf die Marianischen Kongregationen (MC),¹⁰⁶ in die Zöglinge dieser Altersgruppe eintreten sollten.

Der Präses dieser Marianischen Kongregationen hat dabei pastorale Aufgaben zu erfüllen, der Präfekt erzieherische.

Auch für die I. Division empfiehlt Davideinen Weg der Mitte zwischen den Extremen eines Laissez-faire-Stils und eines der III. und II. Division gemäßen autoritativen Führungsstils. Trotz «fester Leitung und guter Aufsicht»¹⁰⁷ hat der Präfekt eine solche Methode anzuwenden, die das Selbstwertgefühl der jungen Menschen achtet. Indem er die Zöglinge der I. Division als «Garde»¹⁰⁸

101 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

102 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

103 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 54.

104 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 54-57.

105 Zur Genese des moralischen Bewusstseins vgl. Lawrence KOHLBERG, *Die Psychologie der Moralentwicklung*, Frankfurt/M., Suhrkamp, (Neudr.) 2006.

106 Vgl. SPROLL, „Die Begründung Historischer Bildung“, S. 356, 359.

107 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 58.

108 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

versteht, appelliert er an das Ehr- und Eliteselbstverständnis der Zöglinge, auch bei solchen, «die nur dem Leibe nach zur I., dem Geiste nach aber zur II. Division gehören».¹⁰⁹

Noch weniger als bei den anderen Altersgruppen sollen «Ordnung und Zucht im 'Tagesbefehl'»¹¹⁰ Selbstzweck werden. Der Präfekt hat sein Handeln zurückzunehmen, damit umso mehr der Ordnungsrahmen an Geltung gewinnt, in dem sich die Willensbildung der Zöglingspersönlichkeiten entfalten sollen. Für David schließt dies nicht aus, dass der Präfekt im Sinne der *Discreta caritas*¹¹¹ «einen geheimen, nicht gerade lästigen, jedoch unausweichlichen Druck und Zwang auf seine Zöglinge»¹¹² ausübt. Freiheit als ethische Kategorie setzt nach Davideine im Übernatürlichen verankerte Ordnung voraus.

Der Erziehung zur Selbsterziehung und zur Bildung der «inneren Freiheit»¹¹³ stehen Freundschaften nicht im Wege, solange sie unter Gleichaltrigen geknüpft sind.¹¹⁴ Auch sind die Gruppenbildungen erlaubt, wenn sie nicht zur Exklusivität führen und die sittliche Entwicklung der Einzelnen behindern.

Allerdings will der Autor einem exzessiven Autonomiestreben der Zöglinge deutliche Schranken setzen.¹¹⁵ Ehrgeizige Zöglinge sollen mit Ämtern betraut werden, damit sie Verantwortung für ihre Alters- bzw. Lerngruppe übernehmen lernen.

Erziehungsmittel

In der Wahl und Anwendung von Mitteln ist bereits für Ignatius zielorientierte Klugheit angesagt.¹¹⁶ Auf dieser Tugend gründet die Autorität des Präfekten. Mehr noch: Durch übernatürliche Berufung wird dem Amt des Präfekten Autorität und

109 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 59.

110 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

111 Vgl. Anm. 45.

112 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 60.

113 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 71.

114 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 141-142.

115 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 61-62.

116 Juan de Polanco im Auftrag an Francisco de Borja. Rom, 10 Juni 1555, Brief 5422, LOYOLA, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, S. 746.

Legitimation verliehen.¹¹⁷ Als Repräsentant der Eltern darf der Präfekt sich niemals mit den Zöglingen gemein machen, so dass er den Eltern in der Sprechstunde freundlich und zugleich distanziert gegenüber treten kann.¹¹⁸ Daher fördert er seine Autorität, wenn er bei Mahnungen, ja sogar bei «Unrecht gegen seine Person sich gänzlich aus dem Texte lässt»,¹¹⁹ nachtragendes Verhalten unterlässt und selbst begangenes Unrecht eingesteht. Der Generalpräfekt und die Präfekten müssen die Autorität der Nebenpräfekten stützen.

Ein weiteres Erziehungsmittel ist die Aufsicht über die Zöglinge, dass «sie das Rechte tun».¹²⁰ Auch die Aufsicht wird von David als apostolische Aufgabe verstanden: «In der Aufsicht heißt es entsagen und Verzicht leisten auf jegliches, was uns persönlich angenehm ist, die Aufsicht aber beeinträchtigen könnte».¹²¹ Positiv gewendet heißt dies für David, dass Gottes Gnade «zumeist durch die Gewissenhaftigkeit unserer Aufsicht»¹²² den Zöglingen zuteilwird. Um sie in rechter Weise zu führen, muss sich der Präfekt für diese Aufgabe disponibel halten,¹²³ frei von aller Kumpanei mit den Zöglingen, die den Präfekten zum Bedienten machen würde.¹²⁴

Die Aufsicht soll daher zweimal täglich Gegenstand des Exams¹²⁵ und öfters der Betrachtung seitens des Präfekten sein, um Fehlverhalten rechtzeitig zu erkennen und zu korrigieren.¹²⁶

Bei der Erörterung der Strafe als ein an den staatlichen

117 Vgl. Kap. Tugendethische Grundlagen: Der Präfekt als tugendhaftes Vorbild

118 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 128-130.

119 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 81-82.

120 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 83; vgl. Zürich, Archiv der Schweizer Jesuitenprovinz, Schachtel 50: Aufsicht, MS 4 Seiten, o. Datum.

121 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

122 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 84. Zum Verhältnis von göttlicher Gnade und pädagogischem Handeln vgl. Kap. 3.1.

123 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 86.

124 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 134.

125 Vgl. Zürich, Archiv der Schweizer Jesuitenprovinz, Schachtel 50: Anwendung (Anm. 7), S. 1-2; *Regulae* (Anm. 7), *Regulae communis* 1 (sic!).

126 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 87; vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 149-150.

Schulen probatem Erziehungsmittel geht David zunächst davon aus, dass die Zöglinge nicht nur aus Angst vor Sanktionen ein triebgeleitetes, normwidriges Verhalten unterlassen, sondern in «freie[r] Selbstbestimmung»¹²⁷ sich zur Einhaltung der Regeln entschließen. Allerdings ist sie ganz im Sinne der *Ratio studiorum* von 1599¹²⁸ immer nur das letzte, äußerst sparsam angewandte Mittel nach «sagen, erklären, aufmerksam machen, ermuntern; dann erinnern, mahnen, drohen, tadeln».¹²⁹ Keineswegs will David also Regelverstöße ignoriert wissen. Grundsätzlich hat die Strafe dem Zögling, nicht der verletzten Eigenliebe des Präfekten zu dienen. Gegen eine von der Aufklärung proklamierten Ächtung der Strafe, will sie David in ihrem rechten Gebrauch in der rechten Intention rehabilitieren.

In seiner Kasuistik negativer Beispiele führt er das Strafen aus dem Affekt, aus Rachsucht oder Beileidigtsein an, sowie das Strafen im Sinne der Rechtssprechung oder der Exekution von Sanktionen: «Da wir Erzieher sein sollen, müssen wir peinlichst alles vermeiden, was nach Polizei aussieht».¹³⁰ Keinesfalls dürfen Strafen den Keim zu neuen Strafen in sich tragen, sondern müssen zum Einhalten der Regeln führen. Strafe muss also tatbezogen sein, «damit Verstand und Gerechtigkeitssinn des Zöglings unserer Maßregel zustimmen können».¹³¹ Unter Strafsachen unterscheidet David zwischen dem, was «sündhaft, was wichtig und wesentlich und was kleinlich ist».¹³²

Entscheidend für den Autor ist der Modus des Strafens: Im Gehorsam gegen die Ordenssatzung, unter Verzicht auf körperliche Strafe,¹³³ mit dem Ziel, das Vertrauen des Zöglings zu behalten und die «Folgen seines Tuns fühlen und tragen [...] [zu lassen; Anmerkung des Verfassers]».¹³⁴ Bei aller Bestrafung eines devianten Verhaltens sollte der gute Wille des Zöglings nie übersehen werden.

127 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 90.

128 Vgl. Anm. 29.

129 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 91; vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 144.

130 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 93.

131 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 95.

132 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 102.

133 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 100.

134 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

Zöglinge der III. Division, die «noch unter der Herrschaft der niedrigen Triebe»¹³⁵ stehen, bedürfen «sinnlich fühlbarer Strafe»,¹³⁶ bei solchen der höheren Altersstufen ist auf «Verstand und Willen»¹³⁷ einzuwirken. Jedenfalls ist immer das Ehrgefühl der Zöglinge, auch das der III. Division, zu achten und zu schonen. Prinzipiell rät David zu einem konsistenten Handeln: Was der Präfekt zunächst fördert, darf er nicht später bestrafen.¹³⁸

Damit ein Neuanfang für die Zöglinge nach einem Fehlverhalten ermöglicht wird, soll die Strafe unmittelbar nach ihrer Verhängung kontrolliert verbüßt werden. David zählt eine ganze Palette ihm probater Strafen auf: Vor-der-Türe-Stehen, Urlaubsverweigerung, Studium während der Erholungszeit, «Eingesperrtsein während des Tisches»¹³⁹ und Erscheinen vor dem Rektor.

Der Schulunterricht ist für David das bedeutendste Erziehungsmittel. Da er ihn im Dienste der Persönlichkeitsbildung sieht, befürwortet er eine enge Kooperation zwischen dem Präfekten und den Lehrern im Interesse der Zöglinge.¹⁴⁰ Durch seine Aufsicht soll der Präfekt die Zöglinge zu einer Arbeitshaltung motivieren, die dem selbstständigen Erkennen und der Willensbildung dient. Schulunterricht und Erziehung im Kolleg stehen für David in einem komplementären pädagogischen Verhältnis.

Fazit

Überblickt man die Vielzahl der von David empfohlenen Prinzipien und die Methode, über eine pädagogische Kasuistik diese Grundsätze zu konkretisieren, lässt sich die Kontinuität der ignatianischen Vision und der jesuitischen Paradigmen in Pädagogik und Erziehung auch nach der Wiederbegründung der Gesellschaft Jesu 1814 bis ins 20. Jahrhundert feststellen. In einer solchen Tradition steht auch der zumindest in der Stella Matutina in Feldkirch praktizierte *Modus procedendi*: In der *cura*

135 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 102.

136 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

137 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, ebd.

138 Vgl. DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 102.

139 DAVID, *Ein Präfektenhandbuch*, S. 104.

140 Vgl. Kap. Altersgemäßes Erziehen

*personalis*¹⁴¹ wird über die 5 Ebenen des Kontextes, der Erfahrung, der Reflexion, des Handelns und der Evaluation fortgeschritten,¹⁴² was die Bildung des Präfekten angeht, so darf angenommen werden, analog zu den Lern- und Bildungsprozessen bei den Zöglingen bzw. Schülern im Kolleg.

Damit war die Jesuitenpädagogik mit ihrer in einem christlichen Humanismus verankerten Schülerorientierung im Vergleich mit dem stoff- und lehrerbezogenen Lehrkonzept der Kaiserzeit weit voraus¹⁴³ und nahm wesentliche Motive der schülerorientierten Lern- und Bildungstheorie der Reformpädagogik¹⁴⁴ vorweg.

Unter den Bedingungen der gerade von Jesuitentheologen wie Jean Daniélou S.J.,¹⁴⁵ Henri de Lubac S.J.¹⁴⁶ und Hugo und Karl Rahner S.J.¹⁴⁷ maßgeblich geprägten, anthropologisch motivierten Theologie des II. *Vaticanium* kann die Jesuitentheologie ihre Potentiale auf der Grundlage der *Exercitia Spiritualia* des Hl. Ignatius von Loyola und des christlich verstandenen, theonomen Humanismus auch in unserer Zeit rasanter Umbrüche und in der Erkenntnis, dass die außereuropäischen Kulturen die europäische Kulturhoheit ablösen, von Neuem entfalten und weltweit bei aller Verschiedenheit der Kontexte zu neuer tatkräftiger Entfaltung bringen.

141 Vgl. neuerdings: Grundzüge jesuitischer Erziehung (Anm. 4) S. 12-13; Rita HAUB, *Jesuiten. Pädagogik – Wissenschaft – Menschenrechte*, Bonn, Katholische Nachrichten-Agentur, 2000, S. 8-23; Klaus MERTES, *Verantwortung lernen*, Würzburg, Echter, 2004, bes. S. 44-54.

142 Vgl. Thomas NEULINGER (Hg.), *Wissen, Gewissen, Gefühl*, Thaur, Druck- und Verlagshaus Thaur, 1998, bes. S. 97-135; Klaus MERTES, Johannes SIEBNER, *Schule ist für Schüler da*, Freiburg/Br., Herder, 2010.

143 Vgl. Georg MERTZ, *Die Pädagogik der Jesuiten*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1898, S. 190-191, hält dagegen die Jesuitenpädagogik für vormodern und damit für obsolet.

144 Vgl. u. a. Dietrich BENNER, Herwart KEMPER, *Theorie und Geschichte der Reformpädagogik*, Bd. 2, Weinheim, Beltz, 2003.

145 Jean Daniélou, * 14.V.1905 Neuilly-sur-Seine, S.J. 20.XI.1929 Laval, † 20.V.1974 Paris (DHCJ II, S. 1044).

146 Henri de Lubac, * 28.II.1896 Cambrai, S.J. 9.X.1913 St. Leonards-on-Sea (Sussex), † 4.IX.1991 Paris (DHCJ III, S. 2430-2432).

147 Karl Rahner, * 5.III.1904 Freiburg, S.J. 20.IV.1922 Feldkirch, Österreich, † 30.III.1984 Innsbruck (DHCJ IV, S. 3279).

Zusammenfassung

Ausgehend vom Erkenntnisinteresse, Genese und Wirksamkeit der ignatianischen Pädagogik in ihrer Einmaligkeit zu erforschen, steht im Zentrum dieser Studie das "Präfektenbuch" Pater Anton Davids S.J. (1851-1931), der im Kolleg zu Feldkirch lange als Präfekt tätig war und somit aus einer reichen Erfahrung schöpfen konnte.

Nach der Wiederzulassung der Gesellschaft Jesu 1814 musste die Erfolgsgeschichte der Jesuitenkollegien wiederaufgenommen und ihr Erziehungskonzept den veränderten geschichtlichen Bedingungen angepasst werden, ohne seine Substanz aufzugeben. Pater Davids Präfektenbuch wurde diesen Herausforderungen gerecht, indem es an der aus den *Exercitia Spiritualia* des Ignatius von Loyola entwickelten apostolischen Zielperspektive der altersgemäßen Erziehung der Zöglinge zur Selbsterziehung als Kern der *cura personalis* festhielt.

David stellt hohe kommunikative tugendethische Anforderungen an den Präfekten, dessen Persönlichkeitsprofil er detailliert entwickelt. Ordnung und Zucht stellen bei ihm keinen Selbstzweck dar, sondern dienen dem christlich-humanistischen Ideal der Erziehung zum Selbst und zur Ausrichtung auf Gott hin.

Insgesamt kann daher Pater Davids Verständnis von Rolle und Auftrag des Präfekten als erzieherisches Programm gesehen werden, das die Erziehung der Kinder und Jugendlichen zur Offenheit gegenüber der Moderne, aber auch zugleich als Abwehr ihrer Gefahren im Hinblick auf ihren Immanentismus und Subjektivismus in den Mittelpunkt stellt.

Summary

Starting from the epistemic interest to investigate the genesis and effectiveness of the Ignatian Education in its uniqueness, Father Anton David's S.J. (1851-1931) "Präfektenbuch" (Book for Prefects) is at the centre of this study. David himself served as prefect in the college of Feldkirch for a long time and thus he could draw much from his extensive experience.

After the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus in 1814 the successful history of the Jesuit colleges had to be resumed and the educational concept had to be adjusted to the new historical situation, without losing its substance. Father David's "Präfektenbuch" could respond to these challenges by holding to the apostolic objective - developed from Ignatius Loyola's *Exercitia Spiritualia* - of the pupils' age-appropriate education up

to their self-education as the core of the *cura personalis*.

David required high communicative and ethical standards from the prefects, whose personal profile he developed in detail. Order and discipline do not represent ends in themselves, but serve the christian and humanist ideal of the education to the self and to the orientation towards God.

On the whole Father David's understanding of the prefects' role and tasks can be seen as an educational programme which revolves around the education of children and young people for openness towards modernity; at the same time the programme served as a defence against modernity's dangers of immanentism and subjectivism.

La Historia del Colegio de Montesión de Palma de Mallorca (1561-2011)

En un sentido histórico, no hay duda de que el Colegio de Montesión es una de las más importantes instituciones educativas de la Compañía de Jesús. Mientras que otros Colegios y Universidades tuvieron una proyección mayor, el Colegio de Montesión, por su trayectoria secular, puede paragonarse con las más altas instituciones académicas de la Compañía, como las Universidades de Messina, Évora o Gandía, o el Colegio Imperial de Madrid, sin rebajar punto alguno. Sin tener el relumbrón cortesano, político y espiritual de estos centros, el Colegio de Montesión es la institución académica en activo más antigua del mundo jesuítico y su larga historia acumula marcas y huellas de un pasado tan complejo como variado.

Por esta razón, agradezco especialmente el encargo de *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, revista que cultiva con gran afán la historiografía de la Compañía, de dedicar estas páginas a una obra monumental aparecida para conmemorar tan relevante efeméride. Se trata de *450 años de historia del Colegio de Montesión en Palma de Mallorca. Apuntes cronológicos y documentación histórica*, promovida por la Asociación de antiguos alumnos del Colegio y publicada en tres tomos. Su autor, Bernardo Obrador Vidal, piloto de aviación civil, ha dedicado muchas horas a una labor impresionante de recopilación y ordenación de datos. Aconsejado sabiamente por algunos doctos profesores de la Compañía, entre los que destaca el P. Javier Monserrat, así como otros historiadores y archiveros, ha llevado a cabo una obra que a partir de ahora será imprescindible y de consulta obligada para el estudio de la historia de la institución.

Llama la atención del lector, más allá su carácter monumental, la pulcra presentación formal, la rica colección fotográfica y los elegantes acabados, que muestran la inequívoca voluntad de llevar a cabo un trabajo impecable. La intención del autor es la de suministrar y organizar datos, sin dejar de orientar al lector incipiente y avezado. Los anexos, los índices, las orlas... facilitan una relación más viva con la temática y, hasta cierto punto, buscan la identificación y la sensibilización de los antiguos alumnos con el pasado del Colegio.

Voy a estructurar esta nota en cuatro apartados: el primero de ellos, está dedicado a la descripción de la obra (en particular de sus dos primeros volúmenes), el segundo –aprovechando la recopilación de materiales del tercer volumen– estudia la historiografía del Colegio, el tercero está dedicado a comentar la

relación entre el Colegio y la Universidad, el cuarto destaca las tesis y directrices generales de la obra, y el último –dada la importancia de los datos contenidos en la obra– sugiere algunos caminos para el futuro. Unas conclusiones cierran el escrito.

La estructura del Cronicón

Uno de los mayores aciertos de la obra es su forma. Por el hecho de ser un trabajo histórico no profesional (vol. 1, p. 79), el autor adopta la forma de cronicón, de manera que pudiera reunir los datos dispersos siguiendo un hilo cronológico. De esta forma, el lector tiene en sus manos un conjunto de noticias ordenado y presentado con claridad. Es cierto que no hubiera costado mucho anotar con precisión cada uno de los datos aportados haciendo constar el lugar de procedencia, pero tampoco resulta difícil al lector especialista adivinarla. La mayoría de datos proceden de las *Cartas Annuas* que debían remitirse a Roma y de otros materiales procedentes del Archivo del Colegio, así como también de los archivos de la Compañía en Cataluña, el Archivo Histórico Nacional, el *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, y los fondos de algunas bibliotecas como la Luis Alemany y la del Monasterio de la Real, ambas en Palma.¹ La obra, con todo, no sólo es un cronicón, sino que es un compendio de muchos otros escritos publicados sobre Montesión, como luego indicaré. Es un libro de libros, que recopila multitud de trabajos, de calidad y extensión variable, que aportan visiones diferentes.

El primer volumen, encabezado por seis prólogos, se estructura en una introducción y tres partes. La introducción contiene una serie de consideraciones de estilo, así como también siglas, abreviaturas y un glosario terminológico que puede resultar útil al lector no especialista. La primera parte trata de la obra de los jesuitas en Montesión (tanto docente como apostólica). La segunda parte es la más voluminosa, pues detalla año a año los sucesos más relevantes ocurridos desde la fundación en 1561 hasta 1767, momento en el que los jesuitas fueron expulsados de España. La entrada correspondiente a cada año incluye la llegada y salida de jesuitas, clases, actos públicos, visitas, festividades, obras realizadas, sermones, profesiones, fallecimientos... La tercera parte es una miscelánea de datos sobre la iglesia, la antigua biblioteca y algunas personalidades vinculadas al Colegio, tanto religiosos como alumnos o bienhechores. A lo largo del volumen se insertan trabajos concretos de diferentes autores (Josep Amengual,

1 Una completa relación de archivos, fuentes y bibliografía puede consultarse en el vol. 1, pp. 764-773.

Salvador Ros...), que completan diferentes aspectos que se tratan, aunque la gran mayoría de las páginas están escritas por Obrador.

El segundo volumen, después de una introducción en la que el autor explica las diferencias entre el Montesión antiguo y el moderno, contiene dos partes. La primera es una recopilación de entradas del *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* sobre el gobierno y las actividades de los jesuitas. Un segundo capítulo es la reproducción de un escrito del Prof. Manuel Revuelta sobre la acción educativa de los jesuitas.² La segunda parte la constituye el conjunto de entradas de cada año desde 1768 hasta el año 2009. El autor establece cuatro subdivisiones, de acuerdo con los períodos en los que se impartió docencia en el centro. El primero abarca desde 1768, momento en el que se suprimió la Compañía, hasta 1814. El segundo comprende desde 1815 hasta 1834, cuando el Colegio recuperó la enseñanza, en esta ocasión bajo los dictados de la *ratio studiorum*. El tercero comprende la centuria que abarca desde 1835 hasta 1938: un período muy convulso en el que se dieron varias expulsiones y restauraciones, y en el que Montesión no funcionó como colegio, sino que fue el seno de movimientos asociativos y sociales. Finalmente, la cuarta etapa estudia la restauración de la enseñanza en el Colegio desde 1938 hasta 2011.

La historiografía del Colegio de Montesión

Los dos primeros volúmenes constituyen una base importantísima para cualquier trabajo ulterior sobre el Colegio, al tiempo que suponen la aportación más detallada a su historiografía. A diferencia de otras instituciones análogas, el Colegio de Montesión no ha recibido una gran atención historiográfica hasta el siglo XX, como puede verse en la antología de textos correspondiente al tercer volumen, algunos de ellos ya publicados en el *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lulliana*. Los textos más valiosos son la *Historia del Colegio de Montesión* escrita por el P. Matías Borrassá, el primer profesor de Artes que tuvo el colegio. Se incluyen también las historias de los otros dos colegios jesuíticos, el de San Martín de Palma y el de Pollensa, en la edición que hizo el Dr. Miquel Ferrer Flórez, autor asimismo de un artículo de síntesis (anexo 2) sobre los Colegios de la Compañía en Baleares. La historia del Colegio de San Martín de Palma (1631-1767), cuya edición del Prof. Ferrer Flórez

2 Manuel REVUELTA GONZÁLEZ, "Los jesuitas (1815-1976)" en Bernabé BARTOLOMÉ MARTÍNEZ (dir.), *Historia de la acción educativa de la Iglesia en España. II Edad Contemporánea*, Madrid, BAC, 1996, pp. 449-471.

se publica como anexo cuarto en el tercer volumen, es inédita. Se publica asimismo un destacado documento original sobre Fiestas y panegíricos por la Canonización de San Luis Gonzaga y San Estanislao de Kostka en 1727 (anexo 18).

Dejando de lado las fuentes históricas, la primera síntesis crítica llevada a cabo con criterios modernos es la del P. Pedro Blanco Trias S.J.,³ un interesante bosquejo que ha podido servir como directriz para la elaboración de la obra que aquí se comenta. Obrador incluye junto a ella algunos textos complementarios de historiografía contemporánea, que tocan tangencialmente el Colegio; han sido seleccionados unos para una mayor comprensión del contexto (los trabajos de G. Pons, M. Batllori, J. Amengual Batle...), y otros para afianzar las pascalianas *raisons du coeur*, que tanto pesan en todas las historias en las que se mezclan las razones con los sentimientos. El tercer tomo concluye con la relación de profesores y alumnos y con las orlas de las promociones 1943-2009.

La historiografía, sin ser escasa, deja parcialmente de lado tal vez la dimensión más específica del Colegio de Montesión, la que lo equipara parcialmente a centros como el Colegio Imperial de Madrid o a los colegios de Gandía, Messina o Sassari, que tuvieron un desarrollo universitario o parauniversitario similar.⁴ Frente a los trabajos de José Simón⁵ sobre el Colegio Imperial de Madrid, los de Pilar García Trobat⁶ sobre Gandía, los de Daniela Novarese⁷ sobre Messina o el ya clásico del P. Batllori⁸ sobre Sassari, profundamente

3 Pedro BLANCO TRIAS, *El Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Montesión en Palma de Mallorca. Apuntes Históricos*, Palma, Imprenta Mossen Alcover, 1948.

4 Sobre el modelo jesuítico en el Mediterráneo, véase Daniela NOVARESE, "Da Gandia a Messina: un nuovo modello universitario per l'Europa?" en: M. PESET REIG (ed.), *Doctores y Escolares*, Valencia, Universidad de Valencia, 1998, pp. 173-186.

5 José SIMÓN DÍAZ, *Historia del Colegio Imperial de Madrid*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1992.

6 Pilar GARCÍA TROBAT, *El naixement d'una Universitat. Gandia, s. XVI*, Gandia, Ajuntament, 1989; , Mariano PESET et ALII, *Historia de las universidades valencianas*, Alicante, Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1993, vol. II, pp. 155 y ss.

7 Daniela NOVARESE, *Studenti e laureati nel Seicento a Messina. I Libri Matricularum del Messanense Studium Generale del decennio 1634-1643*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1996.

8 Miguel BATLLORI, "L' Università di Sassari ei Collegi dei gesuiti in Sardegna: saggio di storia istituzionale ed economica", *Studi sassaresi*, II 1 (1969), pp. 3-108.

ampliado hace poco por Antonello Mattone,⁹ la historiografía sobre Montesión no ha prestado tanta atención al aspecto específicamente docente.

Sin embargo, el Colegio de Montesión compartió con los otros centros de la Compañía el privilegio de Pío IV para otorgar grados menores en Filosofía y Teología, con validez sólo eclesiástica, que debían ser convalidados en centros o Universidades con privilegio real. De hecho el privilegio de Pío IV fue otorgado mediante el breve *Exponi nobis* en 1561, año de la fundación del Colegio, y era válido para todos los colegios de la Compañía. Dicho privilegio, como explica el profesor Brizzi,¹⁰ fue sucesivamente confirmado durante los siglos XVI y XVII.

De aquí que pueda decirse que el Colegio pudo colacionar todos los grados con validez pontificia, pero no real desde 1561. Precisamente, la petición que los jesuitas dirigieron a Felipe IV fue que les dejase conceder grados con validez regia. Cuando en 1626 el monarca les otorgó dicho privilegio, empezaron los conflictos con los Jurados de la Ciudad y Reino, porque el Estudio General Luliano era la institución que poseía el privilegio real para colacionar grados desde 1483. La tenaz oposición de los dominicos a este Estudio hizo que el Papa no otorgase el privilegio pontificio ni en el siglo XV ni en el XVI.¹¹

Los dominicos pasaron a formar parte del Estudio General gracias a la dotación de tres cátedras tomistas hecha por el mercader Gabriel Riera. El 17 de febrero de 1620 el mercader asignó una renta perpetua anual de 300 libras en moneda de Mallorca para que se pagasen a los profesores.¹² Puso la condición de que las enseñanzas debían impartirse en el Estudio General y que debían profesarlas los frailes dominicos del Real Convento de Santo Domingo de Palma

9 Antonello MATTONE (ed.), *Storia dell'Università di Sassari*, Sassari, Ilisso edizioni, 2010.

10 Gian Paolo BRIZZI, "Dos Universidades para un Reino: las Universidades de Cagliari y Sassari entre Madrid y Roma" en: Enrique GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ y Leticia PÉREZ PUENTE (eds.), *Permanencia y cambio. Universidades hispanicas 1551-2001*, México, UNAM, 2005, p. 104.

11 Rafael RAMIS BARCELÓ, "Sobre la denominación histórica de la Universidad de Mallorca: cuestiones institucionales e ideológicas en torno al lulismo", *Cuadernos del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de Estudios sobre la Universidad*, 13/2 (2010), pp. 240-246.

12 Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca Pública de Mallorca (=BPM), Ms. 24, ff. 62-66

de Mallorca. Los jesuitas del Colegio de Montesión, que habían impartido sucesivamente cursos de artes, filosofía y teología moral y que en 1607 habían implantado definitivamente las directrices de la *ratio studiorum* (vol. 1, p. 283), recibieron en 1626 el privilegio real de poder colacionar grados de Artes y de Teología.

Colegio y Universidad

La confrontación entre los Jurados y el Colegio de Montesión deja claro el problema académico, que no ha sido atendido suficientemente por la historiografía. Resulta evidente que, por su ubicación geográfica y provincial, el Colegio debe ser estudiado en paralelo con los otros centros docentes de la Corona de Aragón. Como han mostrado Bernabé Bartolomé¹³ y Javier Palao,¹⁴ los enfrentamientos de la Compañía con las instituciones municipales, con la Universidad y con otras órdenes religiosas son una constante que se repite por doquier.

Montesión fue el primer centro de Mallorca que tuvo, conjuntamente, los privilegios reales y pontificios. El desarrollo de los colegios de Gandía, Messina o Évora se dio sobre una matriz similar a la del Colegio de Montesión, aunque aquellos pudieron abrirse paso como universidades por la falta de un privilegio anterior para la Ciudad o para el Reino. El caso de Montesión frente al Estudio General guarda relación, *mutatis mutandis*, con el de Sassari frente a Cagliari, descrito por Brizzi en el trabajo ya citado.¹⁵ Si en Sassari y Cagliari había dos Universidades en un mismo Reino, en el caso de Mallorca, había dos matrices universitarias en la misma ciudad. De ahí que el Colegio de Montesión se recondujo, después de arduos pleitos y negociaciones, a una suerte de Colegio-Facultad dentro del Estudio General Luliano.

Cuando se hubo alcanzado un acuerdo global entre las partes implicadas (dominicos, jesuitas, franciscanos y los maestros lulistas del Estudio General), el Papa mediante un breve otorgó en 1673 el privilegio pontificio. Fueron necesarias luego nuevas negociaciones en la corte de Carlos II para exponer el proyecto universitario, que consagraba al Estudio General como sede universitaria, considerando los conventos de San Francisco, de Santo Domingo y

13 Bernabé BARTOLOMÉ, "Las cátedras de Gramática de los Jesuitas en las Universidades de la Provincia de Aragón", *Hispania Sacra*, XXXIV (1982), pp. 389-448

14 Véase JAVIER PALAO GIL, "Relaciones de los jesuitas y las Universidades de la Corona de Aragón en la Edad Moderna" en: GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ y PÉREZ PUENTE (eds.), *Permanencia*, pp. 476-481.

15 BRIZZI, "Dos Universidades", pp. 97-108

el Colegio de Montesión como una especie de “centros anexos”, en los que se podía recibir una formación universitaria completa desde las humanidades hasta la teología. De ahí que existiesen no sólo diferentes cátedras, como en el resto de las Universidades españolas e italianas, sino cuatro especialidades en Filosofía y Teología universitaria: suarista, tomista, escotista y lulista. Los jesuitas y los franciscanos se avinieron a que sus estudiantes cursaran alguna asignatura de lulismo en la sede del Estudio General, hecho que no aceptaron los dominicos. Ésa es la razón, por otra parte, de que hubiese tantos jesuitas doctos en materia luliana y que, en Mallorca, se aliasen con los franciscanos y buena parte del clero secular contra el tomismo antilulista de los dominicos.¹⁶

Así pues, desde 1561 a 1624 en el Colegio de Montesión se otorgaron grados con validez eclesiástica, que fueron “convalidados” a los candidatos a través de muy pocos exámenes por la Universidad de Gandía, que tenía plenos privilegios. Desde 1624 a 1692 el Colegio otorgó grados de bachiller y doctor en Artes y Teología, con validez real y pontificia. No llegaron a hacerse ostensibles por el pleito que los Jurados sostuvieron contra el Colegio, aunque esos mismos grados fueron confirmados de inmediato a los interesados que acudieron a Gandía,¹⁷ universidad que, junto a Solsona, en muchos casos también colacionaba los grados a aquellos eclesiásticos que habían completado sus estudios de filosofía o de teología en el Estudio General Luliano.

Desde 1692 los jesuitas hicieron que sus estudiantes acudiesen a completar sus estudios a Universidad, donde dos profesores de Montesión explicaban teología suarista con la condición de catedráticos. En 1694 se colacionaron los primeros grados suaristas y «se començo a practicar el valer para los grados las materias que se tomasen en el Colegio a un despues que ay Universidad y leen en ella los nuestros ganandose curso con unas y otras» (vol. 1, p. 463). Es decir, que la Universidad pasaba a reconocer de facto que los cursos impartidos en Montesión tenían la misma validez que los dictados en sede universitaria. Tal circunstancia se convirtió en un privilegio

16 Rafael RAMIS BARCELÓ, “Un esbozo cartográfico del lulismo universitario y escolar en los Reinos Hispánicos”, *Cuadernos del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de Estudios sobre la Universidad*, 15/1 (2012), pp. 91 y ss.

17 Véase Palma de Mallorca, Archivo Histórico de la Universitat de les Illes Balears (=AHUIB), *Fondo de la Universidad*, Legajo 1, s.n., en el que aparecen algunos eclesiásticos que luego fueron agregados como doctores a la Universidad Luliana.

de iure otorgado por Felipe V en 1704, que “convalidaba” para la Universidad los cursos de filosofía aprobados en Montesión, tanto para los alumnos externos (seculares) como para los internos (vol. 1, pp. 473-474).

Desde 1704 hasta 1767 el Colegio fue una institución completamente anexa a la Universidad, considerada lo que hoy consideraríamos un “centro adscrito”, cuyos profesores más destacados eran catedráticos de la Universidad (prima y vísperas de teología suarista). El catedrático de Prima solía explicar cuestiones referentes a la teología dogmática, mientras que el de vísperas se dedicaba preferentemente a la teología moral o de casos de conciencia (una de las especialidades de la Compañía). El Colegio tenía asimismo otro profesor de Teología, moral o escolástica, que completaba la formación de los alumnos, y que ostentaba la condición de catedrático, aunque no diese clase en la Universidad. La cátedra universitaria de filosofía suarista no siempre fue ocupada por un jesuita. Por ejemplo, el primer titular fue Gaspar Alba,¹⁸ presbítero. En ocasiones fue un jesuita del Colegio de Montesión, como por ejemplo el P. Bartolomé Fullana, que la ocupó desde 1702, durante un trienio. Con independencia de esta cátedra, el Colegio tenía dos cátedras de filosofía, una para alumnos seculares (externos) y otra para la formación de los escolares de la casa. Asimismo tenía tres profesores de humanidades, que explicaban retórica, gramática y otras disciplinas.

Por ejemplo, en vísperas de la expulsión, en los Catálogos breves y trienales, 1766 (extraídos del ARSI) y transcritos por Bernardo Obrador (vol. 1, p. 566) aparecen consignados con claridad los profesores, acomodados a la estructura expuesta antes. El P. Ignacio Moragues, que había sido hasta entonces catedrático de vísperas, pasó a prima. Detentó la cátedra de vísperas el P. Rafael Barceló, Doctor por la Universidad de Gandía.¹⁹ En el Colegio enseñaba también teología moral el P. Jaime Manente. La cátedra de filosofía suarista de la Universidad la detentaba Juan Antonio Sastre, presbítero.²⁰ Los profesores de filosofía del Colegio eran los PP. Juan y Francisco Company, mientras que enseñaban humanidades los PP. Jaime Pou, Baltasar Giberga y Gaspar Gener.

18 BPM, Ms. 24, f. 22.

19 AHUIB, *Fondo de la Universidad, Juramento de catedráticos y de colegiatos*, f. 44

20 AHUIB, *Fondo de la Universidad, Juramento de catedráticos y de colegiatos*, f. 31v

La estrecha vinculación del Colegio con la Universidad, no se acabó con la expulsión de los jesuitas. El rey Carlos III hizo donación del Colegio a la Universidad Luliana que, a partir de entonces y hasta 1816, repartió sus Facultades entre las dos sedes (vol. 2, p. 103). El retorno de los jesuitas permitió abrir de nuevo el colegio, con clases de primeras letras, humanidades y filosofía. En esta época fue profesor el célebre jesuita Baltasar Masdeu, un renovador de la escolástica muy bien estudiado por el P. Batllori. El trienio liberal supuso un paréntesis para este período colegial, que reemprendió las clases en 1823, coincidiendo con la época de mayor decadencia de la Universidad Literaria de Mallorca, aquejada por las “impurificaciones” de los absolutistas. De hecho, salvo la posibilidad de conceder grados, que al parecer no fue exigida por los jesuitas a las autoridades académicas, el Colegio de Montesión volvió a situarse en un lugar cuasiuniversitario en la enseñanza de las humanidades y de la filosofía. Volvió a brillar en matemáticas y ciencias naturales, tal y como había hecho durante los siglos XVI y XVII.²¹ La Universidad no pudo adaptarse en absoluto al Plan Calomarde, mientras que la *ratio studiorum* florecía por las habilidades pedagógicas de los jesuitas, que claramente impulsaron la competitividad y la jerarquización académica de sus alumnos, como muestran los certámenes que se reproducen en diferentes páginas (vol. 2, pp. 239 y ss).

Fernando VII suprimió en 1829 la Universidad Literaria y la convirtió en Seminario Conciliar, en la época en que el Colegio de Montesión afianzaba notablemente su programa de estudios. La desamortización y exclaustación de 1835 obligaron a cerrar el Colegio (vol. 2, pp. 326-328). El edificio fue usado para la implantación del Instituto Balear, que fue transformado efímeramente en Universidad Balear.²² Los jesuitas vivieron en casas particulares y residencias hasta 1919, cuando pudieron regresar al Colegio. Con todo, no pudieron dar clases y fueron expulsados de nuevo en 1932. El regreso de los jesuitas al Colegio se produjo en 1938, momento desde el cual vuelve a impartirse docencia de forma ininterrumpida hasta la actualidad.

21 Antonio A. CONTRERAS MAS, “Matemáticas mixtas en Mallorca: la escuela de Montesión (siglos XVI y XVII)”, *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lulliana*, 66 (2010), p. 87-110

22 Antonio PLANAS ROSSELLÓ, “La Universidad Literaria Balear (1840-1842): un intento fallido de restauración de los estudios universitarios en Mallorca”, *Cuadernos del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija*, 14/2 (2011), pp. 295-316.

Las directrices de la obra

El P. Blanco Trias distinguió en su trabajo entre el Montesión antiguo y el Montesión moderno (vol. 3, p. 433), división que fue respetada por Ferrer Flórez y que también ha sido observada por Bernardo Obrador, quien ha acomodado cada período en un tomo. En la introducción al segundo de ellos, titulada “El Montesión Antiguo y el Montesión Moderno”, (vol. 2, pp. 53-56) Obrador realiza una síntesis muy clara de los dos momentos, cuyo contexto fue francamente diferente.

El Montesión “Antiguo” es un Colegio cuyos orígenes y estructura apenas distan de las que se dieron análogamente en el Mediterráneo durante los primeros treinta años de expansión de la Compañía de Jesús. La influencia del P. Nadal permitió no sólo una rápida implantación en Mallorca, sino que ya en el XVI el Colegio adquiriera fama como lugar aventajado de estudio. La división que Obrador hace entre los tres siglos del Montesión “Antiguo” se corresponden a grandes rasgos con las fases de ascenso del Colegio. En el XVI se produjo la fundación, en el XVII la creación de una tradición educativa y en el XVIII se llegó a la consolidación y el crecimiento del Colegio, en paralelo con otras instituciones universitarias y parauniversitarias europeas.²³ En efecto, esos doscientos seis años de presencia ininterrumpida de la docencia en Montesión no sólo crearon una tradición escolar, sino que pueden considerarse globalmente como una época de progresivo crecimiento académico. Montesión estuvo en la vanguardia pedagógica, recibió de parte del rey los privilegios académicos, se integró en la Universidad, fue un centro de excelencia en el que la nobleza educaba a sus hijos y puso las bases para la enseñanza moderna de las humanidades en la isla.

El Montesión “Moderno” tiene una historia quebrada por múltiples expulsiones de la Compañía y cierres del Colegio. Pese a la voluntad docente de los jesuitas del XIX y de parte del XX, tales hechos históricos impidieron que la antigua tradición cristalizase debidamente. Desde 1767 a 1938 el Colegio, desde una posición mucho más modesta y sin específicas pretensiones universitarias, no pudo reinventarse de forma completa. Tras la Segunda República y la Guerra Civil, el Colegio reabrió en una época de estrechez económica y de miras, que no podía rivalizar en absoluto con los ecos humanistas y científicos de las centurias anteriores.

Con todo, el autor de la obra distingue, con buen criterio, dos

23 Véase, en general, Gian Paolo BRIZZI e Roberto GRECI (ed.), *Gesuiti e università in Europa (secoli XVI-XVIII). Atti del convegno di studi, Parma, 13-15 dicembre 2001*, Bologna, Clueb, 2002.

épocas después de 1938. La primera abarcaría aproximadamente hasta finales del Vaticano II, y la segunda llegaría hasta la actualidad. Durante la primera época, de “tiempos recios”, tanto los profesores jesuitas como los seglares hicieron causa común para la formación sólida en unas directrices aún muy cercanas a la *ratio studiorum* y en una vuelta al espíritu militar y contrarreformista. Entre los docentes sobresalía un muy selecto puñado de profesores, encabezados por el P. Batllori, apreciado su sabiduría, apertura y elegancia, y el Dr. Miquel Ferrer Flórez, entrañable figura indisociablemente ligada a la historia y a la historiografía de Montesión. El declive imparable empezó a finales de los años sesenta, cuando los dos bastiones ideológicos del centro (Régimen e Iglesia) sufrieron una plena crisis de identidad, que afectó de forma directa a la Compañía y al Colegio.

La historia del Montesión “Antiguo” es, pese a las adversidades, la plasmación de un continuo ascenso, jalonado por privilegios y logros económicos, educativos y espirituales. La historia del Montesión “Moderno” es la narración de un período convulso, lleno de altibajos, donde los bienintencionados ascensos fueron mutilados súbitamente y empezaron épocas en las que la decadencia ha sido la tónica dominante. Bernardo Obrador ha resumido con gran acierto la historia de los últimos años:

El segundo tiempo de esta etapa del Montesión de la postguerra responde a profundos cambios sociales y a una crisis religiosa no superada hasta el momento. Por una parte, el número de los profesores jesuitas en Montesión se ha ido reduciendo poco a poco, hasta quedar reducido a un mínimo final que no sabríamos cómo describir. En paralelo el número de profesores externos ha ido creciendo. Por otra parte, las exigencias legales y curriculares se han convertido en una exigencia que agota el tiempo. El colegio ya no es aquel marco familiar de convivencia, sino un lugar donde se imparten clases, se pasa de una a otra y después se vuelve a casa. Circunstancias muy difíciles de soslayar han coincidido en transformar el Montesión de nuestros días en un colegio similar a otros (vol. 2, p. 56).

En efecto, en el anochecer de la historia, siguiendo a Hegel, comparece el búho de Minerva, que emprende el vuelo capaz de otear el pasado a vista de pájaro. Más allá del importantísimo conocimiento de los tiempos pretéritos, la historia sirve para afinar la memoria y acentuar la crítica. Las reflexiones sobre el Colegio de Montesión abren, al estudiar su historia, muchos interrogantes sobre su trayectoria. El propio Obrador, consciente

de la historia y de la realidad, hace partícipe al lector de algunos de los suyos: «Montesión, por el recuerdo de la historia, se hace “vida” en nosotros. ¿Hay posibilidades de recuperar la vida? ¿Puede Montesión recuperar, adaptado a los tiempos, su antiguo esplendor?» (vol. 2, p. 56).

Caminos para el futuro

Con los tres volúmenes de esta obra se amplían mucho las posibilidades de estudio del Colegio de Montesión. Se abre una nueva etapa historiográfica y es momento de esbozar, aunque sea casi a vuelapluma, algunos caminos para el futuro que puedan ser de utilidad para los interesados en la materia. Lo más importante, a partir de este momento, en el que disponemos ya una gran síntesis, es afianzar los estudios sectoriales sobre la historia del Colegio. Pese a haber muchos aspectos (espirituales, culturales...), me referiré sólo a dos.

El primero de ellos es, como he intentado sugerir ya, la necesidad de profundizar en la docencia del Colegio de Montesión. Actualmente poseemos gran cantidad de datos sobre los jesuitas residentes en el centro y sus ocupaciones docentes. Convendría estudiar la especificidad del colegio en relación con los otros centros y Universidades de la Provincia de Aragón, aprovechando, por ejemplo, algunos trabajos al respecto del profesor Javier Palao.²⁴ Con ello se podría corroborar que Montesión compartió muchos rasgos comunes con los colegios de la Corona de Aragón: el de Belén de Barcelona, los de Zaragoza, Valencia...²⁵ Pero también se encontrarían muchos rasgos singulares que lo individualizarían. El hecho de estar a medio camino entre un Colegio y una Universidad aumenta, sin duda, el interés en la institución. La comparación, por una parte, con los Colegios de la Corona de Aragón, y con las Universidades de Gandía, Messina o Sassari, por otra, puede arrojar conclusiones de gran utilidad.

La dispersión de los bienes y fondos jesuíticos después de 1767 ha dificultado la tarea de investigación, pues no pocos pasaron a

24 PALAO GIL, “Relaciones”.

25 Montesión es un producto de la Provincia de Aragón y de la proyección mediterránea de la Compañía. Para ver la diferencia con los de Castilla, véase J. BURRIEZA SÁNCHEZ, “Los colegios de jesuitas en la Corona de Castilla” en: Luis E. RODRÍGUEZ-SAN PEDRO BEZARES y Juan Luis POLO RODRÍGUEZ (Eds.), *Universidades Hispánicas: colegios y conventos universitarios en la Edad Moderna (I)* Miscelánea Alfonso IX, 2008, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2009, pp. 109-158

manos privadas. Entre otros fondos de dominio público, queda por estudiar los de la Biblioteca del Colegio de Montesión (actualmente en Archivo del Reino de Mallorca) que, tras el momento de su expulsión, ha pasado por diferentes avatares y ubicaciones (véase vol. 2, pp. 103-104) y no ha podido ser estudiada adecuadamente por los historiadores.²⁶ La sección de Clero del Archivo del Reino de Mallorca correspondiente a los jesuitas es de una importancia capital (véase el trabajo al respecto de M. J. Massot, inserto en el vol. 1, pp. 677-687). El Archivo Histórico de la Universitat de les Illes Balears custodia los fondos de la Universidad Luliana y, entre ellos, hay referencias al Colegio de Montesión y a sus estudiantes. Para completar la historia de la institución sería necesario estudiar tanto las matrículas como los profesores y los grados de la opinión suarista desde 1692 hasta 1767, siguiendo, por ejemplo, las directrices de los trabajos de Daniela Novarese.²⁷

Pese a la gran cantidad de fondos que hay en archivos y bibliotecas privadas, hay muchos libros docentes, manuscritos e impresos usados en Montesión. El fondo de la Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Mallorca es especialmente interesante, pues en él se encuentran manuscritos docentes desde el XVI al XIX. Los escritos comprenden gran cantidad de temas y enfoques. Destacan los apuntes de poética o escritos varios del P. Andrés Moragues (ms. 12 y 394), unos catecismos del P. Borrassá (ms. 578-579) o sus epítomes de matemáticas (ms. 735), el *Epitome totius philosophiae, iuxta methodum R. P. Josephi Zaragoza, S. I.* de Bernardino Bauzá (ms. 948), el tratado *De Fide*, del P. Martín Pagés (ms. 145), *Sermones* del P. Ferrando (ms. 287), unos apuntes de teología de los cursos 1724-1728 (ms. 70 y 183), las muy interesantes *Disputationes scholasticae in octo libros Physicorum Aristotelis, iuxta eximiam iesuiticae scholae doctrinam* (ms. 826) o las no menos relevantes obras neoescolásticas del P. Baltasar Masdeu, ya en el siglo XIX (ms. 12, 641, 656-660).

El segundo aspecto es el de la historia económica. Los bienes del Colegio aparecen en numerosas ocasiones en los volúmenes de la Historia de Montesión (vol. 2, pp. 156-158). Los abundantes bienes que la Compañía poseía en España, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, han sido objeto de estudio de numerosos grupos de investigación, aunque el Colegio de Montesión (y los otros colegios jesuíticos en Mallorca) han recibido, en esta dimensión, poca atención

26 Uno de los índices se encuentra en BPM, mss. 44 y 45 bis, así como en el ms. 874.

27 NOVARESE, *Studenti e laureati*.

historiográfica. En este caso tampoco faltan fuentes, sino que más bien hay tanto material que el historiador casi no sabe ni por dónde empezar. Más allá de lo mucho que se ha conservado en los Archivos del Colegio y de la Compañía en Cataluña y en Roma, en Mallorca hay varios manuscritos sobre aspectos económicos en la Biblioteca Pública del Estado (ms. 36-39 y 41-43), pero sobre todo el rico fondo de jesuitas del Archivo Histórico de la Universitat de les Illes Balears merece un estudio detallado.

Para el examen de los aspectos económicos e institucionales es imprescindible acudir al Archivo Histórico Nacional,²⁸ de cuyos materiales Bernardo Obrador ha hecho ya una inteligente selección. Cabe destacar asimismo la importancia de los archivos valencianos como fuente de documentación histórica sobre la Compañía de Jesús en general y sobre Montesión en particular. En el Archivo del Reino de Valencia, en la sección “Clero”, los legajos 53-173 contienen mucha documentación sobre la provincia jesuítica de Aragón, así como el ms. 797 de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valencia, que contiene abundante información sobre las tensiones entre el Colegio de Montesión y los poderes civiles y eclesiásticos durante el siglo XVII.

Conclusiones

No voy a detenerme en una enumeración de fuentes que, siendo prolija, no llega a agotar un tema tan interesante como complejo. Son sólo algunas ideas sobre nuevos y viejos temas, y la insistencia en la necesidad de la investigación de la institución no debe restar protagonismo a la idea principal: gracias al trabajo infatigable de Bernardo Obrador, el investigador actual tiene una base de datos de gran valía. El salto historiográfico desde el libro del P. Blanco Trias a los tres volúmenes que componen *450 años de historia del Colegio de Montesión en Palma de Mallorca. Apuntes cronológicos y documentación histórica* es muy destacado.

Por esa razón, su labor no debería quedar aquí. Esta obra es un trampolín sobre la que pueden llevarse a cabo muchos estudios sectoriales que puedan ampliar y detallar la historia del Colegio. De Montesión, por su significación espiritual, intelectual, económica y cultural, queda su historia, capaz de revelar muchas ideas sobre el

28 Araceli GUGLIERI NAVARRO, *Documentos de la Compañía de Jesús en el Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid, Razón y Fe, 1967.

devenir de la Compañía de Jesús y de Mallorca desde el siglo XVI hasta hace muy poco. Lo mejor del trabajo de Obrador es que ha ofrecido esa historia no sólo para los expertos, sino también para los antiguos alumnos o personas curiosas, capaces de adentrarse poco a poco en el pasado de la institución gracias al afán pedagógico y clarificador que preside toda la obra.

Desde estas líneas quisiera, en fin, transmitir mi cálida enhorabuena al autor del libro, que se ha revelado como un trabajador incansable y dotado de algunas cualidades que adornan a los mejores historiadores. Ha sido un muy digno continuador de la gran estirpe de historiadores que –desde el P. Borrassá– se han ocupado de Montesión, cuyos últimos representantes han sido el P. Batllori y el Dr. Ferrer Flórez. En la Introducción (vol. 1, p. 79), Obrador deja abierta la puerta a la continuidad en su investigación, algo que sería muy de desear, a la vista de los resultados alcanzados. Tal vez la obra sea un acicate también para otros estudiosos, dispuestos a invertir su tiempo en esta singular empresa. Sin duda, en la investigación de su pasado, el Colegio de Montesión encontraría su mejor baza para la construcción de su futuro.

Universitat de les Illes Balears

Rafael Ramis-Barceló

Bernardo OBRADOR VIDAL, *450 años de Historia del Colegio de Montesión: Apuntes cronológicos y documentación histórica*, 3 vol., [Palma de Mallorca], Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos del Colegio de Montesión, 2011, ISBN 978-84-614-5932-2.

Book Reviews

Claudio FERLAN, *Dentro e fuori le aule. La Compagnia di Gesù a Gorizia e nell'Austria interna (secoli XVI-XVII)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 390, € 29.00, ISBN 978-88-15-24190-0.

La ricerca offre un quadro approfondito della presenza gesuitica a Gorizia tra Cinque e Seicento, contribuendo ad arricchire la storiografia sugli insediamenti e l'operato della Compagnia di Gesù nei domini diretti della dinastia asburgica.

L'autore chiarisce innanzitutto l'area oggetto di indagine: l'Austria interna (Stiria, Carinzia, Carniola, Trieste e Friuli austriaco), considerata nella sua omogeneità politico-amministrativa. E illustra, in modo esaustivo e convincente, la dialettica tra poteri arciducali e stati provinciali, i problemi posti dalla diffusione della Riforma, la drammatica condizione del clero, i rapporti tra le diverse fondazioni gesuitiche e le altre istituzioni scolastiche presenti sul territorio. Il periodo preso in esame va dalla fine del Tridentino alla guerra dei Trent'anni.

Condivisibili sia l'iniziale preoccupazione di precisare le parole-chiave (riforma, controriforma, riforma cattolica, disciplinamento, confessionalizzazione, modernizzazione) per interpretare modi, tempi, strategie e problemi dell'insediamento goriziano, sia il riferimento, su questi temi, al lavoro insostituibile di Paolo Prodi. Non è invece altrettanto comprensibile, laddove si dà conto della definitiva smitizzazione dell'immagine di monoliticità della Compagnia, il salto storiografico ad alcuni recenti contributi francesi (p. 13), certamente di rilievo nel dibattito di quest'ultimo decennio: ma sulla questione andavano semmai ricordati, solo per fare un nome, i lavori pionieristici di A. Lynn Martin. Inoltre, per tornare alle categorie interpretative su cui giustamente l'Introduzione si sofferma, andava forse sottolineata a dovere l'importanza degli studi sulla corte d'antico regime e di paradigmi quali fazione, clientela, patronage, utili per contestualizzare lo "strabismo" (la fedeltà a Roma e/o al principe secolare) proprio anche dei regolari, e dei gesuiti nello specifico, generalmente ritenuti dalla storiografia filo-romani per antonomasia (questione di cui peraltro lo stesso Ferlan dimostra di essere ben consapevole). A questo si aggiungono, per l'oggettiva difficoltà a reperire su alcuni argomenti fonti di produzione "non gesuitica", i limiti di alcune pagine (soprattutto del capitolo quarto) per le quali il principale supporto documentario

è venuto dall'*Historia Collegii Goritiensis* e dalle *litterae annuae*, edificanti, è noto, nella loro natura e destinazione. L'attenzione alla "valutazione critica" delle fonti e, conseguentemente, a incrociare testimonianze di diversa provenienza emerge comunque costantemente nel lavoro dell'autore, in grado di muoversi, quando possibile, tra "documenti centrali romani e documenti 'periferici-provinciali'", nonché di attingere agli archivi di stato di Gorizia, Trieste e Vienna.

La vicenda è ben inserita nel complesso gioco di interessi (imperiali, arciducali, spagnoli, veneziani e romani) che indirizza e condiziona scelte e strategie dei poteri secolari ed ecclesiastici cattolici alla vigilia del conflitto dei Trent'anni: mentre le polemiche antigesuitiche infuriano su scala europea (congiura delle polveri a Londra e falso Dimitri nella Russia zarista, Interdetto ed espulsione da Venezia), e conflitti politico-militari (la guerra di Gradisca tra la Serenissima e Vienna) incrinano e ostacolano gli sforzi anti-ottomani di Roma e della società cristiana nel suo complesso (inevitabilmente divisa sulla strategia da adottare contro il turco).

Emergono, fin dai paragrafi iniziali, le condizioni e i problemi tipici di una realtà di confine, in particolare la prudenza del potere civile nel dare corso alla controriforma e il prevalere nella fase immediatamente post-tridentina di una politica di compromesso (con il riconoscimento dei diritti politici minimi, nella sfera religiosa quelli di culto privato o domestico, anche alle componenti protestante, tuttavia progressivamente erosi nei decenni successivi). In questo quadro, complesso e vivace, di luci ed ombre, la realtà di Gorizia si colora di toni drammatici quanto a condizioni del clero (per mondanità, ignoranza, concubinato). Giustamente, ampio spazio è dedicato proprio alle istituzioni educative, di ambito sia cattolico sia protestante, con cui i gesuiti si confrontano al loro arrivo a inizio '600 e strumento indispensabile proprio per il rinnovamento del ceto ecclesiastico.

La vicenda dell'insediamento della Compagnia nella città isontina è dipanata entro due diversi momenti storici – 1558-1618 (la fase delle trattative) e 1619-1650 ("la fase esecutiva", p. 16), tra tentativi non andati a segno, incertezze, ritardi, dovuti anche a opposizioni di parte del clero locale – e viene attentamente ripercorsa in tutte le sue sfaccettature: le presenza e gli interessamenti cinquecenteschi, il reperimento dei finanziamenti e le trattative per ottenere casa "Cobenzl", le polemiche che ripropongono anche qui i sospetti che circolano sulla Compagnia un po' ovunque in Italia e negli altri stati cattolici (su tutte l'accusa di appropriarsi di denari e rendite

non guardando in faccia a nessuno, né al clero secolare né a quello regolare, motivo di giudizi opposti sull'Ordine anche da parte dei diversi esponenti della chiesa patriarcale, come nel caso dei vicari Bisanti e Maracco). Alla fine sono determinanti per il successo dei gesuiti a Gorizia, come sottolinea Ferlan dopo una convincente disamina (p. 179), l'arciduca Ferdinando, poi imperatore, e il suo confessore gesuita, il padre Bartolomaeus Viller; i gesuiti ringraziano per i finanziamenti adeguati finalmente ricevuti e il nuovo insediamento utile ad arginare anche gli esiti nefasti dell'esilio da Venezia. Equilibrato appare l'autore nel dipanare la matassa delle discussioni e delle polemiche che accompagnano l'azione dei gesuiti in questa fase drammatica, soprattutto quelle provenienti dalle riflessioni di un personaggio di spicco come Paolo Sarpi.

Alla ricostruzione delle vicende che portano all'arrivo dei primi padri, all'istituzione della residenza nel 1615 e del collegio nel 1621 – ma le lezioni iniziarono già nel 1619, mentre il primo rettore fu nominato nel 1624 (p. 222); al collegio si affiancò più tardi, nel 1629, il convitto "Wenderbergico" destinato alla formazione di sacerdoti – segue l'analisi dell'organizzazione economico-finanziaria della nuova fondazione ignaziana: a fianco dell'aiuto economico di Ferdinando, sempre puntuale in veste di donatore, nel sollecitare e favorire lasciti e privilegi fiscali, nel dirimere cause – sospetti e accuse attorno all'Ordine su tale materia trovarono anche a Gorizia un terreno fertile (cfr. pp. 190, 205) – ecco le rendite ecclesiastiche (benefici parrocchiali, commende, proprietà ancora in regime feudale), le donazioni provenienti dalle famiglie locali, da privati cittadini, dagli stessi gesuiti, destinate a formare un patrimonio generalmente ben gestito nonostante le accuse, talora pregiudiziali, degli avversari di turno (sarebbe stato utile in questa parte della ricerca confrontarsi con gli studi di storia economica sugli ordini regolari di Fiorenzo Landi).

L'interesse dell'autore si sposta poi (capitolo III) sugli aspetti scolastici (docenti e loro mobilità, insegnamenti e programmi, studenti e disciplina, affluenza alle scuole). All'insegnamento superiore mai si affiancarono nel collegio di Gorizia corsi di tipo universitario, non concretizzandosi l'aspirazione pur talora presente a dare vita al percorso teologico (solo nel 1639 vennero avviate lezioni di teologia morale). Alla formazione scolastica i gesuiti unirono un'azione altrettanto importante in ambito religioso: dimostrando particolare attenzione all'amministrazione del sacramento della confessione, alla celebrazione eucaristica, alla recitazione delle preghiere quotidiane e all'insegnamento della dottrina cristiana.

Centrale risulta, in tali pratiche, la preoccupazione per la questione linguistica, come sottolineato opportunamente in più occasioni, per esempio a p 216: nel 1627 “il generale si lamentava per lo scarso progresso degli studenti del collegio, legato al fatto che gli studenti non conoscessero a sufficienza l’italiano [...] La realtà plurilingue del Goriziano richiedeva anche la presenza di gesuiti che conoscessero lo sloveno. La città si trovava pur sempre nella provincia austriaca e non si poteva nemmeno dimenticare la lingua tedesca”.

Quanto all’attività “fuori delle aule” della comunità ignaziana e dei suoi singoli esponenti, a emergere, accanto a un innegabile radicamento nella società locale, è anche certa conflittualità in cui i gesuiti furono coinvolti, non solo per il dispiegarsi della loro azione su più fronti (e in settori delicati della vita pubblica), ma anche a causa dei privilegi che soprattutto l’autorità imperiale riconobbe loro: fiscali, giurisdizionali (con l’immunità per gli allievi del collegio anche nel foro criminale), nella gestione delle nomine ad alcuni importanti benefici ecclesiastici cittadini (per via dei diritti di patronato acquisiti per disposizione di donatori privati e dello stesso imperatore). Ovviamente altre prerogative vennero dalle autorità ecclesiastiche locali e/o romane, come il potere di assoluzione dai casi riservati o l’occupazione di spazi abitativi non sempre rispettosi delle esigenze di altre comunità religiose (la vicinanza del seminario con il monastero delle clarisse fu fonte di ulteriori proteste da parte della nobiltà goriziana).

Le occasioni di scontro finirono dunque per investire anche il clero secolare e regolare (francescani, cappuccini, serviti), per via della concorrenza nelle celebrazioni liturgiche cittadine, nell’amministrazione dei sacramenti, nella stessa cura d’anime, che i gesuiti non avrebbero dovuto esercitare ma che, viste le urgenze dell’area in cui erano inseriti, si trovarono di fatto a svolgere. Lo scontro non tralasciò di coinvolgere una fetta della nobiltà goriziana. Al centro, innanzitutto, vi fu la collazione dei benefici parrocchiali, talora sottratti alle famiglie cittadine e, dal punto di vista finanziario (gestione delle entrate, dei legati, corretta manutenzione degli edifici sacri), al controllo della vicinia e dei suoi rappresentanti (camerari), solitamente investiti di queste funzioni. Politicamente di rilievo fu la vertenza per il riconoscimento dei diritti di rappresentanza dei gesuiti negli stati provinciali (ereditati per esempio con l’acquisizione della commendata di Precenicco, ma mai riconosciuti dalle autorità secolari); al pari della loro attività come pacieri, funzione in sintonia con il frammentato mondo giurisdizionale dell’epoca (p. 345).

Una sintesi efficace dei numerosi motivi di contrasto, degli attacchi

e delle risposte che videro i gesuiti e parte della società cittadina contrapposti su diverse materie, la si ebbe nella dura vertenza del 1640 (pp. 264-266), quando a fianco delle tradizionali autorità fin lì coinvolte per la soluzione delle dispute (tribunale cesareo, ovviamente, ma anche stati provinciali, arcidiacono di Gorizia, nunzio a Vienna, vescovo di Trieste) fu sollecitato l'intervento diretto di Roma, significativamente chiamata in causa dalle autorità goriziane, si badi, nella speranza di ritrovare proprio in curia papale un comportamento meno filo-gesuita di quello manifestato dall'imperatore!

Nel quarto e ultimo capitolo l'attenzione è posta sull'azione più propriamente pastorale svolta dai gesuiti a Gorizia: amministrazione del sacramento della confessione, direzione spirituale, attività omiletica, devozione mariana nell'ambito delle confraternite scolastiche e cittadine, culto dei santi (gesuiti in particolare: le canonizzazioni di Ignazio e Francesco Saverio coincisero con gli anni di vita iniziali del collegio), attività teatrali "dentro e fuori le aule", missioni nei territori circostanti: pratiche che ebbero importanti risvolti sociali e carattere disciplinante, sia nei confronti degli studenti, sia verso la popolazione goriziana nel suo complesso.

Università degli studi di Udine

Flavio Rurale

The Art of Painting in Colonial Quito: El arte de la pintura en Quito colonial, edited by Suzanne L. STRATTON-PRUITT and Judy DE BUSTAMANTE, Philadelphia, Saint Joseph's University Press, 2012, pp. 336, \$ 75.00, SBN 9780916101695

This book is a valuable catalogue of colonial paintings created in and around Quito from the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century. It collects the work of a new generation of international scholars to reveal the complex artistic production in Quito. The authors question the prejudice that the art of Quito was characterized by "pervasive religiosity and provincialism." Inside the book, we find a wealthy and valuable bibliography of the documents of the time, which helps to shed light on colonial art in Quito.

The book is divided in two parts. The first is an introduction in which past research of Quito colonial art is reviewed. This is accompanied by a variety of wide-ranging methodological approaches. The second part consists of a virtual exhibition

catalogue of 231 paintings from private and public collections, starting from “the Baroque school of Quito” (a fusion of Spanish, Italian, Moorish, Flemish and indigenous art) and ending with an emerging, more autonomous art at the end of the colonial period. The introduction is divided into different sections, with reflections on patrons, artists, styles, subjects, European influences, markets and education. One important aspect is the relation between artists and commissioners. The first real source on art in Quito was Navarro’s letter, which talked about the famous portrait of Don Francisco de la Robe and his sons Pedro and Domingo, currently in the collection of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid. It was commissioned by Juan del Barrio de Sepúlveda in 1599 as a gift to King Philip II of Spain. This letter shows that the painter Andrés Sánchez Gallque had become a link between the artist from Quito Miguel de Santiago and his sixteenth-century predecessors. In the seventeenth century, Valentín Iglesias discovered how Schelte à Bolswert influenced Miguel de Santiago and his assistants. As a result, scholars began to raise questions about which European models were being used by the Quito artists. The expanding artistic productions were deeply connected to the growth of the city, a consequence of the signing of the Protocol of Río de Janeiro, which ended the war between Peru and Ecuador. The book shows clearly how these political and cultural circumstances influenced the attitude to art in this period. Scholars have tried to reveal the real function and importance of art for the city at this time, and the book introduces us to the different approaches for studying the colonial art of Quito, with a focus on the role of patronage and the export market.

The volume also collects information about the most important immigrant artists from Europe, such as Pietro Gocial, Luis de Ribera, Juan de Illescas, Angelino Medoro, Bernardo Bitti, Pedro de Vargas and it explains their skills, as well as how they intellectually influenced the local artists. Such immigrant artists taught local artists new methods and techniques, and inspired stylistic and thematic variety in colonial paintings. The book additionally presents documents that reveal the quality of these native artists, freshly evaluating their works of art and identifying their authorship. The authors of the book also endeavour to reconstruct the lives of important local artists such as Hernando de la Cruz, Miguel de Santiago and Nicolás Javier Goribar. The various styles and themes of their works of art contradict the common opinion that art from Quito was uniform and lacking variety. The value of

the catalogue presented in the book lies in its ability to show how the wide range of subjects depended upon commissions, patrons and their interests, including the importance of where paintings were to be exhibited. In this context, it is interesting to note that the paintings were not only done for male commissioners, but also for female ones.

The book argues that from the eighteenth century onwards, the approach to art in Quito changed radically. Manuel de Samaniego y Jaramillo was the first artist who wrote a treatise developing practical advice on the use of various pigments. He was influenced by Pacheco's *Arte de la pintura* (1649). He also copied a treatise on architecture, which illustrates proportions and spatial projections. The scientific and artistic aims of the Royal Botanical Expedition led by José Celestino Mutis during the Enlightenment, which had started in Bogotá, changed the artistic mentality in Quito. The artists who benefitted from the many discoveries of the expedition were introduced to various innovative learning processes. Muti taught young artists how to record what they saw within a new scientific methodology. Like their counterparts in Europe, the artists in Quito started to imitate nature instead of copying engravings. This scientific approach to the natural world had a strong impact on contemporary artistic production. A formal vocabulary developed and the paintings in the catalogue demonstrate clearly that besides traditional themes - such as capital sins, the sacraments, the seven works of mercy, the ten Commandments, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit - new Enlightenment-inspired subjects were introduced in the second half of the eighteenth century. The artists also had an interest in European thinkers like David Hume and Johann Gottfried von Herder. The paintings are characterized by dynamic compositions, decorative elements and theatrical environments based on graphic examples from Europe, especially Flemish engravings. Artists included ornaments and exotic elements. We can thus observe a stylistic change that reflects the transformation of society in Quito in the eighteenth century. At the end of the colonial period, art changed once more. The book mentions, indeed, a new artistic awareness of the artists applying new styles and contemplating new subjects. The guilds that controlled the activities of urban artists lost their influence, and from that moment on the artists were able to develop their personal style and inventions and to create more original works. Recently, researchers have argued that these works of art were also brought to Spain and Italy.

The authors of the book introduce another constructive topic: the

complex historical, religious, didactic, pedagogic and missionary function of the paintings. In the introduction and in the descriptions of the paintings, we find information about the art of the different orders. The Franciscan order was the first to establish itself in Quito and immediately started to build a monastery which became the centre of education and art. It had its own schools of painting and sculpture. The introduction offers sources referring to the relation between the Franciscans and art in Quito. We learn that Franciscans used the works of art as a medium for conversion. They taught native young local artists how to create a work of art, which was considered to be an important aspect in the acculturation and Christianization of Indians. Thus in the Franciscan monastery the natives not only learned about Christian doctrines and morality, but also developed their skills in art and music.

Documents prove that the Augustinians, Dominicans and Jesuits subsequently influenced the mentality of each artist in their own way. The paintings in the catalogue show clearly that traditional themes of Christianity such as the passion of Christ, the life of Mary, the lives of saints and of fathers of the Church, and the Rosary, were enriched by representations of the typical doctrines of the different religious orders. Images of the Franciscan, Dominican and Jesuit founders and leading thinkers were celebrated, and the genealogies of the orders were painted. The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius were also accompanied by images. Hence, we find a profound exchange and influencing of spiritual knowledge and thoughts. The paintings not only taught about how to pray and what to believe in, but also how to integrate these aspects within domestic life.

In conclusion, the book offers a wealth of scientific and artistic material, and presents a vast introduction to all the different elements of a rather complex situation. The overall goal is to show the different styles and iconographies of the individual works of art, as determined by social, historical and individual needs. Reading the book, it becomes clear that Quito's art is an expression of the profound search for an original blending between local native concerns and international influences. The book is a fundamental contribution to the understanding of the development of colonial art in Quito, and it opens new horizons for further studies on these important topics.

Brian O'LEARY, *Sent into the Lord's Vineyard. Explorations in the Jesuit Constitutions*, Oxford, The Way Books, 2012, pp.170, £10.00, ISBN 978 0 904717 38 9.

Brian O'Leary es un jesuita de la provincia irlandesa y experto en el campo de la Espiritualidad. Lleva más de treinta años dedicado a la espiritualidad ignaciana. Combina en su currículum la experiencia pastoral directa en el Jesuit Centre of Spirituality at Manresa House con la práctica docente en el Milltown Institute de Dublin (Associate Professor of Spirituality). Entre sus publicaciones, debemos tener en cuenta los artículos aparecidos en *The Way*, *The Way Supplement* y la *Review of Ignatian Spirituality* desde comienzos de los años 1970, donde se ocupa de la Autobiografía de san Ignacio, la mística ignaciana, el modelo ignaciano de acompañamiento espiritual, la respuesta ignaciana a la cuestión de sentido y el discernimiento, entre otros temas. Más recientemente, O'Leary ha publicado *An Introduction to Ignatian Spirituality*, Dublin, 2009 y ha visto su ya clásico *Pierre Favre and Discernment*, publicado por *The Way Supplement* en 1979, reimpresso (*The Way*, 2006) y traducido al italiano (Roma, 2006). A la luz de todo lo cual, *Sent into the Lord's Vineyard* se presenta como un esfuerzo por complementar estos estudios ignacianos con una reflexión desde una perspectiva societaria. El lector natural de la presentación que O'Leary hace en este libro de las Constituciones son los jesuitas en el último estadio de formación que se reúnen en Dublin anualmente (Tercera Probación).

Sent into the Lord's Vineyard es un comentario parcial a las *Constituciones*. Después del capítulo introductorio, un capítulo comenta el *Examen General* y otros cinco cada una de las últimas partes del texto sucesivamente (Partes VI-X).

El *primer capítulo* sienta la continuidad entre aquella experiencia de Ignacio y la vida en la Compañía de Jesús en nuestros tiempos. Para expresar esta continuidad se sirve de la relación espíritu/cuerpo. Por espíritu entiende aquél carisma de Ignacio de Loyola; por cuerpo, aquella realidad que el espíritu dispone para la evangelización. Este capítulo estudia aquél espíritu en su transformación a partir de Manresa. La transformación consiste en el paso de vivir centrado en sí mismo a vivir entregado a los demás (evangelización). El cuerpo, en cambio, es la realidad asociativa que se sigue de la evangelización, comenzando por el grupito de primeros compañeros, y mediante la práctica de los Ejercicios Espirituales. Aquel itinerario interno de Ignacio resuena en el itinerario interno de cada miembro de este cuerpo y en el conjunto de

los seguidores ignacianos (la ontogénesis reproduce la filogénesis, podríamos decir). Este cuerpo, o nueva realidad por encima del individuo y de la suma de los individuos, se aglutina en torno a dos decisiones tomadas por Ignacio y sus primeros compañeros: a) la de permanecer unidos espiritualmente (constituirse en un cuerpo) y b) la de organizarse bajo la autoridad de uno de ellos con voto (constituirse en orden religiosa). Este cuerpo lo integran el conjunto de aquellos que participarán de un modo de vida común: aquél expresado por las *Constituciones* y preservado por su texto para una continua regeneración en el tiempo.

Consecuentemente, el *segundo capítulo* se ocupa del discernimiento de la vocación de quienes desearían entrar a formar parte de tal cuerpo (la Compañía de Jesús) y que, una vez admitidos en él, se preparan para incorporarse a su cuerpo-espíritu apostólico. Prácticamente, aquí estudia el Examen General de las *Constituciones*. Se trata de un texto excepcional en la historia de la vida consagrada. O'Leary observa algunos paralelismos con el texto de los *Ejercicios Espirituales* de Ignacio de Loyola (un criterio externo de interpretación para las *Constituciones*). Luego analiza las seis experiencias que Ignacio concibió para los candidatos a ser jesuitas. Se detiene a reflexionar sobre un –así lo llama– “presupuesto” (*assumption*) ignaciano. O'Leary cree que Ignacio habría supuesto que el candidato entra ya determinado a, en primer lugar, seguir a Cristo y hacerlo mediante una consagración según los consejos de perfección. O'Leary discrepa con este “presupuesto”. En base a su propia experiencia de los datos hoy, presenta tres objeciones, un *excursus* sobre el que volveremos al final.

El *capítulo tercero* estudia los votos religiosos de castidad, pobreza y obediencia y la práctica de oración propia de los jesuitas. Se concentra en los párrafos de la Parte VI que tratan estos temas. Presenta el contenido del voto de castidad: Primero, en cuanto que no se le dedica particular atención (el voto “no requiere interpretación” afirman las *Constituciones*); segundo, en cuanto que se propone un modelo de castidad “angélico.” O'Leary interpreta la primera característica como una consecuencia de una convicción de Ignacio. Para él la castidad del jesuita no era otra que la castidad al uso en el siglo XVI. O'Leary interpreta la segunda característica, angélica, a partir de la itinerancia caracterizante del jesuita: como los ángeles, también los jesuitas debían ser “contemplativos en la acción”; como ellos, debían vivir “en camino” al cumplimiento de su misión. Si un celibato temporal es el mejor modo de vivir la sexualidad, cuando uno está de paso –afirma O'Leary– un

celibato permanente es el modo de vivir la sexualidad, cuando uno está *siempre* de paso (peregrino). La obediencia viene tratada a continuación según cuatro tipos de la misma: ascética, mística, unitiva y apostólica. En fin, respecto a la pobreza, el autor repite el esquema del capítulo introductorio: que éste voto encuentra su fundamentación no ya en la tradición de la vida religiosa que precedió al nacimiento de la Compañía, sino en la *experiencia* (de Ignacio y de los primeros compañeros). El capítulo concluye con unas observaciones sobre la oración propia de la Compañía.

El *capítulo cuarto* desempeña un puesto central a todo el comentario. Aquí, O'Leary trata la misión, presentándola a partir de la experiencia mística a la base del texto. Importa mucho este punto, porque O'Leary desea contra distinguir la misión apostólica de cualquier otra empresa (i.e.: *management internacional*, 86). A Ignacio le movía una urgencia: la salvación de las personas. Para explicar la misión, vuelve a recurrir a los Ejercicios y comienza a establecer correlaciones con el Cuarto Evangelio, que seguirán en el *capítulo quinto*, donde trata de la unión entre los jesuitas.

En efecto, por el misionar o envío de los apóstoles a una Viña tan sin límites parecería un desmembrar aquel cuerpo ya referido en el primer capítulo. De esta tensión característica se ocupa el capítulo 5. O'Leary explica que "comunidad" no es siquiera un término relevante en las *Constituciones*, mientras que la categoría "incorporación" sí. Las *Constituciones* refieren a la realidad conocida como "comunidad" cuatro veces. Revelan así que la afiliación del miembro no sucede primeramente mediante una comunidad "localizada", sino mediante la unión con jesuitas particulares (compañeros).

Por su parte, el *capítulo sexto* se concentra en materiales tomados de la Parte IX (el gobierno distintivo de la Compañía). De nuevo, piensa el modo de gobierno según criterios distintivos del "management" contemporáneo. Para esta reflexión se ayuda de: a) una imagen: las *Constituciones* piensan la Compañía de Jesús en cuanto que un "cuerpo" mientras que hablan de su General, en cuanto que "cabeza" del mismo (cf. 1 Cor 12); b) la comprensión paternal de autoridad de los monjes del desierto: las *Constituciones* adaptan la figura del *abbas* a un contexto de apostolado itinerante, según tres elementos caracterizantes de la relación paterno-filial en la Compañía: el cuidado de la persona del jesuita; la prioridad de la caridad debida a todo el Cuerpo, en caso de conflicto con la caridad al miembro particular; la orientación de la relación con el superior religioso a un envío apostólico más adecuado.; c) la tercera ayuda

es la práctica de la revelación interior al superior: la manifestación de la conciencia al Superior es la práctica esencial y distintivamente jesuítica, al centro de la cual reside la idea de la Providencia divina. En fin la última ayuda d) son las seis características del P. General, O'Leary reconoce una jerarquía entre estas características y afirma que sólo a partir de la cuarta característica podríamos encontrar paralelos en las características de los managers.

La Parte X constituye el extremo final del dinamismo pretendido por el texto desde el principio, pero solo ahora comprensible. A ella va dedicado el último capítulo: una mirada de este cuerpo, ya cohesionado y dispuesto bajo su "cabeza," hacia el futuro. El fin de las *Constituciones* es preparar y disponer el cuerpo que pueda llevar a cabo un fin apostólico donde lo que directamente se pretende es la santificación de los otros y no la propia. Como otros en el pasado, también O'Leary ve una correlación entre las *Constituciones* (Proemio y Parte X) y secciones de los *Ejercicios Espirituales* (Principio y Fundamento, Contemplación para alcanzar amor). En particular, entre las conclusiones de ambos textos: abierta a la esperanza, en las *Constituciones*, y centrada en el amor, en los *Ejercicios*. Y a la luz de aquella Contemplación conclusiva, interpreta la Parte X como una *contemplatio ad spem*. Otro aspecto de este capítulo es la interpretación de la ilustración que Ignacio experimentó en Manresa, cerca del río Cardoner, en clave de la cuestión de sentido. Al final de las *Constituciones*, la esperanza en la Providencia de Dios es fruto de una experiencia mística: que en Dios todas las realidades encuentran su sentido y hermosura.

Además de algunos rasgos, que están asociados con la competencia del autor ya señalada (*Autobiografía* de san Ignacio, discernimiento), creemos distinguir tres acentos en este comentario: la experiencia espiritual, unido a ella el cuerpo y, en general, la dimensión societaria (*companionship*, corporativo, miembro, gobierno, etc.) y, en fin, la misión. Ya el título se hacía eco de ésta "Enviados a la Viña del Señor" y el lector podrá convencerse al comprobar que O'Leary nota que la Parte X calla sobre la misión o, señala como rasgo distintivo del modo de vida religioso de los primeros compañeros aquel esfuerzo porque nada impidiese la misión (38), o que estudie los votos religiosos como instrumentales para la misión (56), o que explique en función de la ésta que las *Constituciones* traten solo breve y poco detalladamente la oración (70).

Quizá por causa del oyente a quien O'Leary se dirige para explicar las *Constituciones*, su presentación se sirve especialmente de la reflexión disponible en inglés, sea en versión original o

traducción. Entre los autores de estas últimas fuentes, sigue a algunos especialistas como Antonio M. de Aldama, André de Jaer, Javier Osuna. Entre los autores de aquellas, se apoya en la obra escrita de Michael Ivens, George Ganss, Johh W. O'Malley y Michael Buckley. O'Leary se distancia en una ocasión de la interpretación de Antonio M. de Aldama (acerca del valor de la Congregación, 109), pero por lo general sigue a estos autores. No hemos encontrado referencias a Peter Schineller y sus artículos, a pesar de que también estos hayan centrado su atención en la "Viña" y en la transformación de la espiritualidad ignaciana inicialmente ascética, en espiritualidad apostólica y mística (entre otros lugares, "The Pilgrim Journey of Ignatius: From Soldier to Laborer in the Lord's Vineyard and Its Implications for Apostolic Lay Spirituality." *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 31/4 (1999). Por supuesto, O'Leary también refiere a la colección Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu en momentos importantes (especialmente para el caso de Nadal, cuyas obras todavía no han sido traducidas al inglés).

La lectura que O'Leary hace de estas partes de las *Constituciones* es primeramente espiritual. Resulta interesante y estimulante. Por ejemplo, aplaudimos su interés por encontrar cómo el amor está presente en el tejido del texto (88-89; 114-115). Tanto para la unión espiritual como para la reunión física, el amor de Dios constituye el nexo de unidad entre los miembros. O'Leary explica en clave trinitaria qué quiere decir "Compañía de amor" en una sección destacable (114-116). También destacamos sus correlaciones entre texto y Cuarto Evangelio. En general, lee inquisitivamente las *Constituciones*, a partir de la propia experiencia y no del estudio del Derecho de los religiosos. Hace que el lector se plantee cuestiones como ¿Por qué hablan tan poco de la oración las *Constituciones*? ¿Por qué hablan así sobre la castidad? ¿Por qué se refieren a la pobreza sin referir al elemento cristológico (tan presente en los *Ejercicios* y en las *Deliberaciones*)? ¿El interés por la "comunidad" local, es una innovación distintiva de la era Kolvenbach?

En respuesta a una de estas preguntas (pp.34-38), O'Leary *explora* el tema del presupuesto (*assumption*) ya referido. Esta *exploration* junto con otras habría justificado el subtítulo del libro en un momento de su proyectación. Afirmando que "Muchos candidatos se sienten atraídos a la Compañía específicamente por las oportunidades apostólicas que ésta les ofrece," O'Leary identifica tal mentalidad en un número significativo de jóvenes adultos que se interesan en occidente por la Compañía, sin embargo, tal afirmación no viene apoyada con un dato estadístico claro (37). El imperativo interno

que impulsa a tales candidatos contradice el “presupuesto” de Ignacio, pues les hace ver la vida religiosa y aún el sacerdocio como “medios” para un fin. Si fueran rechazados por la Compañía, vuelve a aseverar el autor, no se unirían a otras órdenes en base al consejo evangélico “déjalo todo y sígueme”. Por otro lado, la obra intenta explicar el texto hasta en incoherencias aparentes. No deja espacio para el hecho que éste es una obra imperfecta, que tiene que ser considerada también en su limitación. Entendemos que esto se sigue de la aproximación a Ignacio, presentado como fundador y como místico. Algo que también explica el poco lugar concedido al papel de Polanco. Atribuye a Ignacio y ve en los Ejercicios y en la Autobiografía los documentos claves para la interpretación correcta de las *Constituciones*.

Pontificia Università Gregoriana

Carlos Coupeau S.J.

Volker R. REMMERT (trans. into English by B. KERN), *Picturing the Scientific Revolution: title engravings in early modern scientific publications*, Philadelphia, Saint Joseph's University Press USA, 2011, pp. 295, \$ 65.00, ISBN 978-0-916101-67-1.

It struck me the other evening that I must have absorbed quite a lot from this book. A speaker flashed up a PowerPoint slide of the frontispiece by Francesco Curti for the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Riccioli's *Almagestum novum* (1651), and I felt I was looking at something quite familiar. Obvious in this picture is the weighing in the balance of the two world systems, the Copernican and the Tychonic, with an overwhelming “weight” given to the latter. Yet there is an abundance of other elements, astronomical, mythological, and theological, subtly woven into the picture which gives a sense of the competing and complementary elements in Riccioli's own “world” when he wrote this book as a 17th century Jesuit. For those interested in such careful analysis I thoroughly recommend Remmert's book. I also recommend it to those who have a more casual acquaintance with the transition to modern science that occurred in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Remmert's work is clearly a labour of love. Finding in libraries the several hundred title engravings, book by book, since they lack a compendium, and then sorting them out was an enormous project. He decided to concentrate on two aspects: the dispute over the Copernican system during the 17th century, and the efforts

to legitimize new theories and disciplines during this time. So what we find portrayed and elucidated in the 70 or so engravings actually illustrated in this book, all on beautiful paper stock, is a fascinating cross-disciplinary study covering political and religious history, history of art, and history of science during this critical period when mathematics and new observations underpinned the emergence of modern science.

One would expect the views of Jesuits to feature prominently in the dispute over a world system; and they do, first in the early reaction of Christopher Clavius to the Copernican theory and then in Christoph Scheiner's fierce counter to Galileo Galilei's interpretation of sun spots in *Saggiatore* and later in *Rosa ursina*, which included the heliocentric system. In the titlepage pictures no quarter is given, but Remmert is sympathetic to the Jesuit approach to the world which looked, and still does, for a unity of knowledge within a multi-layered perspective. He posits that Jesuits, rather than being conflicted over having to reject the idea of the Earth's movement against their better judgment, were content to incorporate theological arguments into their understanding of the unity between Heaven and Earth.

After illustrating and recounting this heated battle, Remmert moves to titlepages which promoted the mathematical sciences. One could think that these might portray more tranquil themes, save that mathematics and the techniques of war are intimately connected, then as now. Still mathematics is essential to trade, e.g., via navigation, so this did make for less bellicose pictures. All these titlepages, and their place in history to promote the legitimacy of mathematics, are carefully explained in this part of Remmert's book.

Another discipline apparently needing legitimacy was astronomy. Perhaps it was the startling newness of its discoveries that brought about this necessity. Thus in the 1603 frontispiece of *Uranometria* by Johannes Bayer we find *Hercules*, representing the Tychonic system, and *Atlas*, for the Ptolemaic, so that these ancients might imply that astronomy was both the oldest and noblest of scientific disciplines, and accordingly not to be feared. In other frontispieces *Hipparchus*, Ptolemy himself, and King Alfonso the Wise are added, all to bolster the theme and give it a regal flavour. Even Tycho Brahe's nose becomes symbolic, and I shall let you dig in the book to find out why and how. So a new science needs to be anchored in tradition, and Remmert gives us a couple of chapters to show how it was done.

What a science also needs, then and now, is money. In the days before government grants, giving honor in frontispieces to one's

patrons was literally an 'art'. Jesuits were adept at this art, naturally, and there are skillful examples of giving honor in quality, rather than in quantity, in their books. Interestingly the symbol for doing the new mathematics became that of entering into the garden of new wisdom. Of course the targeted patrons would have beautiful gardens surrounding their palaces, so the link is not so surprising. These gardens would feature fountains, a symbol of abundant life and life eternal, so again not surprisingly, highly symbolic fountains found their way into frontispieces. All this 'play' with garden images can be seen as a return to the Jesuit theme of the unity of knowledge, for after all God the Creator played at the beginning of the world and walked in the Garden.

Lest the beauty of the pictures and the wealth of details overwhelm his main points, Remmert most helpfully includes summaries at the end of each chapter as well as at the end of the book. In tackling issues in the dispute over world systems, in showing the legitimization of the mathematical sciences and the importance of patronage, and in emphasizing the unity of knowledge as a Jesuit concern, Remmert has given us a pictorial framework, both beautiful and stimulating, through which to reflect on the scientific revolution. After you read this book, I think that you too will look on a frontispiece with a much greater understanding of its context and message.

Vatican Observatory

Christopher Corbally S.J.

Reinhard MAY, *Humes Moralphilosophie unter chinesischem Einfluss*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012, 122 pp. € 26.00, ISBN 978-3-515-10044-1.

Reinhard May, jurist and philosopher, is known for his book on the influence of Eastern thinking on Heidegger's opus (*Ex Oriente Lux*, 1989, in English translation: *Heidegger's Hidden Sources* (1996)). In his book on Hume, he tries to evaluate the influence of Chinese Confucian philosophy on the treatises, articles and letters written by the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776), the most important representative of the Scottish enlightenment, who had also great influence on the German philosopher Immanuel Kant. The great challenge of Chinese philosophy to European history of ideas and philosophy (in German we might call that "Geistesgeschichte") is not a new subject but is dealt with in many other publications. However, it is extremely difficult to evaluate the special sources and their direct

influence, for in the 17th and 18th centuries the sources were generally not cited in the discourses and books. In his book May's thesis is that David Hume's moral philosophy was influenced by Confucian philosophy (here called "confucianistic"), which he tries to evaluate and prove by the material concerning China which Hume possibly used. The most important philosopher or philosophical book for him was evidently the Confucian philosopher Mengzi 孟子 (ca. 370–ca. 290 BC), called *Mencius* by the Jesuit missionaries, who were the first Europeans who dealt with him.

In his first chapter May describes the possible and probable sources of Hume's knowledge on China starting with Gaspar da Cruz OP (+1570): *Tractado em que se co[m]tam muito por este[n]so as cousas da China* (1569), Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's OSA (1545–1618) book *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China...* (1585), *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta...* (1615) by Matteo Ricci S.J. (1552–1610) and Nicolas Trigault S.J. (1577–1628).

China constituted a great challenge for European religion and moral philosophy, because the contemporary Chinese seemed to be a people of high morality without having any idea about a higher being. This concept was not only spread by the Jesuits' books (who on the other hand found that the Chinese of antiquity had known the one true God), but also by their adversaries in the Rites Controversy. Especially in the first half of the 18th century there was a great interest in China leading, as it is well-known, to the European Enlightenment.

Other philosophers of the Enlightenment who were clearly influenced by China were Pierre Bayle (1647–1707) in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) in the *Novissima Sinica* (1697, 1699), who published texts from the Jesuit mission in China together with his own preface. The theologian, mathematician and philosopher Christian Wolff (1679–1754), in his famous speech at the Pietistic University of Halle (*Oratio de Sinarum Philosophia practica*) in 1721, proclaimed the high morality which existed in China without Christian ideas and had therefore to leave Prussia in 1723. Voltaire (1694–1778) used China as a mirror for Europe.

May's book is subdivided into 5 chapters, starting from the indications, to early texts on morals written by Hume, then the early Mengzi versions in Europe, the comparison between several important passages from Mengzi with Hume's ideas, and finally the evidence for the thesis.

In May's thesis David Hume used Chinese ideas, especially from Mengzi, in his philosophy, a thesis already mentioned by several other authors. May treats this idea in a judicial way analyzing several

of Hume's publications, where Hume mentions China, for example his book *A Treatise on Human of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects* (1739-1740), which brought him the reputation being an atheist, which was substantiated by his later publications, for example *Three Essays, Moral and Political* (1748), *Political Discourse* (1752), *The Natural History of Religion* (1757). Whereas the Roman authors and philosophers had lived in antiquity, the Chinese offered the possibility of studying a contemporary secular moral philosophy. For his thesis May used only two of Hume's books, namely the *Treatise* and *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751) and some letters. For May Chinese ideas infiltrated Hume's moral philosophy.

The most important term for Hume was *disinterested sympathy* in the sense of compassion or commiseration as the basics for innate morality to all human beings. Sympathy is not limited to the closest family, but also includes strangers and aims at helping them in their misery; it is a natural altruism and is the beginning of benevolence. This idea is as apposed to the idea of a general innate wickedness, egoism and selfishness; it is not identical with a uniform sympathy which would embrace all people without any distinction between relatives and strangers, which was taught by the Chinese philosopher Mo Di (ca. 470–391 BC). This sympathy is combined with justice.

Chapter 3 deals with the early versions of Mengzi in Europe, first mentioned in the reports by Alvaro de Semedo (1586–1658), best known in its French translation *Histoire universelle de la Chine* (Paris 1645) and Martino Martini, *Sinicae Historia Decas prima* (München 1658). Mengzi was not included in the famous *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris 1687) with the translations of only three of the four classical books. The first translation of Mengzi into a European language, namely Latin, was done by François Noël S.J. (1651–1729) as part of his translation of the six classical books *Sinensis imperii libri classici sex...* (Prag 1711) and finally Jean-Baptiste Du Halde S.J. (1674–1743), *Description...de la Chine* (1735) in four volumes, which presented a summary of Mengzi in French and which was also translated into English and published by Edward Cave (1691–1754). May presents 13 Latin passages from Noël, and 8 French translations of some of these passages, which have a close connection to Hume's ideas on sympathy. Included is the example from Mengzi about the child starting to fall into a well: one acts by natural compassion to help, an example which was widely diffused in Europe. Hume sought a common altruism, but also a common egoism, as did Mengzi with the example of Yang shu.

In chapter four May compares the assertions and ideas of Hume

with several passages taken from the Latin (Noël) and French (Du Halde) translations of Mengzi. Noël following Mengzi assumes that the nature of human beings is good, but this is hard to prove, which can only be done by experience. Chapter 5 finally concludes that there is no direct hint that Hume used Mengzi's philosophy but there is a considerable accordance concerning the idea. It seems that Hume's teacher concerning the Enlightenment, Pierre Bayle, had a considerable influence on Hume in respect to Chinese philosophy. May also assumed that Hume read Leibniz' *Novissima Sinica*. According to May, Hume took ideas about Chinese morality from Noël in an unconscious way.

However, May's undertaking to prove the influence of Mengzi's ideas on David Hume is not really "risky" as he claims in the introduction, since it is more or less common knowledge that the Enlightenment was strongly influenced by Chinese philosophy. The book, however, clearly proves May's initial suspicion ("Anfangsverdacht") that Hume used Chinese ideas for his social philosophy. Many of the Confucian terms appear again in Hume's treatise, however it is not clear how and when Hume really used François Noël's translation of Menzius. A possibility to have access to Noël's translation (which, by the way, was hard to get as Leibniz complained) was Hume's stay in the Jesuit college of La Flèche nearby Mans with a huge library, which had, as May presumes, a copy of Noël's *Sinensis imperii libri classici sex...* Besides Noël's translation of "Memcius" May uses widely secondary literature (David Mungello, Knud Lundbaek etc), especially the helpful and excellent description of Chinese philosophy and its influence on European philosophies made by Ivo Kern.¹ Some of the newer literature, however, is lacking, as, for example, the edition and German translation of Leibniz' preface to the *Novissima Sinica* with annotations,² and also Isabelle Landry-Deron's study of Du Halde *La preuve par la Chine. La „Description“ de J.-B. Du Halde, jésuite, 1735* (Civilisations et Sociétés 110), Paris 2002.

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- 1 ISO KERN, "Die Vermittlung chinesischer Philosophie in Europa", in: Jean-Pierre Schobinger (ed.), *Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 1/1: Allgemeine Themen. Iberische Halbinsel. Italien, Basel, Schwabe & Co, 1998, pp. 225-292*
- 2 [Georg (sic!)] Gottfried Wilhelm LEIBNIZ, *Das Neueste von China (1697)*. *Novissima Sinica*, Hrsg. von Heinz Günther Nesselrath und Hermann Reinbothe, Köln, Deutsche China-Gesellschaft, 1979 (Neuaufgabe 2010).

Catherine JAMI, *The Emperor's New Mathematics: Western Learning and Imperial Authority During the Kangxi Reign (1662-1722)*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 496, \$ 135.00, ISBN 978-0-10-960140-0

Catherine Jami, director of research at the French CNRS, mathematician and sinologist, is well-known for her numerous and excellent articles and contributions on the subject of European-Chinese relations via science in the early modern era. In her new book she offers not only a compendium and an extension of her studies on the subject, but also the fascinating story of the partially successful encounter between East and West.

The two hundred years of the China mission of early modern times (ca. 1580–1780) can be considered as a case study of the Jesuits' method of accommodation partly founded on the indirect propagation of the faith via European science and art. The time and the encounter comparatively well documented by Chinese and European sources. Especially the Jesuits had taken the role of brokers between East and West with science in the service of religion. Science was not an end in itself, but was considered as "ancilla" for the mission. Starting from Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), who arrived in China in 1582, until the suppression of the Society of Jesus; the history of the China mission was closely connected to the policy of accommodation which is described by Jami. In this respect the Jesuits were well prepared by their scientific education in Rome, Paris, Coimbra, and the numerous Jesuit colleges in Germany (to name only one: Ingolstadt). Jami's book is concerned mainly with the early Qing dynasty, i.e. the period of the Kangxi reign 康熙 (1662–1723), when Christianity was at its climax in China, comparably well accepted and inserted into Chinese society and the court, but also when its downfall started.

The book has as its "hero" the Kangxi emperor. It is subdivided into sixteen chapters describing the scientific encounter before, during and after his reign. The first part of the book deals with the scientific background of the encounter, namely the role of science and learning in Jesuit education starting with the Collegio Romano in Rome under Christopher Clavius (1538–1612), who was Ricci's professor and was responsible for the importance of mathematics in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. As to science, the Jesuits (not only in China) stood between the old Aristotelian philosophy and world view; and modern science, which was then at its turning point with the discoveries of Nicolas Copernicus, Johannes Kepler

and Galileo Galilei. The new heliocentric world view was not yet generally accepted because it was not proven. Therefore the Jesuits brought Tycho Brahe's semi-heliocentric model to China claiming that the sun was circled by the planets, itself circling the earth. This model served for the reform of the Chinese calendar initiated by Chinese Christian scholars (Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao) and executed by the Jesuits (Johann Schreck, Johann Adam Schall von Bell, Giacomo Rho). After the successful reform the new calendar, however, could only be introduced by the new Qing dynasty in 1644 after the Ming dynasty had collapsed. But the calendar reform was not the only achievement of Western science. A new scientific and religious terminology was introduced, and the Christian statesman Paul Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562–1633) tried to use Western science as a tool for the renewal of statecraft at the end of the Ming dynasty.

Western science reached its climax in the early years of the Kangxi emperor. In his youth he was tutored by Ferdinand Verbiest S.J. (1623–1688). He used the famous old translation of Euclid, based on Christopher Clavius' book on the *Elements*, and translated by Matteo Ricci together with Xu Guangqi, in 1607 as the *Jihe yuanben* 幾何原本. The arrival of the French Jesuits in China in 1688 meant also a change in the contacts between China and Europe. One of their official purposes was the exchange of science and art with the Académie des Sciences in Paris. The already existing workshops in the Imperial Palace of the Kangxi emperor were expanded by European artists, some of whom were Jesuits. The highlight of the encounter were the lessons given to the Kangxi emperor by two teams of Jesuits, namely Antoine Thomas (1644–1709) together with Tomás Pereira (1645–1708), and the two French Jesuits Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707) and Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730) in the years 1690–1691. The French used a more modern treatment of the Euclid geometry by the French Gaston Pardies (1636–1673) in his *Eléments de Géométrie* (Paris 1671).

The Kangxi emperor's wish to learn Western science is unique in the history of mathematical teaching. It was not just curiosity or pleasure which led him to science but for him mathematics (geometry, arithmetic) was important in two respects. Firstly, he wished to control the Chinese bureaucracy, the Chinese literati, and the minorities of China by his knowledge. He alone was able to use these arts showing in this way his superiority to the others and his control of the whole state. The other purpose of Kangxi's use of mathematics was in order to make sense of harmonics described in

the *Xingli daquan* 性理大全 (1415), in the compendium of the Neo-Confucian Song philosophy compiled during the Ming dynasty.

Jami puts the use of Western mathematics and science as such into the context of Chinese society and history, including the attitude of the Chinese mathematician Mei Wending 梅文鼎 (1633–1721) towards Western science. For illustration and demonstration the book also uses mathematical examples and pictures of the “new mathematics”, taken from Chinese and French archives. The historically well founded book based on many Western and Chinese sources and literature, gives in part the biography of the Kangxi emperor. His relations to Chinese and Jesuits are observed under the focus of science, i.e. mathematics and astronomy. The Jesuits planned and hoped that the superiority of European science would lead Kangxi to embrace Christianity, but despite his friendly attitude towards and the protection of the missionaries he only accepted this science as a tool to govern, whereas missionaries were tolerated in his direct personal service in the inner palace Danei (大内 = Great Interior). For the Manchu ruler Western learning was a possibility to see China from another expanded viewpoint and not only from the Chinese-Manchu-Mongolian point of view. So at least at the time of the Kangxi emperor the encounter between East and West was that of exchange: science was exchanged for the permission to do mission work. This system had proved its effectiveness since Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. (1592–1666), but after the controversies about the Chinese Rites the permission for mission was restricted to the missionaries at court.

Western knowledge was taught by the Kangxi emperor to his sons. His third son Yinzhi 胤祉 (1677–1732), who was specially gifted for mathematics, became the president of the newly founded Academy of Mathematics (Suanxue guan 算學館) at court. After 1713 several Chinese scholars belonging to this Academy started under the supervision of Yinzhi to compile a great compendium, the *Lüli yuanyuan* 律曆淵源 (1723), as a compendium of all knowledge embracing ancient Chinese and new Western. This was based on the close connection between harmonics and astronomy with mathematics. The compendium was only finished under Kangxi's successor Yongzheng 雍正 (1723–1735), who wrote a preface to the whole work. This *Lüli yuanyuan* consists of three parts: *Lixiang kaocheng* 曆象考成 (Compendium of observational and computational astronomy), the *Lülü zhengyi* 律呂正義 (Exact meaning of the pitch-pipes), and finally the (*Yuzhi*) *shuli jingyun* 御製數理精蘊, which in our context is of special interest. It is the

greatest mathematical work ever printed in China and partly based on the manuscripts of the Jesuits' lectures given to the emperor. However, here the names of the missionaries no longer appeared partly due to the changed situation of Christianity in China, partly because the Chinese and Manchus considered mathematics as a tribute brought from the West to China, or as a renewal of old Chinese knowledge which had been forgotten in the course of times.

In the conclusion Jami expands her thesis given in the book title as an allusion to the story told by Hans Christian Andersen about the emperor's new clothes: was there really a new mathematics, or was Kangxi in a manner of speaking naked? The new mathematics existed and was used by the emperor for his own purpose. It was, however, not accepted by the majority of Chinese literati, who thought that Chinese Confucian philosophy, learning and self-education were of much higher value than the practical and technical knowledge brought from the West.

The encounter between Europe and China was not always as perfect or imperfect as shown in the discourse of European publications pro-Jesuit and anti-Jesuit, especially in the Rites Controversy. Despite or because of this fact the background and its public reception belong to the best-documented chapters of cultural encounter. Jami's book describes the background, framework and results of this encounter in a very lively way with abundant examples, sources and literature not only giving a scientific description, but also telling a fascinating, historically-based and not a fairy tale.

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Vojtěch NOVOTNÝ, *Maximální křesťanství. Adolf Kajpr SJ a list Katolík*, Praha, Karolinum, 2012, pp. 446, Kč 390, ISBN 978-80-246-2047-3

La sofferta gloria della Compagnia di Gesù nei 450 anni della sua presenza in Boemia (oggi Repubblica Ceca) è stata di recente oggetto di una conferenza internazionale, tenutasi all'università di Praga, che ha dato vita alla voluminosa opera *Bohemia Jesuitica* (cfr. Heinz SPROLL, "Intellektuelle Performanz und kulturelle Repräsentanz aus dem Geist der Exerzitien", *AHSI* LXXXI/162 (2011) pp. 515-539). Mettendo a fuoco la "prima" Compagnia, il convegno non ha potuto che soffermarsi brevemente sulle sorti dei figli di sant'Ignazio nella *Provincia Bohemiae* durante l'assai travagliato ventesimo secolo. Ben

due dittature, quella nazista dal 1939 al 1945 e quella comunista dal 1948 al 1989, richiesero ai gesuiti boemi una testimonianza da confessori, anzi, da martiri. Tra di loro emerge luminosa la figura di Adolf Kajpr, la cui radicalità nella sequela di Cristo può ben qualificarsi *cristianesimo estremo*. Per rendere l'idea delle condizioni in cui operavano i gesuiti boemi a quell'epoca è indispensabile offrire un veloce quadro generale.

La Cecoslovacchia, uno stato nel cuore dell'Europa nato nel 1918 dalle rovine dell'Impero austro-ungarico, durò soltanto vent'anni. Nel 1939 Hitler occupò quello che rimaneva di questa repubblica multietnica - in seguito al *Diktat di Monaco* del 1938 erano stati ceduti i territori cecoslovacchi abitati dalla minoranza tedescofona (i Sudeti) e poco dopo la Slovacchia si separò - e cessò di esistere uno dei pochi, se non l'unico, Stati democratici dell'Europa prebellica. Anche se l'atmosfera politica era piuttosto anticattolica, i cattolici cecoslovacchi, con il 70 per cento, costituivano la maggioranza della popolazione. La Chiesa, che godeva di tutte le libertà, era attivamente impegnata su vari fronti: pastorale, educativo, editoriale, formativo, ma anche culturale e politico. Questo processo, che fu interrotto dall'occupazione tedesca del '39, verrà ripreso dopo il '45, ma la libertà durerà soltanto 3 anni. Nel febbraio del 1948 un colpo di Stato comunista mise la Chiesa, appena uscita dall'oppressione nazista, davanti ad una nuova prova destinata a durare i biblici 40 anni fino alla Rivoluzione di velluto del novembre del 1989.

La presa di potere del partito comunista fu caratterizzata da un'immediata persecuzione: un vero e proprio terrore, paragonabile a quello nazista. La lotta contro la Chiesa cominciò ad infuriare in tutti i cosiddetti Stati "satelliti" dell'Unione Sovietica, ma in nessuno di essi fu così feroce come nella Repubblica socialista cecoslovacca. Avamposto del "lager socialista", al centro dell'Europa, la Cecoslovacchia fu per Stalin durante la *guerra fredda* di particolare importanza strategica soprattutto per i ricchi giacimenti di uranio, necessario alla costruzione della bomba atomica. Arresti e condanne per reati fittizi fornirono gratuitamente un gran numero di forze di lavoro. Dovunque nacquero campi di lavoro forzato, non dissimili dai campi di concentramento tedeschi, soprattutto nella parte occidentale del paese nelle vicinanze delle miniere di uranio. L'intera società cecoslovacca venne tenuta nel terrore dalla onnipresente STB (Polizia segreta dello Stato) che soffocò alla nascita ogni forma di resistenza.

La Chiesa, considerata dal partito comunista un ostacolo al dominio totale della società (totalitarismo), venne emarginata

e sottoposta a restrizioni e controlli in vista di una graduale liquidazione. Gli ordini religiosi invece, considerati più difficili da controllare, vennero soppressi nello spazio di una sola notte: quelli maschili dal 13 al 14 aprile 1950, quelli femminili un anno più tardi. Quasi tutti i superiori, molti religiosi, preti e suore nonché laici finirono nelle carceri e nei campi di lavoro forzato. Fu il tempo di una prova estrema soprattutto per la Compagnia di Gesù. Jan Pavlík S.J., provinciale clandestino, prigioniero egli stesso per cinque anni (1955–1960) e poi per venti (1971–1991), mise per iscritto quanto ricordò dei gesuiti imprigionati e che conobbe di persona. Alcune brevi biografie sono già state pubblicate e una concisa descrizione della vita della Compagnia di quell'epoca è il tema del suo libro *Budou vás vydávat soudům. Dějiny České provincie T. J. v době komunistického útlaku v letech 1950 až 1990* [Sarete portati in giudizio davanti al tribunale. La storia della Provincia boema della Compagnia di Gesù durante l'oppressione comunista negli 1950–1990], Praha 1995. Esiste anche una riduzione in inglese: Jan Pavlík, *On the Way to Jesus. Czech Jesuits during the Communist Oppression*, Velehrad 1998. Mancano però - o meglio mancavano - dei contributi validi basati sull'analisi di un'ampia documentazione archivistica, in particolare quella della Stb, i cui archivi sono oggi accessibili.

Vojtěch Novotný, giovane teologo ceco specializzato in storia della teologia ceca, ha riempito questa lacuna con una documentatissima monografia dedicata a Adolf Kajpr S.J. (1902–1959), la cui vicenda drammatica può essere assunta a simbolo e emblema di quella tragica epoca. Predicatore di fuoco, direttore di esercizi, confessore, guida spirituale, pubblicitista ed editore di stampa cattolica, Kajpr, *opinionmaker* indomabile, costituì una sfida difficile per entrambe le dittature che si adoperarono con ogni mezzo per ostacolarlo e zittirlo. I nazisti lo mandarano per quattro anni nei campi di concentramento di Mauthausen e di Dachau (1941–1945), i comunisti, per quasi dieci anni, nella fortezza di Leopoldov in Slovacchia, una delle più famigerate prigioni del regime. La denominazione dei detenuti "MUKL" (uomo destinato alla eliminazione) si concretizzò per Kajpr nel 1959, quando morì, all'età di 57 anni, dopo nove di maltrattamenti. Tutti coloro che lo hanno conosciuto sono unanimi nel testimoniare che Kajpr visse e morì in *fama sanctitatis et fama martyrii*. Ma chi fu questo gesuita coraggioso?

Adolf Kajpr nacque a Hředlo vicino a Praga il 5 luglio 1902 in una famiglia di umili origini. Rimasto orfano in tenera età, Adolf venne

affidato alle cure di una zia. Non avendo i mezzi per studiare, a 14 anni iniziò a lavorare in un mulino dove rimase fino all'età di 24 quando venne chiamato a prestare il servizio militare. Al suo ritorno, iniziò a studiare al liceo arcivescovile di Praga, affidato ai padri della Compagnia e nel 1928 entrò nel noviziato a Velehrad. Poiché all'epoca la provincia boema non aveva né il filosofato né il teologato, Kajpr fu mandato a Eegenhoven, in Belgio, per gli studi filosofici dove conobbe professori di fama come Joseph Maréchal S.J. e Pierre Charles S.J. Dispensato dal magistero a causa dell'età, Kajpr partì alla volta di Innsbruck per frequentare la teologia (1932-1936), per poi spostarsi a Paray-le-Monial per il terz'anno di probazione (1936-1937). Tra il 1937 e il 1941 Kajpr avviò le sue prime attività pastorali, insegnando teologia nel seminario, etica ai laici e diventando redattore di ben quattro periodici della Compagnia. Dalle pagine dei periodici critica l'*Anschluss* (l'annessione) dell'Austria al *Reich* da parte di Hitler, seguita dalla chiusura della Facoltà teologica di Innsbruck, particolarmente cara a Kajpr.

Fra i tanti approcci possibili alla poliedrica personalità del gesuita ceco, Novotný ha scelto quello del Kajpr publicista ed editore, soprattutto della rivista *Katolík: list pro kulturu a život z víry* (Il cattolico: rivista per la cultura e la vita di fede) di cui diventerà, dopo la guerra, caporedattore. La rivista, organo dell'Azione Cattolica che usciva dal 1936, radunava attorno a sé gli intellettuali cattolici cechi. Il suo scopo era di formare le coscienze cattoliche per reagire ai nuovi problemi e in particolar modo contrastare l'ideologia comunista che già prima della guerra aveva cominciato a guadagnare sempre più terreno. L'orientamento della rivista non fu subito oggetto di particolare preoccupazione da parte dei tedeschi che dal 1939 avevano occupato il Paese, ma quando Kajpr cominciò a prendere di mira l'ideologia di sangue e di razza, venne prontamente accusato di ostilità verso il *Reich*, arrestato e inviato in un campo di concentramento. Nel 1942 la rivista *Katolík* fu sospesa. Riprese la sua attività nel 1945, ma ebbe vita breve per i suoi ripetuti attacchi al nuovo potere e nel 1948 fu nuovamente chiusa. Tutti quelli che contribuirono con i loro scritti e che costituivano l'élite intellettuale cattolica ceca, finirono in prigione oppure lasciarono la patria. Lo stesso Kajpr venne condannato a 12 anni di carcere e rinchiuso a Leopoldov in una sezione speciale solo per i vescovi e i preti chiamata in gergo "il Vaticano".

Il valore e l'importanza di Kajpr - in qualità di caporedattore di *Katolík* - nella formazione del laicato ceco, si possono dedurre dalle parole utilizzate dall'eminente teologo ceco Oto Mádr (1917-2011)

nel definire la rivista: "Portavoce del cattolicesimo giovane che vuole uscire dal ghetto, superare il sentimento di inferiorità verso il mondo moderno, *Katolík* - vale a dire Kajpr - insegnava a non fuggire il mondo, ma ad andargli incontro fraternamente. Doveva essere l'espressione dell'interesse dei credenti per le cose pubbliche e per il mondo". Nella Boemia di allora una simile definizione per un periodico era un'assoluta novità e altrettanto nuovo era il concetto stesso di cattolicesimo. Senza esagerare si può dire che *Katolík* segnò la fine di un'epoca e di un tipo di cattolicesimo e diede avvio a una nuova forma analoga alla *nouvelle théologie* francese. Il Cattolicesimo per Kajpr era quello che Henri de Lubac S.J. ben formulò nel titolo e nel contenuto del suo primo libro *Catholicisme: les aspects sociaux du dogme* (1938).

Le circostanze storiche richiesero a *Katolík* di polemizzare con il marxismo-leninismo. Kajpr non lo condannò in linea di principio, ma indicò soltanto i limiti del bene che il comunismo rappresentava e dimostrò che quel bene era contenuto anche nella religione cattolica. Per le sue umili origini, egli mostrò uno spiccato senso della giustizia sociale e una naturale simpatia per la sinistra, perciò sembrava predestinato a diventare un gradito interlocutore dei comunisti. In realtà si rivelò una spina nel fianco perché non ebbe mai timore di criticare il loro ateismo viscerale. Subito dopo il colpo di stato comunista del 25 febbraio del 1948, *Katolík*, dichiarato antistatale e reazionario, venne chiuso. A Kajpr non restò che dedicarsi alla pastorale, alla predicazione, a dare gli esercizi spirituali, soprattutto ai sacerdoti, e a tenere corsi di teologia. Egli cominciò ad essere pedinato dalla Stb, intenta a raccogliere informazioni per costruire capi d'accusa, e non si fece mai illusioni sul suo futuro, ritenendo il suo arresto soltanto una questione di tempo. A cominciare dal 1949 Kajpr sembrò essere in attesa dell'arrivo della polizia segreta, quasi con un rimprovero sulle labbra: "Dove siete stati? Come mai venite solo ora?"

L'ora di Kajpr arrivò il 14 marzo 1950. Il regime comunista per poter avviare la repressione contro la chiesa ceca aveva bisogno di dipingerla come la *longa manus* della politica "imperialista" del Vaticano e di presentare gli ordini religiosi come centri di addestramento alla lotta contro lo Stato socialista. Il regime mise in scena così il "primo grande processo" pubblico, durante il quale sotto tortura estorse a dieci religiosi, tra cui Kajpr, le confessioni della loro "colpa" di reati mai commessi. Il 5 aprile del 1950, il mercoledì della settimana santa, Kajpr venne condannato a 12 anni di carcere, al pagamento di una multa, alla confisca totale delle sue

proprietà e alla perdita dei diritti civili per ben 10 anni. La durezza della condanna doveva convincere l'opinione pubblica della pericolosità della Chiesa per il socialismo.

Kajpr non si piegò e neppure la prigione riuscì a fermare il suo zelo evangelico. In condizioni proibitive esortò i detenuti sacerdoti, ma anche i laici, predicò gli esercizi, formò i novizi clandestini e tenne conferenze sulla filosofia, sulla teologia, in particolare liturgia, e addirittura sulla letteratura.

Novotný non solo ricostruisce la drammatica vicenda della vita di Kajpr, ma si pone anche una domanda: quale teologia ha nutrito l'attività del gesuita ceco? Ed ecco emergere un chiaro approccio cristologico (cfr. pp. 116-120). L'apertura e l'impegno di Kajpr al mondo trovano il punto di partenza in Cristo: essendo creatura, l'uomo partecipa al mistero del Verbo incarnato ed è proteso verso di Lui con tutta la sua esistenza. Accettando e seguendo Gesù si diventa se stessi, si realizza la propria natura; negando Cristo, invece, si distrugge la propria umanità. È vero che la riflessione teologica di Kajpr si muoveva dallo schema uomo-Dio, lasciando in disparte la dimensione trinitaria, come del resto era comune all'epoca. Allo stesso tempo, però, tutta la realtà del mondo e la sua storia sono viste attraverso Cristo. La fede in Gesù Cristo riguarda tutto il mondo nello stato attuale, ma anche nel suo compimento escatologico. In Gesù si deve concentrare e rinnovare tutta la realtà creata, che assume nella relazione con Dio Padre un modo d'esistenza dove tutto sarà in Cristo riempito dall'amore di Dio. La comunione con il Dio trino in Cristo Gesù costituisce la destinazione ultima dell'uomo iscritta nella sua natura, un traguardo verso il quale egli implicitamente tende e che esplicitamente raggiunge per mezzo della fede in Gesù Cristo. Non si può diventare pienamente uomini senza essere cristiani. Ogni uomo nel suo essere naturale è cristiano, vale a dire creato per mezzo di Cristo e orientato a Cristo. Per questo vale: "Cristo rimane anche oggi meta assoluta di ogni uomo [...] tutta l'umanità deve riconoscere Cristo e deve farlo nella sua Chiesa" (cfr. p. 119).

Le conseguenze morali dell'impegno del cristiano nel mondo sono per Kajpr del tutto naturali, corrispondenti alla nostra vera natura. È per questo che "da questa destinazione l'uomo non è mai dispensato, non è mai libero di vivere come vuole, di fare ciò che vuole, mai e da nessuna parte [...] non è un'imposizione dei preti, è una legge metafisica..." (cfr. 119).

Kajpr non nutre alcun dubbio che la natura umana realizza il suo naturale cristianesimo soltanto per mezzo di Cristo (Novotný ravvisa

qualche tratto comune con il cristiano anonimo di Rahner). Cristo con la sua grazia non è un'aggiunta soprannaturale all'esistenza umana, che potrebbe realizzarsi anche da se stessa su un livello puramente naturale. Egli è, anzi, l'unico traguardo dell'universo, grazie al quale l'uomo e tutta la realtà esistono e costituiscono perciò l'unica via attraverso cui raggiungere quel traguardo. Se è così non esiste "nessuna comune umanità cristologicamente neutrale dove potrebbe essere realizzata una convivenza umana *etsi Deus non daretur e sine Christo*" (p. 120). Nessun aspetto della vita umana è indipendente da Dio in Cristo Gesù e ognuno deve prendere da Cristo le misure dell'agire. "Con la sua venuta egli ha redento e salvato la vita naturale" (p. 120) colmando la sua apertura verso Dio. Proprio per questo il senso della vita umana naturale dipende paradossalmente dalla sua vita soprannaturale che riceve da Cristo nella sua Chiesa.

Anticipando in un certo modo *Gaudium et spes* 41, Kajpr fonda sull'antropologia cristologica, che vede la natura umana partecipe al mistero di Cristo, la critica di ogni umanesimo ateo. Questi pensieri, che costituiscono il fondamento della visione della società di Kajpr, nascono nel contesto della lotta che Henri de Lubac S.J. conduceva contemporaneamente contro le tesi sulla natura pura e la concezione errata dell'autonomia umana, che con altri fattori aprirono ulteriormente la strada all'umanesimo ateo (cfr. p. 121-124). Kajpr conosceva e condivideva il libro di de Lubac *Drame de l'humanisme athée* (1944). Egli era convinto che il "terrore apocalittico dei campi di concentramento tedeschi" fu la conseguenza di quel pensiero europeo che, tra Ottocento e Novecento, volle fondare la dignità umana "liberando" l'uomo dalla fede, da Dio e dal legame con la Chiesa. Individuò la radice del moderno ateismo nel liberalismo che nel nome della libertà umana cancella Dio o lo riduce a una figurina decorativa, considerando la religione una convinzione privata senza conseguenze per la propria vita, per quella pubblica e per l'ordinamento della società. L'umanesimo positivista, marxista e nietzscheiano rafforzarono questo atteggiamento di indifferenza elevando l'uomo a valore supremo. Gli avvenimenti storici hanno poi tragicamente dimostrato che un simile umanesimo non promuove l'uomo, ma si rivolge contro. Le esperienze storiche hanno messo in luce che l'ateismo del ventesimo secolo non può più considerarsi umanesimo utopico. "Ogni ateismo porta alla stessa fine", ne è ben convinto Kajpr pensando al comunismo (p. 122).

Kajpr non si limitò soltanto a criticare il comunismo. Egli impegnò la rivista *Katolik* a mostrare anche il bene che il comunismo

conteneva, indicandone però i limiti che vengono superati nel cristianesimo. Il gesuita trova l'idea di uguaglianza del comunismo attraente, ma rifiuta l'ateismo che impedisce al comunismo di realizzare quell'ideale e propone un "socialismo cristiano" (p. 125–133). Infatti ritiene che l'idea portante del socialismo e quindi anche del comunismo è presa dalla *cristiana communio*, ridotta però ad un'unica dimensione orizzontale: quella umana. La destinazione della *communio cristiana* è trinitaria e come tale irrealizzabile senza Cristo: "L'uomo è creato per la comunione, ma una comunione in Cristo. Solo in comunione con lui ognuno di noi può pienamente realizzarsi. Quanto più riusciamo a vivere per gli altri tanto più viviamo noi stessi, tanto più diventiamo persone. La comunione cristiana infatti non è una meccanica comunione di numeri, ma di persone create ad immagine del Padre, del Figlio e dello Spirito santo. Se avessimo seriamente realizzato la nostra *communio cristiana*, una fraternità di tutti in Cristo, non avremmo tanto da preoccuparci del comunismo. (Adolf KAJPR, "Communio", *Katolík* 3/1(1946), p. 124).

Kajpr applica il suo pensiero teologico alla realtà concreta. Visto che l'uomo è chiamato alla comunione con Dio trino e con gli uomini, è moralmente vincolante identificarsi con le giuste intenzioni del socialismo: "Socialismo è una questione morale, [...] della responsabilità per l'universo e del suo futuro." (Adolf KAJPR, "Budování socialismu" [Costruzione del socialismo], *Katolík* 8/1(1946), p. 125). È necessario quindi apprezzare il socialismo e il comunismo là dove si impegnano per una giusta condivisione dei beni materiali e dei mezzi di produzione poiché più consoni all'idea cristiana della giustizia sociale che all'egoismo e individualismo capitalista. Risultano quindi scontate l'inclinazione di Kajpr per la sinistra e la simpatia per il socialismo e il comunismo. Il suo atteggiamento era critico solo nei confronti del loro ateismo, teoretico e pratico. Se Kajpr si lasciò ispirare dal socialismo e dal comunismo, fu per indicare che la chiesa aveva dimenticato qualcosa di importante. "Che tragedia che Il Manifesto comunista non fu pubblicato dai vescovi cattolici" sono le parole che pronunciò Josef Zvěřina, noto teologo e collaboratore di Kajpr, facendo il punto della situazione (p. 131). È per questo che il gesuita ceco non rifiutò il dialogo. Egli sostenne che un'incontro vero tra comunismo e cristianesimo sarebbe stato possibile soltanto se il marxismo avesse superato se stesso accettando le verità della fede in Cristo, vale a dire convertendosi: "Il Socialismo per non degenerare in un grande laboratorio coercitivo deve diventare cristiano, inchinarsi davanti a

Cristo: senza di lui non riusciamo a raggiungere nulla. Solo allora si potrà dire che il comunismo è la realizzazione della collettività e fraternità cristiana. Ma a quel punto non si tratterebbe più di comunismo materialista, sarebbe ormai il nucleo di una nascente *communio sanctorum*" (cfr. p. 126).

Kajpr rimase sempre molto cauto e riservato e non si illuse sul vero volto del comunismo reale. Capì immediatamente che l'ateismo comunista sfociava nell'eliminazione dei propri avversari e nella lotta feroce contro la Chiesa. La democrazia è più favorevole all'uomo e alla Chiesa di qualsiasi regime totalitario. L'esperienza della Russia e degli altri paesi lo confermava tanto chiaramente quanto lo sviluppo interno della Cecoslovacchia, ormai avviata verso la dittatura del proletariato di cui Adolf Kajpr S.J. diventò una delle prime vittime.

Il libro di Novotný è diviso in sei parti. Le prime tre (pp. 9-155) comprendono una dettagliata biografia di Kajpr (pp. 9-82), la presentazione della rivista *Katolík* e della sua importanza negli anni 1945-1948 (pp. 83-112) ed infine l'analisi del pensiero sociale di Kajpr (pp. 113-155). La quarta parte (pp. 157-262) raccoglie testimonianze e materiali documentari utili a ripercorrere e a ricostruire la biografia di Kajpr, come il protocollo del processo del 1950 recuperato dall'archivio del Ministero di Giustizia. La quinta parte è dedicata alla bibliografia di Kajpr (pp. 263-291) con i testi da lui pubblicati soprattutto su *Katolík*, ordinati cronologicamente. I testi non pubblicati sono elencati sotto la voce "manoscritti". La sesta parte – divisa in due indici – contiene la bibliografia del periodico *Katolík* per gli anni 1945-1948. Nella prima parte (pp. 266-346) vengono elencati gli indici dei singoli numeri della rivista, nella seconda (pp. 296-346) gli articoli dei singoli autori. Nelle pagine 410-429 si trova la bibliografia utilizzata, suddivisa in fonti archivistiche, fonti a stampa, edizioni dei documenti, periodici e letteratura secondaria. Segue un elenco delle abbreviazioni e un riassunto in ceco e in inglese, nonché una selezione di fotografie dell'epoca (pp. 432-440). Il libro presenta anche alcune fotografie inedite; mancano alcune foto rare che l'autore afferma di avere messo a disposizione dell'editore e che ora possono essere viste in rete (http://cupress.cuni.cz/ink2_stat/index.jsp?include=podrobnosti&id=7848&zalozka=3). Per incomprensibili ragioni editoriali il volume difetta di un indice onomastico che l'autore aveva predisposto, disponibile anche questo in rete (http://cupress.cuni.cz/ink2_stat/dload.jsp?prezMat=31409).

Il lavoro di Novotný è di notevole valore sia per l'abbondante

uso di fonti sia per il rigore con cui sono state utilizzate. Ogni nuova ricerca su Adolf Kajpr non può che trovare nel libro di Novotný il punto di partenza e di riferimento. La stessa bibliografia di *Katolík* per gli anni 1945-1948 presentata da Novotný, ordinata per autori e per contenuto, si rivela uno strumento prezioso e indispensabile per qualsiasi ricerca su quel periodico che ha rappresentato il pensiero degli intellettuali cattolici cechi dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, prima che il comunismo li mettesse a tacere o li costringesse a emigrare. Il libro potrebbe essere considerato un vero manuale se la qualità della rilegatura non lasciasse tanto a desiderare. Felice la scelta del nero e rosso che alludono al cristianesimo estremo di Kajpr *usque ad effusionem sanguinis*.

Quale importanza può assumere la testimonianza di un gesuita, come Adolf Kajpr, nel contesto della storia della Compagnia di Gesù e della Chiesa del ventesimo secolo? Nonostante il libro si concentri sul lavoro di tre soli anni di un singolo gesuita a capo di una rivista non dell'Ordine, questo capitolo di storia della Provincia boema è paradigmatico. Si tratta di uno di quei casi in cui un periodico ha avuto un notevole impatto sull'intera chiesa locale. *Katolík* seppellì il cosiddetto austrocattolicesimo, l'infausto legame tra trono e altare che caratterizzò l'impero austro-ungarico degli Asburgo trasformando la Chiesa nella *longa manus* dello Stato e scatenò una forte avversione nei confronti della Chiesa stessa e della Compagnia. Il solo fatto che un gesuita diventò il portavoce di una nuova epoca e *spiritus movens* attraverso una rivista attorno alla quale si radunò tutta l'*intelligenza* cattolica di un paese, merita attenzione. Ma c'è di più. Kajpr propose una nuova visione del rapporto dei cattolici con il mondo e della Chiesa con la società anticipando il Concilio Vaticano II. Questo avvenne sotto l'influsso della *nouvelle théologie* francese, la cui figura emblematica è un altro gesuita: Henri de Lubac.

Una visione "positiva" della natura umana, della responsabilità del mondo e dell'impegno per la società, comincia soltanto oggi a farsi strada nella patria di Kajpr, dopo vent'anni di dittatura comunista che ha alienato la popolazione dalle cose pubbliche. Appare assurdo che i comunisti cecoslovacchi abbiano eliminato proprio un sacerdote che nutriva per il comunismo una certa simpatia, ispirata dal forte senso che egli aveva per la giustizia sociale. Kajpr diventa perciò anche un richiamo per la *teologia della liberazione* ad analizzare a fondo l'ideologia marxista e non illudersi sulla sua matrice atea.

Jacques HAERS, Hans VAN LEEUWEN, Mark ROTSART y Mary BLICKMAN, *The Lord of Friendship. Friendship, Discernment and Mission in Ignatian Spirituality*, Oxford, Way Books, 2011, pp. £15.00 ISBN: 978-0-904717-303

Publicado como *De Heer van de vriendschap* (Averbode 2006) originalmente y traducido luego al inglés, aquél libro celebró los aniversarios que dan razón más específica de su contenido. Se trataba del 500 aniversario de los nacimientos de Pierre Favre y Francisco Javier y de los 450 años de la muerte de Ignacio de Loyola (p.5). *The Lord of Friendship* contiene una colección de ensayos. La contraportada afirma que estos habrían sido preparados para un seminario tenido en las provincias flamenca y holandesa de la Compañía de Jesús; la introducción inglesa y un artículo de la revista *Cardoner* (final del 2006), en cambio, los atribuyen a un plan elaborado por el consejo editorial con ocasión de los aniversarios.

El tema general de la amistad sirvió para reunir materiales diversos. Hans van Leeuwen y Mary Blickman cuidaron aquella edición, mientras que la actual viene introducida por Paul Nicholson y reconoce la labor de nueve traductores. La organización de los ensayos en tres secciones, en fin, respondería más a una reflexión teológico-espiritual que a una investigación histórica.

La *introducción* quiere presentar la dimensión corporativa como un tema central en la celebración de los aniversarios. La introducción señala la tensión que se esconde entre las experiencias espirituales personales y la conciencia que el Reino se construye en comunión y mediante comunidades. Así, celebra el lugar que la amistad ocupó en el nacimiento de la Compañía, una comunidad a nivel internacional. Presenta a Francisco Javier con un “puente” entre mundos muy diversos, a Favre con un “constructor de puentes,” mediante el diálogo y a Ignacio con un gran “organizador.”

Además de la introducción, *The Lord of Friendship* se compone de catorce contribuciones; están relacionadas más o menos directamente con la amistad. A excepción del segundo artículo, que trata la amistad entre San Bernardo de Claraval y Guillermo de Saint Thierry, el subtítulo, la lista de abreviaturas, las notas y los temas elegidos son distintivamente propios de la espiritualidad ignaciana.

Los artículos van agrupados en torno a estas secciones: Amistad, Discernimiento y Misión. Exploran las relaciones entre estos tres temas para lectores interesados en la renovación de la vida religiosa apostólica. Aunque sus autores son reconocidos especialistas de

la espiritualidad ignaciana, el valor académico de los ensayos es diverso. Nos han parecido más reseñables los artículos de J.M. Rambla, P. Endean, P. Knauer, J. Munitiz, S. Robert y F. Meures.

El primer ensayo, de Rambla, acierta a introducir la cuestión teológica mediante una referencia a los *Ejercicios*. El amor de Dios no es contrario, sino que profundiza en la amistad humana (pp.16, 20). Además, acierta a traer el tema de los aniversarios al siglo XX, ejemplificando su discurso sobre la amistad entre Loyola y Javier y Fravre con la obra de Egide van Broeckhoven, cuyo diario espiritual evidencia la profunda experiencia trinitaria en torno a la amistad cristiana del autor.

El ensayo de Endean toma por punto de partida una hermosa poesía de san Robert Southwell y presenta la amistad con Cristo ("To love Him, life; to leave Him, death; to live in Him, delight"). Enseguida añade que aún ignoramos muchas cosas acerca de cómo los jesuitas británicos preservaron su identidad, misión común y modo de vida, en medio de un apostolado en la clandestinidad. Su amistad con aquellos compañeros en libertad jugó un importante papel, como también lo jugó para en Alfred Delp, en el siglo XX. En la segunda parte, Endean rompe con el esquematismo de los otros autores en la sección "Amistad." Se pregunta ¿cómo entender la relación de obediencia hoy? (pp. 52-55). Endean estudia algunos rasgos propios de la amistad, que deberían caracterizar al superior religioso en la Compañía de Jesús. Profundiza en la relación a establecer entre quien envía y quien es enviado. Algunos elementos teologales de esta relación aparecen en la práctica de la manifestación de conciencia y en el hecho de que esta relación tiende a mantenerse en forma de apoyo a la misión, a diferencia de las relaciones ministeriales.

Munitiz ha elegido otra fuente documental: el *Memorial* de L. Gonçalves da Câmara (1519-1575). En su texto, estudia el modo de gobierno de Ignacio. Después de apreciar críticamente la fuente, su autor y al mismo Ignacio, llega a señalar algunos rasgos del sentido del humor ignaciano. Algunos fragmentos tomados de esta fuente enriquecen la lectura. Munitiz identifica algunos rasgos del modo ignaciano, fundamentalmente monárquico, aunque mejorado con elementos democráticos. Estudia el discernimiento, el uso de consultores, la dinámica de las sesiones consultivas, etc. Señala también cómo algunas pequeñas prácticas (el modo de gobierno y el respecto y amor mutuo a la base del mismo) serían de una repercusión inestimable con el pasar de los años. Algo que contrasta con otras decisiones ignacianas, como la misión a Etiopía e Irlanda

o las deliberaciones sobre la pobreza de las sacristías, que quizá dejaron una huella menor.

Robert elige el texto de los *Ejercicios* y se pone la pregunta por la conexión existente entre la cristología en ellos y el discernimiento. La aproximación formal-literal al texto viene luego seguida por otra más original ("la Segunda Semana es como un tapiz tejido cuidadosamente con dos hilos") (p. 122), desembocando en el tema de la amistad solo al final ("como unos amigos suelen consolar a otros" [Ej 224]).

P. Knauer y F. Meuresse ocupan de un documento ignaciano menos estudiado desde el prisma de la amistad: las *Constituciones*. Knauer hace un estudio detallado de lo que éstas afirman, deteniéndose a considerar la figura del Colateral (ya desaparecida, pero aún presente en el texto) como un locus para el estudio de las relaciones ignacianas. Más original, Meures estudia el discernimiento en un artículo que empieza por reconocer que las *Constituciones* usan este término raramente. En seguida, Meures analiza lo que sí afirman: el deseo que busca la mayor cercanía de Dios (análisis del uso de los adjetivos comparativos; itinerario espiritual hacia Dios) y los lugares donde el Espíritu se vislumbra (análisis de las expresiones "en el Señor," "la ley interna de la caridad"). Donde aparentemente faltan las consolaciones y desolaciones distintivas de *Ejercicios*, Meures afirma que se puede seguir aplicando el discernimiento. Lo hace a través de los "actos del entendimiento" y de los "actos de la voluntad" y distingue tres ámbitos de atención (las relaciones con Dios, con el medio circunstante y con las mociones internas personales) a dos niveles (personal y grupal).

En realidad, aunque la traducción inglesa llegue con retraso respecto a los aniversarios, pone a la disposición de muchos más lectores estos valiosos ensayos de teología espiritual ignaciana. Todavía, los ensayos de P. H. Kolvenbach, M. Maier, P. Knauer, J. O'Malley y Agnes Kim Mi-Jeung ya estaban disponibles en versión original o traducidos a finales del 2006 o poco después. La introducción, en fin, anuncia dos puntos débiles del libro: no declara una coordinación en el desarrollo de los ensayos y presenta un relativo déficit teológico, puesto que en relación al título trata menos del "Lord" y más de la "friendship."

Claudio FERLAN (a cura di), *Eusebio Francesco Chini e il suo tempo. Una riflessione storica*, Trento, FBK Press, 2012, pp. 164, € 13.50, ISBN 978-88-907711-1-8.

Il gesuita Eusebio Francesco Chini - o Kino, come lui stesso aveva trasformato il suo nome in America per evitare storpiature e fraintendimenti - (Segno 1645 - Magdalena de Chino 1711) è un'interessante figura di missionario che operò nei territori della Nuova Spagna, in particolare nella Bassa California e in Messico, negli ultimi decenni del secolo XVII. Vero "uomo di frontiera", fu animato da una grande passione per la ricerca di vie nuove del Vangelo e per la promozione dei diritti dell'uomo.

Herbert E. Bolton descrive la grandezza di questo missionario con queste parole: "I gesuiti imprimono in alto il nome di Chini nella lunga lista degli apostoli dell'evangelizzazione americana. I cowboy del Sud-Ovest rimangono stupefatti e quasi scettici davanti alle sue ben verificate abilità di cavalcare. I geografi diffondono la sua fama d'esploratore e cartografo. L'Italia lo saluta come un nobile figlio anche se quasi dimenticato. La Germania è orgogliosa d'essere stata l'inimitabile precettore del gesuita. La Spagna lo indica come uno dei più poderosi costruttori del proprio impero coloniale. Il Messico saluta la sua memoria come gran pioniere della sua vasta e storica Costa Ovest. La California lo loda come l'ispiratore del gesuita Padre Salvatierra, il suo primo famoso colonizzatore. L'Arizona lo riverisce come il suo più prodigioso ed esemplare pioniere".

Il Chini è una figura complessa e multiforme che ha operato su molti campi. Nel gennaio 1961, la 25ª Legislatura dello Stato dell'Arizona (USA) chiese al Congresso degli Stati Uniti d'America di accettare la candidatura per la seconda statua dell'Arizona nella National Statuary Hall (il Famedio Nazionale) del Campidoglio di Washington, proponendo il "Venerabile Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino S.J., missionario pioniere, esploratore e cartografo". E così una sua statua, come rappresentante, cioè Padre fondatore, dello Stato dell'Arizona, venne posta nel Famedio Nazionale tra i «Grandi d'America», il 14 febbraio 1965.

Ma è anche una figura circondata da un alone di santità. Il 25 maggio 1971, nella cattedrale di Hermosillo, l'arcivescovo mons. Navarrete iniziò il processo diocesano informativo per la sua causa di beatificazione e canonizzazione. Il 7 febbraio 1998, la Santa Sede concesse il nullaosta per l'apertura della sua causa di beatificazione. Nella primavera del 2002, infine, si concluse a Hermosillo l'inchiesta

diocesana suppletiva per la ricerca negli archivi di qualsiasi documento relativo alla persona e all'attività del missionario e per la raccolta d'altri testi in merito alla dimostrazione della sua fama di santità.

Con queste premesse si capisce meglio l'interesse che si è sviluppato ai nostri giorni attorno a questa figura, grazie anche all'azione dell'Associazione Culturale che porta il suo nome e che è attiva a Segno, in Val di Non, suo paese natale.

Il volume che presentiamo: *Eusebio Francesco Chini e il suo tempo. Una riflessione storica*, curato da Claudio Ferlan, riporta gli atti del convegno che si è tenuto a Trento il 10 novembre 2011 organizzato dalla Fondazione Bruno Kessler e dall'Associazione Culturale Eusebio Francesco Chini, con il contributo dell'Assessorato alla Cultura, Rapporti Europei e Cooperazione della Provincia Autonoma di Trento. I vari contributi analizzano i diversi aspetti dell'opera di Padre Chini.

L'obiettivo della giornata di studi di Trento, come scrive Claudio Ferlan nell'*Introduzione*, "era quello di prospettare delle ricerche che potessero dare un contributo nuovo alla conoscenza del missionario trentino" e nello stesso tempo "stimolare gli studiosi ad approfondire le proprie ricerche avvalendosi anche degli spunti sorti dalle discussioni e dalle curiosità venute alla luce nel corso dei lavori".

Il primo contributo è quello del prof. Francesco Micelli che approfondisce *le conquiste spirituali e temporali di Eusebio Francesco Chini*, rievocando la traversata dell'oceano "come esercizio spirituale", tra pericoli, fiducia nella Provvidenza divina e studio della cartografia per il rilevamento delle latitudini. E poi la sua attività missionaria nella Pimeria Alta, accompagnata dai rilevamenti scientifici che gli permettono di redigere ben 32 preziose carte geografiche, ammirate dagli europei e dal Padre messe al servizio dei nativi, dei missionari, dei coloni e dei governanti spagnoli. "L'azione missionaria del Chini comprende il momento spirituale della predicazione e il momento materiale dell'organizzazione dei territori esplorati".

Interessante l'intervento di Claudio Ferlan sulle *Litterae indipetae* nella Compagnia di Gesù, cioè le lettere che i giovani gesuiti ancora in formazione scrivevano al Padre Generale dell'Ordine per essere inviati in missione. E anche il Chini scrisse le sue lettere, nelle quali si diceva "disposto a stare dovunque il Generale volesse collocarlo, di attendere tranquillamente la decisione qualunque fosse il tempo necessario, di presentare la propria candidatura

lasciando, con umiltà e fiducia, che il Generale deliberasse per il meglio". L'autore ne approfitta anche per parlare delle origini della coscienza missionaria nella Compagnia di Gesù.

L'ambiente della formazione spirituale, culturale e intellettuale del Chini e la fisionomia dell'ambiente religioso ed ecclesiastico in cui visse e si trovò ad interagire, è analizzata dal prof. Paolo Broggio nel suo intervento: *L'universo missionario di Eusebio Francesco Chini tra Europa e Nuovi Mondi*.

Un capitolo particolare è dedicato alla *nuova luce sulle relazioni tra la sede Apostolica e le Americhe* nell'intervento di Benedetta Albani. Serena Luzzi si sofferma invece su il gesuita, la guerra, gli Apaches, cioè sul ruolo diplomatico di Chini nella complessa relazione di pace e di guerra dei conquistatori spagnoli con le popolazioni indigene.

L'ultimo capitolo è dedicato a: *l'uomo Chini* e al suo percorso formativo. "E' necessario contestualizzare Padre Chini nel suo tempo, scrive l'autore, perché si possa intendere adeguatamente e valutare rettamente le sue opere e i suoi giorni. Sarebbe infatti impossibile inquadrarne la figura e l'attività senza una riflessione sulla società e sulla cultura del suo tempo e senza una ricerca delle fonti e della vitalità ed efficacia della sua attività apostolica e della sua incidenza storica". Autore di questa relazione è il missionario saveriano P. Domenico Calarco, che sta anche portando avanti la causa di beatificazione del Chini.

Abbiamo quindi in quest'opera un vasto panorama dell'attività di Padre Chini, dell'ambiente in cui si trovò a lavorare e degli uomini con cui dovette continuamente relazionarsi. Il tutto è arricchito da un vasto patrimonio di note e riferimenti bibliografici.

Roma

Giuseppe Bellucci S.J.

Patricia M RANUM (ed.), *Beginning to be a Jesuit: Instructions for the Paris Novitiate circa 1685*. St. Louis, MO, Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2011; pp. 239, \$ 36.95, ISBN 978-1-880810-76-7.

Patricia M. Ranum es una historiadora de la cultura. Sus publicaciones la acreditan por haber dado a conocer textos inéditos de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII francés. Este libro transcribe, traduce, presenta y anota para los lectores las *Instructions pour le Novitiat*. Se trata del Manuscrito 1793 conservado en la Bibliothèque Mazarin de Paris y datado hacia 1685.

Este documento bien merece la corriente edición porque acerca al lector del siglo XXI al modo de vida y a las prácticas disciplinarias y devocionales mediante las cuales la Compañía de Jesús instituyó sus novicios en París, precisamente durante el periodo de la hegemonía Francesa (*Le Grand Siécle*). Las Instrucciones organizaban el tiempo y el espacio de los novicios desarrollando lo previsto por las *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*. También declaraban las actitudes internas que los novicios debían fomentar. Las *Instrucciones* fijaron por escrito, en realidad, prácticas que luego de la apertura de este noviciado en Rue de Mézières (c. 1610) sentarían el fundamento espiritual de la vida diaria para centenares de jesuitas.

El ensayo introductorio y la declaración de los principios de edición seguidos por la autora preparan a la lectura de las *Instrucciones*. Sigue luego el texto de éstas: Una nota breve precede las 34 instrucciones propiamente dichas. Aparecen en versión original y traducción en textos enfrentados (respectivamente, francés del siglo XVII, pp. 44-204 / traducción al inglés de hoy, pp. 45-205). Completan esta edición un índice de los planos y otras ilustraciones que familiarizan al lector con el edificio del noviciado y el deambular de los novicios, dos apéndices, una bibliografía clasificada por fuentes archivísticas, primarias y secundarias, y el *Index* de términos más frecuentemente repetidos (pp. 225-239).

Además del texto mismo, la pieza más importante es el ensayo, donde Ranum presenta los resultados de su investigación (pp. 1-39). Demuestra una gran capacidad inquisitiva -casi detectivesca-, que ha permitido reconstruir rasgos bien interesantes del modo de vida en aquella micro-sociedad dentro de la sociedad parisina. Así por ejemplo, estudia los movimientos deambulatorios, los itinerarios de acceso, de paso, etc. De la combinación del estudio de los horarios y la distribución de las habitaciones y lugares asociados, reconstruye los movimientos y hasta el silencio (o la falta del mismo!!), o deduce la localización estratégica de quienes controlaban horarios y movimientos, la importancia del calzado, etc. Otro ejemplo, la autora estudia las palabras más novedosas, su alejamiento progresivo del uso latino o del francés vulgar o del italiano, por causa de las lecturas.

La autora también estudia la estructura organizativa o explica la transmisión de “conductas cívicas” dentro de ella, sea en las relaciones entre compañeros novicios, o en las relaciones de estos con los superiores y laicos que frecuentaban (externos al noviciado), etc. En cuanto a la estructura el ensayo presenta una

sociedad altamente organizada. Tocaba al rector dirigir toda la institución en el noviciado, a la vez que desempeñaba el papel de Maestro de novicios. A su lado, el *ministro* estaba encargado de los asuntos materiales; el *admonitor*, en cambio, supervisaba el cumplimiento de las *Instrucciones*; el *manoductor* supervisaba que los horarios eran observados; el *despensero* además de las provisiones se ocupaba de las herramientas; otros oficios velaban por la manutención, la limpieza o el decoro en el vestido, etc. Este interés en el dato material y mensurable llega a considerar detalles como el uso de la ropa íntima o el número de externos que se retiraban a las habitaciones que el Noviciado tenía disponibles para hacer Ejercicios (por cierto, multiplicado por diez entre 1682-88). La investigadora también llega a percibir un fuerte *esprit de corps*, pero no desarrolla este punto.

El primero de los apéndices trata del ejercicio retórico de los "Tonos". El segundo apéndice es un ensayo complementario. Su autor es otro distinguido historiador, Orest Ranum. Explica la calidad distintivamente cívica, respetuosa, cortés y caritativa de las relaciones humanas en el noviciado. Muestra que esta "cortesía" ("un cuerpo cuyos miembros se regían por reglas propias") obedecía a una apropiación fundamentada en la experiencia, a ciertas reglas y convicciones distintivas de esta sociedad. De la lectura de las instrucciones se deduce, de hecho, que al proceso de experimentación inicial, siguió una mejora y, después de siete décadas, se llegó a la institucionalización de algunas prácticas, las más idóneas al fin formativo. Los ejemplos que Orest Ramus presenta sugieren una distanciamiento de las conductas cívicas al uso (en la corte de París, por ejemplo).

La instrucción 28 está más dedicada a temas espirituales. Desde nuestro propio interés, en síntesis, reconocemos un triple fundamento a la espiritualidad aquí presentada: el orden, la absolución de "deberes" y el control. Por cuanto toca al orden, los días estaban clasificados como días de fiesta, de descanso y ordinarios. El día comenzaba a las 04:00 hrs (los días de descanso a las 05:00) y estaba minuciosamente ordenado por horas y actividades. Los novicios disponían de pocos y muy breves ratos libres. Debían solicitar permisos para casi toda actividad que se salía de este orden.

Entre todos los deberes, los novicios debían dedicarse a las actividades espirituales. Entre éstas, más frecuentes eran el Examen de faltas y la oración con las letanías, la devoción a santa María y las visitas al Santísimo Sacramento reservado en la capilla (hasta

cinco veces al día). Un principio operativo en las instrucciones sobre la oración promovía la reverencia como sustitutivo de la devoción, sobre todo si la sequedad espiritual era involuntaria: “a quienes hacen lo que pueden, Dios da la gracia de llegar a hacer lo que no pueden” (63). También el descanso (recreación) y la lectura eran considerados actividades espirituales obligatorias.

Por cuanto toca al control, este se ejercía sobre el silencio, sobre las maneras y, notablemente, sobre la mirada. Interpretaban las Reglas de la Modestia, aprobadas por Ignacio de Loyola y olvidadas en nuestros días. Algunas instrucciones servían a controlar los deseos propios en virtud del modo de proceder común. Detallaban el qué y cómo hacer, pero muy frecuentemente se omitía el porqué. Notamos que la palabra ‘discernimiento’ está ausente del *Index* final y probablemente también de la práctica. Tan importantes resultan otras ausencias en este vocabulario. Entre las más notables, no encontramos ‘contemplación’ ni ‘Espíritu Santo’. Esta tendencia a un cierto automatismo queda manifiesta en el modo como los novicios debían ayudar al sacerdote en las rutinas de la misa: no encontramos ni sombra de explicación teológica, etc. El control también se ejercía en la edificación que los novicios más veteranos debían dar a sus compañeros recién entrados. En particular, no sólo las reglas de comportamiento y modestia en los modos, también las conversaciones ocupaban un lugar clave en esta edificación.

Sorprenderá al lector que la espiritualidad de los Ejercicios espirituales, como practicada hoy, no se trasluzca tan directamente como cabría esperar. En realidad, las instrucciones sobre la oración eran de naturaleza práctica y se ocupaban de la meditación y oraciones particulares. Los novicios vivían más según las Reglas que según las *Constituciones*. Entre los Maestros espirituales que el texto reconoce e influenciaban la institución espiritual de aquel noviciado, encontramos a Nicola Avancini, Luis de la Puente, Alonso Rodríguez y la biografía que J.-B. Saint-Jure escribió sobre G. de Renty (1651).

El interés detectivesco por los detalles, sin embargo, no llega a explicar aquel modo de vida. Podemos aprender la irradiación que el noviciado pudo tener en niños y adultos como Étienne Charpentier, que primero frecuentaron la catequesis y luego durante años los servicios litúrgicos en la iglesia del noviciado. Pero esta historia de *lo que hacían* los novicios, no resuelve la cuestión del *por qué lo hacían*, o cómo no debían hacerlo y porqué. En esto nos hemos quedado menos satisfechos. Ranum no plantea

la motivación que llevó a aquellos hombres a someterse a esta disciplina. Tampoco se pregunta por el lugar que Jesucristo jugaba en aquellas vidas o el lugar reservado a Ignacio de Loyola y sus primeros compañeros o el que los Ejercicios ocupaban en aquella economía.

Pontificia Università Gregoriana

Carlos Coupeau S.J.

Congresses/Exhibitions

Seminario Internazionale “Papato, ordini religiosi e politica internazionale in età moderna”. Teramo, 13-14 settembre 2012.

Durante los días 13 y 14 de septiembre de 2012 se celebró en la Universidad de Teramo el Seminario Internacional “Papato, ordini religiosi e politica internazionale in età moderna”, organizado por el Prof. Massimo Carlo Giannini, en colaboración con el Prof. Francesco Benigno (Universidad de Téramo) y la Prof^a. M^a Antonietta Visceglia (Universidad de Roma, La Sapienza), en el marco del Progetto PRIN: “Italianità e universalità nella politica internazionale del Papato”. Este encuentro es el segundo que se celebra de una serie de seminarios sobre el Papado que comenzó en junio con el congreso “La politica internazionale del Papato nella prima Età Moderna. Spazi e uomini” dirigido por la Prof^a. Visceglia, y que tendrá continuidad en futuras reuniones científicas que ya comienzan a proyectarse.

Siempre tomando como referencia el Papado, se trató de analizar el papel que jugaron las órdenes religiosas en la política internacional de los Pontífices, y las contradicciones y problemas con los que éstos regulares se encontraron a la hora de tener que valorar; por un lado, la fidelidad que debían al Papado como cabeza visible de la Iglesia, y por otro, la obediencia que los monarcas europeos exigían a estos religiosos como súbditos de sus territorios. A menudo, esta encrucijada determinó la identidad de las órdenes religiosas, orientándolas hacia unos objetivos y una determinada espiritualidad, dependiendo de la institución superior a la que obedecieron. Órdenes religiosas tan importantes para la Historia del Papado y de las distintas Monarquías como los franciscanos, dominicos, jesuitas, capuchinos, carmelitas, agustinos, etc., fueron objeto de análisis durante los días que duró este Seminario.

Durante la primera sesión, celebrada el día 14 de septiembre, se puso atención en la intervención de las órdenes religiosas en la política y religión de las Monarquías europeas occidentales; principalmente la española y la francesa. Comenzó su exposición la Dra. Esther Jiménez (Instituto Universitario “La Corte en Europa” de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) que explicó los inicios de la Compañía de Jesús y su dependencia del Papado. Esta fidelidad al Pontífice, le supuso a la Compañía una dura persecución inquisitorial dirigida por las altas esferas del gobierno de la Monarquía Hispánica. No obstante, tras la renovación de la Compañía

efectuado por los generales Mercuriano y Aquaviva, el siglo XVII se presentó para esta Orden, como el siglo de la “conquista espiritual” de la Compañía extendiéndose por todo el Orbe bajo las directrices del Papado.

La ponencia del Prof. Boris Jeanne (École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris) versó sobre la lucha de poder entre la Monarquía hispana y el Papado por el control político y religioso de las colonias americanas, analizado a través de la evolución histórica de los franciscanos en México. Con gran claridad expuso los diferentes periodos y los problemas que se sucedieron en cada uno: 1454-1568 fue el periodo en el que la corona hispana eclipsó al Papado a la hora de la conquista de América y de convertir al cristianismo a los indígenas. Entre 1568 y 1594, los Pontífices se plantearon recuperar el control espiritual de las colonias a través de una política internacional más eficaz. De 1594 a 1622, el Prof. Jeanne considera que fueron los años en los que el Papado consiguió instrumentalizar a las órdenes religiosas, en este caso a los franciscanos, a través de la creación de la Congregación de Propaganda Fide, para recuperar así, como ocurrió, la dirección espiritual de las colonias.

A continuación, el Prof. Benoist Pierre (Université François Rabelais, Tours) analizó la complicada situación por la que atravesaron las órdenes religiosas durante el periodo de las Guerras de Religión en Francia, y su grado de implicación en dichas guerras, ante un Papado y un soberano francés enfrentados. Existían serias dificultades a la hora de conciliar las actuaciones individuales de los religiosos, al mismo tiempo que debían actuar acorde al común de la Orden. El Prof. Pierre analizó cada una de estas opciones y los problemas confesionales que los soberanos franceses plantearon a estos religiosos por exigirles fidelidad a la corona durante esta etapa tan tumultuosa de la historia de Francia. De esta manera, durante los años tensos en los que se desarrollaron las Guerras de Religión (1562-1598), el Prof. Pierre distingue los diferentes problemas que surgieron: entre miembros de distintas órdenes religiosas, entre religiosos de una misma Orden y las dificultades dependiendo del estatus de cada religioso.

Por su parte, el Prof. Massimo Carlo Giannini (Università degli Studi di Teramo) analizó el cisma que se produjo en la Orden de los dominicos, en octubre de 1642, durante el capítulo general de la Orden que tuvo lugar en Génova, con el agravante de que, meses antes, el maestro general de la Orden Niccolò Ridolfi había sido puesto en prisión por orden del Pontífice Urbano VIII. Así, una

parte de los religiosos reunidos para la elección, vieron en el relevo de Ridolfi el momento perfecto para que saliera elegido Michele Mazzarino, hermano del cardenal Giulio. La otra parte, los que apoyaban a Ridolfi, junto con los capitulares españoles, eligieron a otro general, Tomás de Rocamora, definidor de la provincia de Aragón. Ante este episodio, colmado de intereses políticos, el Prof. Giannini da mayor luz a las distintas facciones en el seno de la orden dominica y la influencia que tanto el Papado como las Monarquías española y francesa ejercían sobre esta Orden.

La ponencia del Prof. Ignasi Fernández Terricabras (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona) se centró en la actuación de las órdenes religiosas durante la revuelta catalana (1640-1659). El Prof. Fernández dividió su exposición en diversas ideas claves para comprender en detalle este complejo proceso. En primer lugar, habría que tener en cuenta la supuesta “neutralidad” de Urbano VIII en el conflicto catalán con la corona. Después, explicó cada uno de los objetivos de las jerarquías regulares: mantener el control de los miembros de las órdenes que gobiernan; tomar o no partido en el conflicto, dependiendo de los intereses particulares de cada Orden; rectificar las fronteras de las provincias debido acorde a los interés franceses o españoles; y mantener la unidad de la Orden durante y después de la revuelta.

En el momento de la *Discussione*, el Prof. Alexander Koller (Deutsches Historische Institut, Roma), el Prof. Flavio Rurale (Università degli Studi di Udine) y la Prof^a. M^a Antonietta Visceglia (Università degli Studi di Roma, La Sapienza), centraron sus sugerencias en las principales ideas que se habían expuesto durante la sesión, tales como: las órdenes religiosas como defensoras de la ideología de Roma, como estrechas colaboradoras del gobierno de los príncipes para uniformar la religiosidad de sus territorios, y los conflictos que derivaban de la instrumentalización de las órdenes por parte de Pontífices y príncipes católicos.

Al día siguiente, durante la segunda sesión, se prestó atención al papel que tuvieron las órdenes religiosas en distintos estados de Europa central y oriental como Bohemia, Moravia, Bosnia, Polonia, etc.

Abrió la sesión el Prof. Tomáš Parma (Palacký University, Olomouc), quien destacó la importancia de las órdenes religiosas en la reconquista católica de Bohemia y Moravia. Para ambos territorios, la llegada de la Compañía de Jesús supuso un cambio en la vida religiosa, en la educación, en la forma de entender la obediencia y la espiritualidad. Fue el emperador Fernando II quien, bajo el consejo

de su confesor jesuita Lamormaine, decidió apoyarse en los jesuitas para unificar bajo una misma confesión, la católica, la diversidad de confesiones que conformaban el Imperio. La Compañía respondió favorablemente a la llamada del Emperador, fundando toda una red de colegios establecidos por Bohemia y Moravia. Los jesuitas fueron capaces, ya durante el siglo XVII, de crear una cultura checa católica, con su historia, literatura, arquitectura, siempre dependiente del catolicismo de Roma. No obstante, este monopolio jesuita no fue bien visto por las altas esferas eclesiásticas como el cardenal Harrach, quien mantuvo una dura controversia con los jesuitas acerca del control de la Universidad de Praga que duró de 1624 a 1654.

El Prof. Antal Molnár (Római Magyar Akadémia) analizó el proceso de confesionalización de los Balcanes a través del caso concreto de la provincia franciscana de Bosnia. Su explicación abarcó un extenso periodo; desde la llegada de los franciscanos en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV, pasando por las dificultades que tuvieron ante el Imperio Otomano, y tras la gran guerra turca (1683-1699) que destruyó sus monasterios. De esta manera, la interpretación del Prof. Molnár le permite afirmar que los franciscanos fueron la Orden religiosa que mejor representó los intereses e ideología del Papado y que más se empeñó en imponer el confesionalismo católico en la historia moderna de Bosnia.

Durante la *Discussione*, el Prof. Stefano Andretta (Università di Roma Tre), el Prof. José Martínez Millán (Instituto Universitario La Corte en Europa de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), el Prof. Giovanni Pizzorusso (Università di Chieti-Pescara) y el Prof. Filippo Lovison (Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma) pusieron énfasis en la importancia de las órdenes religiosas para los planes universalistas de los Pontífices, siendo la creación de la Congregación de Propaganda Fide (1622) y su control sobre las misiones, uno de los hitos que permitió al Papado la expansión de su ideología religiosa por todo el mundo y la recuperación del control religioso sobre territorios que, hasta ese momento, eran controlados política y religiosamente por los monarcas europeos.

Clausuró el congreso el Prof. Simon Ditchfield (University of York), quien realizó una magnífica exposición que resumía la importancia de las Órdenes religiosas para los proyectos universalistas de los Pontífices y particulares de los príncipes católicos.

Por último, es preciso destacar la buena organización del Seminario que realizó el Prof. Giannini, y la variedad de territorios que fueron objeto de interés para este encuentro, dado su marcado

carácter internacional. Además se buscó el análisis de distintas órdenes religiosas, lo que permitió abstraer un panorama general del papel que estos regulares tuvieron durante los siglos XVI-XVIII.

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Esther Jiménez Pablo

2012: the “Year of Piotr Skarga S.J.” (1536-1612) in Poland.

There are many reasons why Piotr Skarga S.J. (1536-1612) has an assured place in the history and the culture of Poland. Known by entire generations of Poles as a writer of sermons and of popular lives of saints, for many years he also held the responsible position of court preacher. Although famous, this Jesuit may be less known as organizer, teacher and rector of several colleges, among them the Academy of Vilnius of which he was a rector. The four hundredth anniversary of his death (September 27, 2012) inspired the Parliament of the Republic of Poland to adopt a resolution establishing 2012 the “Year of Piotr Skarga”.

The purpose of this jubilee year was to recall not only what is already well known about him, e.gr. his ideas on state and nation, his vision of patriotism or his involvement in public life, but also his achievements in the field of education and charity, as well as his success as a writer. The Polish Jesuits, who found themselves chiefly responsible for the jubilee celebrations, stressed the ideas preached by Skarga four centuries ago and the need to update them in how the Church is present today in public life. Skarga deserves not only to be remembered with respect; he should inspire contemporary Jesuits in their pastoral and social activities.

Solemn liturgical celebrations were held in Grójec (the town where Skarga was born), in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Cracow (the place of his burial), and in the Jesuit churches in Warsaw and Toruń. Conferences and other academic events were organized by several academic centers, both civil and ecclesiastical: the Jesuit Academy *Ignatianum* in Cracow, the Pontifical Faculty of Theology and the University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński in Warsaw, the universities of Warsaw, Toruń, Bydgoszcz, Łódź, Szczecin and the Academy in Pułtusk. Competitions and meetings for children and teenagers were organized in Rzeszów, Nowy Sącz, Cracow, Warsaw, Olkusz and Pułtusk. The year also inspired artistic events – concerts and recitation of texts of Skarga – organized together with other conferences which took place in Cracow, Warsaw,

Poznań, Bydgoszcz, Kłodzko, but also in small towns including Rożyńsk Wielki in the region of Mazury. A special exhibition about Skarga's life and achievements was organized in Toruń by the university library. Many other local initiatives took place elsewhere. Some projects were undertaken, such as a new edition of Skarga's selected writings prepared by the WAM publishing house in Cracow. Furthermore an interesting documentary was produced by Polish television, while occasional programs were broadcast by Polish radio from Warsaw and Cracow. A special web page was created listing the events of the jubilee year (www.skargapiotr.pl). Ecclesiastical and other entities were involved in these initiatives.

The royal preacher appears in the historiography as a strong personality. A native of Mazowsze, and one of the first Polish Jesuits, he was without doubt a man of his epoch. He lived and worked in the main political and cultural centers of his country, which at that time included not only Warsaw and Cracow, but also Lviv and Vilnius. In his mission he tried to reach the hearts and consciousness of people in order to fight what was bad, proposing solutions inspired by Christian and civic values. Thus his moralizing style had a particular didactic goal, namely to propagate living the faith seriously, not to escape the problems of the world, but to face them with courage. The famous Jesuit used to say that "the life of each Christian entails being a soldier". The ideal of the Christian soldier, today out of favor, was alive and popular not only in the time of Skarga. Since he preached ideals which united faith with courageous and almost heroic patriotism, he could not have been appreciated by those who lived comfortable and quiet lives protected by their position and wealth.

In regard to conferences and academic lectures dedicated to Skarga, their aim was to show many aspects of his personality and his actions, evaluated from the perspective of four centuries. The Jesuit Province of North Poland was co-organizer of three such events in Toruń and in Warsaw.

The series of conferences in Toruń was a joint initiative of the university and of the Jesuits from that city. Mikołaj Kopernik University, drawing on the traditions of the University of Stefan Batory in Vilnius, had special reason to celebrate: Skarga was the first rector of the Jesuit Vilnius Academy. On February 5, 2012 the "Year of Skarga" opened in the Jesuit academic Church of the Holy Spirit with a solemn Mass. Then Paweł Kowalski, an actor from Toruń's Wilam Horzyca Theatre, interpreted one of the "Parliament Sermons" by Skarga. Wearing the Jesuit cassock, the actor spoke

from the pulpit in the church, which made a visual impression on the public. The second part of the evening was a lecture by Robert Danieluk S.J. from the Roman Jesuit Archives, who spoke on "Jesuit inspirations of Piotr Skarga".

Other monthly sessions of this program followed. Some were hosted by the university, and others by the Jesuit pastoral center for students, with a variety of themes.

Kazimierz Maliszewski, historian, introduced Skarga as promoter of the spiritual and cultural renewal of the Polish nobility and the state system. The negative attitude of the famous preacher towards the Reformation was raised during the discussion that followed. As Professor Maliszewski underlined, at that time tolerance did not mean absence of tension and confrontation among the Christians of various confessions. Indeed, there were many conflicts between them and the language in which they were expressed was sharp. Nevertheless Poland did not have religious wars, and if it is true that Skarga did not like Protestants, he tolerated them saying that "the heresy is bad, but the people are good", thus any bloodshed in the country could never be justified.

The third session was dedicated to the famous painting by Jan Matejko from 1864 representing the preaching of Piotr Skarga, at present preserved in the National Museum in Warsaw. Zofia Mocarska-Tyc, specialist in art- and culture history summarized the artistic treatment of Skarga by Matejko. The Jesuit is represented as an inspired preacher defying Polish vices and sins.

In other talks from the same series, Jan Perszon, theologian, proposed a reconstruction of Skarga's vision of the Church based on his writings. This theme is pertinent and controversial, since today the teaching of Skarga is questioned, especially in the context of contemporary ecumenical efforts. Therefore it is necessary never to ignore the historical-theological background of the ideas of the king's preacher. Skarga used the categories of his time and drew on the monarchic model of the Church as offered by the Council of Trent. He had no doubt that the truth was to be found within the Roman Church. It is true that the post Vatican II context is far from that ecclesiology, but what remains pertinent even today from the personality of the famous Jesuit is his outstanding zeal and courage in serving the Church, and his conviction that to be Catholic is a privilege and dignity.

The last lecture in the Toruń program was delivered by the historian Wojciech Polak. He offered a reading of Skarga in the context of present-day Poland. Stigmatizing the vices of Polish

society at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Jesuit was warning against political chaos, which later led to the loss of the country's independence. Today our country enjoys relative peace and safety, yet – according to Professor Polak – Skarga's warning against naivety and short-sightedness remains pertinent.

On November 16-17, 2012 two academic conferences took place in Warsaw. One was organized by the History Faculty of Warsaw University, the other by the Pontifical Faculty of Theology of the same city. Both institutions cooperated in the preparation of the event and also in the forthcoming publication of the proceedings which will appear in one of the next issues of the periodical *Studia Bobolanum*. The same periodical shall also publish the texts of the Toruń conferences.

The speakers in Warsaw treated many themes. Andrzej Paweł Bieś S.J. presented the historical background of Jesuit activity in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Dariusz Kuźmina recalled that Skarga had a real talent for convincing people and organizing new activities, expressed in preaching and founding new colleges. Using contemporary language we would say that he was an excellent manager who contributed much to the development of the Jesuit enterprises in the country. Marek Inglot S.J. confirmed this logistic ability of Skarga in the field of education, in conformity to what was one of the main forms of the Society's apostolate.

Skarga's achievements as writer and preacher were discussed by Jan Dziegielewski and Mirosław Nagielski who focused especially on what concerned the functioning and defense of the country, while Radosław Lolo summarized the famous Jesuit's ideas on relations between the state and the confessional groups, showing how religion and the law of God were for Skarga the foundation of the state.

Some speakers, namely Marzena Liedke and Janusz Maciuszko, addressed the theme of Skarga's attitude towards non-Catholics and the way he was perceived by the Protestants and the Orthodox.

Rajmund Porada analyzed the "problem of Skarga" from the perspective of contemporary ecumenical and interreligious dialogue. On the same topic, Zbigniew Kubacki S.J. recalled that Skarga followed the ideas of Robert Bellarmine and was faithful to the vision of the Church of his era, which was far from the ecumenism we know today.

Less known aspects of Skarga's activity – several initiatives of

charity that he promoted mostly in Cracow – were recalled by Anna Kamler. She noted that the Jesuit founded there an Archfraternity of Charity. In this Skarga was practicing the idea of St. Ignatius of Loyola, given in the Spiritual Exercises, that love is expressed more by what we do than by what we say. As underlined by Tadeusz Kotlewski S.J., such initiatives were the first steps of what later became the contemporary Jesuit social apostolate.

All meetings and events that took place in this jubilee year showed that Piotr Skarga is an important person in both Polish and Jesuit historiography. His achievements and his ideas were discussed in order to re-discover this personality, a symbolic figure in Polish history. In Cracow, where he is buried, there is a renewed interest in furthering his beatification (a project interrupted because of World War II). Also for that reason Piotr Skarga shall not be forgotten and, if that is God's will, a miracle shall confirm the desires of those who want to see him beatified, so that we might one day honor him as blessed.

Toruń

Krzysztof Dorosz S.J.

Ausstellung *Die Jesuiten in der Markgrafschaft Baden (1570–1773)* in der Historischen Bibliothek Rastatt (9 Dezember 2012 - 25 August 2013)

Seit dem 7. Dezember 2012 zeigt die Historische Bibliothek Rastatt in ihrem Bibliothekssaal eine Ausstellung über *Die Jesuiten in der Markgrafschaft Baden (1570–1773)*, die noch bis zum 25. August laufen wird.

Den wesentlichen Kern der heutigen Historischen Bibliothek der Stadt Rastatt bildet neben den Beständen der Rastatter Piaristenbibliothek die Büchersammlung der Jesuiten von Baden-Baden, die gemeinsam mit den Restbeständen der früheren Jesuitenbibliothek von Ettlingen im Jahre 1808 im Zuge der Vereinigung der früheren Piaristenschule mit dem Gymnasium von Baden-Baden (das aus der dortigen Jesuitenschule hervorgegangen war) nach Rastatt gelangte. Diese alten Jesuitenbestände stellen zusammen mit umfangreichen Archivalien in Rom, Karlsruhe, Mainz und München eine wichtige Quelle zur Geschichte der Jesuiten in der Markgrafschaft Baden dar.

1570 waren die ersten Jesuiten vom bayerischen Herzog, der die Vormundschaft über den jungen badischen Markgrafen Philipp II. ausübte, zur Rekatholisierung des Landes nach Baden gerufen

worden. Trotz erster Erfolge musste das Missionsunternehmen jedoch schon nach wenigen Jahren wieder eingestellt werden, weil Pater Georg Schorich, der gemeinsam mit Pater Matthäus Zerrer damals im Badischen wirkte, 1573 überraschend verstarb.

Mitten in den Wirren des Dreißigjährigen Krieges konnte rund 50 Jahre später, genauer: im Jahre 1622, Markgraf Wilhelm die Herrschaft in dem ihm rechtmäßig zustehenden baden-badischen Landesteil antreten. Und auch er rief jetzt wieder die Jesuiten in sein kleines Land, damit sie es zum katholischen Glauben zurückführten. Als Missionare und Seelsorger, als Lehrer und Katecheten, als Literaten und Wissenschaftler, als Beichtväter und geistliche Berater am Hofe bestimmten die Jesuiten nun bis zur Aufhebung des Ordens im Jahre 1773 das religiöse und kulturelle Leben in der katholischen Markgrafschaft Baden maßgeblich mit. Und wie andernorts hatte auch in Baden das Jesuiten-Theater in Schule und Katechese seinen festen Platz. In Baden-Baden, Ettlingen und Ottersweier, zeitweilig aber auch in Kreuznach, das zu jener Zeit im Condominat mit der Pfalz noch badisch war, hatten die Jesuiten auf badischem Boden ihre Niederlassungen. Und in Ettlingen befand sich sogar ab 1661 das Tertiatshaus der oberrheinischen Jesuitenprovinz, der die badischen Häuser angehörten.

In drei Hauptabteilungen vermittelt die Rastatter Ausstellung über *Die Jesuiten in der Mark-grafschaft Baden* dem Besucher ihren Gegenstand.

In einer ersten Abteilung werden die vier genannten badischen Niederlassungen sowie deren Verankerung in der oberrheinischen Jesuitenprovinz dargestellt. Mit jeweils rund 450–600 (teilweise auch weniger) Mitgliedern und ca. 40 Häusern zählte die oberrheinische Provinz dabei eher zu den kleineren Provinzen des Ordens.

Vorgestellt werden in dieser ersten Hauptabteilung außer den Häusern in summarischer Form auch die Personen, die in der Markgrafschaft Baden wirkten. Insgesamt rund 1000 Jesuiten lassen sich anhand der Personallisten noch nachweisen, darunter auch eine ganze Reihe bedeutender Literaten und Wissenschaftler sowie wichtige Funktionsträger des Ordens (etwa spätere Provinziale). Eine besondere Erwähnung verdient in diesem Zusammenhang auch P. Marquard von Rotenhan, der 1720/21 sein Tertiats in Ettlingen verbrachte und der aufgrund seines vorbildlichen Lebenswandels schon zu Lebzeiten wie ein Heiliger verehrt wurde.

Im Mittelpunkt der zweiten und zugleich umfangreichsten Hauptabteilung steht dann das Wirken der Jesuiten als Missionare,

Seelsorger, Pädagogen, Theaterschaffende und Schriftsteller.

Nachdem dieses Wirken durch einen kleinen Exkurs über das Wesen des Ordens in seinen übergeordneten Zusammenhang gestellt wird, widmet sich hier eine erste Unterabteilung der Missionstätigkeit badischer Jesuiten als zentraler Aufgabe. Rund zehn bis fünfzehn „badi-sche“ Jesuiten lassen sich hier als Missionare in den überseeischen Provinzen von Amerika, Indien und China nachweisen, darunter z.B. P. Joseph Och, der als junger Mann noch am Jesuitengymnasium von Baden-Baden unterrichtet und dann später als Missionar nach Mexiko geschickt wird, um schließlich nach seiner erzwungenen Rückkehr nach Europa einen Bericht zu verfassen, der heute als wichtige Quelle zur Erforschung der amerikanischen Jesuitenmission im 18. Jahrhundert dienen kann. Oder auch P. Kilian Stumpff, der nach seinem Einsatz in Ottersweier und Bühl und nach seinem Ettlinger Tertiat vom Ordensgeneral für die Mission in China bestimmt wird und dort z.B. als Rektor des Pekinger Kollegs, als Visitator der chinesischen Mission oder auch als Leiter des mathematisch-astronomischen Instituts von Peking eine wichtige Rolle spielt.

Und daneben waren badische Jesuiten auch in der inneren Mission im Einsatz. Exemplarisch beschrieben werden in diesem Zusammenhang zwei Missionen, die in den Jahren 1717 bzw. 1753 abgehalten wurden: eine Rastatter Volksmission alten Stils, in deren Verlauf noch Kreuze geschleppt und Geißelungen vorgenommen wurden, und eine jeweils mehrtägige Volksmission an verschiedenen Orten, die ihren Anfang in Baden-Baden nahm und im Murgtal beendet wurde.

Aus heutiger Sicht erstaunlich erscheint, dass die Jesuiten – wie die Ausstellung beweist – als Seelsorger schon im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert den ganzen Menschen, d.h. also nicht nur dessen Geist und Seele, sondern auch seinen Leib in ihrem Blick hatten. So gehörten sie zu den Ersten, wenn es galt, sich um Pestkranke zu kümmern – selbst wenn sie dabei ihr eigenes Leben aufs Spiel setzten. Und auch auf Arme und Gefangene richtete sich ihre Fürsorge. Daneben spendeten sie als Seelsorger selbstverständlich die Sakramente, predigten, hielten Katechesen für Jung und Alt, förderten die Wallfahrten in Bickesheim und Maria Linden (Ottersweier), die Heiligen-Verehrung, insbesondere ihrer eigenen Heiligen, etwa des hl. Aloysius, und weil sie ganz auch Kinder ihrer Zeit waren, spielte in ihrem Seelsorge-Alltag auch die Reliquien-Verehrung eine wichtige Rolle. Und nicht zuletzt schließlich gründeten sie zur Vertiefung des Glaubenslebens überall dort, wo

sie wirkten, Sodalitäten, etwa Bürger- oder Studentensodalitäten oder Rosenkranz-Bruderschaften.

Im Dienste der Seelsorge und Katechese stand auch die Aufführung dramatischer Szenen, z. B. in der Karwoche, vor allem am Karfreitag. So wird in der Ausstellung der Periochen-Druck einer öffentlichen szenischen Darbietung des „leydenden und streitenden Sohnes Gottes“ (= *Jesus Christus*) gezeigt, die am Karfreitag des Jahres 1719 in Ettlingen zur Aufführung kam und die auch von evangelischen Besuchern mit viel Beifall aufgenommen wurde. Mehr noch hatte das Theater jedoch seinen festen Platz in der Jesuitenschule von Baden-Baden, wo in der Regel in jedem Schuljahr zumindest ein, vielfach aber auch mehrere Stücke von den Schülern aufgeführt wurden, die aus der Feder ihrer Lehrer stammten. So suchten die Jesuiten ihr pädagogisches Ziel nicht zuletzt dadurch zu erreichen, dass sie ihre Adressaten nicht nur auf intellektueller, sondern auch auf emotionaler Ebene ansprachen.

Auf das pädagogische Wirken der Jesuiten in der Markgrafschaft insgesamt und im Speziellen in Baden-Baden weist in der Ausstellung in anschaulicher Form und unübersehbar die Kulisse eines alten Klassenzimmers hin. Und auch sonst ist die anschauliche Form der Präsentation dieser Ausstellung mit ihren Kulissenbauten (z.B. dem Nachbau einer Kapelle mit Altar, Beichtstuhl und Taufbecken) und Modellen (etwa der Jesuitengruft von Maria Linden) deren charakteristisches Kennzeichen.

Das Jesuitengymnasium in Baden-Baden bestand aus einer Unter- und Mittelstufe in fünf Klassen (von der untersten Grammatik- bis hin zur Rhetorik-Klasse), an die sich ab 1679 noch eine zweijährige philosophische Oberstufe mit zwei Klassen (*Logici* und *Physici*) anschloss. Die Lerninhalte der einzelnen Klassen spiegeln sich wider in nach Klassen geordneten Bücherlisten und in den Schulbüchern, die sich noch erhalten haben. Lernergebnisse und -erfolge wurden u.a. kontrolliert durch Klassenarbeiten (z.B. Übersetzungs- oder Deklinationsübungen), und Schüler der oberen Klassen kümmerten sich als Tutoren um die jüngeren Schüler. Zur Motivation wurden u.a. am Schuljahresende Preise verteilt. So ist der Einfluss des von den Jesuiten geprägten Unterrichtswesen bis in die heutige Zeit hinein zu spüren.

Im Besonderen wurden Jesuiten auch als Erzieher und Lehrer der Söhne des Markgrafen eingesetzt und übten so auch unter diesem Aspekt in der Markgrafschaft einen bedeutenden Einfluss aus.

Schließlich machten „badische“ Jesuiten ebenso als Literaten und Wissenschaftler auf sich aufmerksam. Die beachtliche Zahl von

rund 300 Namen lässt sich in diesem Zusammenhang anführen. Und was die Jesuiten auf diesem Gebiete leisteten, diente wie ihr Wirken insgesamt der Ehre Gottes und dem Wohle des Menschen. Eine Literaturgattung, der sie sich immer wieder verschrieben, ja verschreiben mussten, war das so genannte Herrscherlob, vorgetragen zu Anlässen, die mit der Herrscherfamilie in enger Verbindung standen, etwa bei Geburt, Hochzeit oder auch Todesfall. Und die wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit „badischer“ Jesuiten, wie sie sich in ihren Schriften widerspiegelt, weist eine enorme inhaltliche Breite auf und umfasst praktisch das ganze Spektrum damaliger Fachgebiete. So stoßen wir auf zahlreiche Veröffentlichungen theologischen Inhalts, etwa zur Katechese, Kontroverstheologie, Exegese, zum Kirchenrecht oder auch auf Erbauungsschriften; aber genauso auf Publikationen aus anderen Fachrichtungen: z.B. pädagogische oder philosophische Werke, Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte, Geographie, Biologie, Physik, Mathematik und Geometrie, zur Astronomie und Zeitrechnung usw.

Insgesamt aber bietet diese Hauptabteilung der Ausstellung, abschließend mit der Darstellung der literarisch-wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit „badischer“ Jesuiten, einen umfassenden und erschöpfenden Einblick in deren Wirken überhaupt.

Die letzte Abteilung der Rastatter Jesuiten-Ausstellung widmet sich dem Erbe badischer Jesuiten bzw. stellt die Frage: „Was ist von den badischen Jesuiten übriggeblieben?“ Verwiesen werden kann dabei auf deren schriftliche Hinterlassenschaft, etwa auf erbauliche Handschriften eines P. Petrus Schommartz, der zuletzt in Ottersweier tätig war; und genannt werden können hier auch diverse liturgische Gewänder oder Geräte (Monstranzen, Wetterkreuze, Kerzenleuchter usw.); des weiteren noch Altäre, Altarbilder und Statuen, z.B. aus den früheren Jesuitenkirchen von Baden-Baden und Ettlingen, die heute in den katholischen Pfarrkirchen von Philippsburg bzw. von Haueneberstein stehen bzw. aufgehängt sind. Und hingewiesen werden kann in diesem Zusammenhang auch auf verschiedene Gebäude, wie beispielsweise das heutige Rathaus von Baden-Baden als ehemaliges Jesuitenkolleg, das jetzige Rathaus von Ottersweier als frühere Jesuitenresidenz oder das heutige Finanzamt von Ettlingen als einstiges Tertiatshaus der oberrheinischen Jesuitenprovinz. Den Abschluss dieser letzten Abteilung und damit der Ausstellung insgesamt bildet eine Bildergalerie, anhand derer der Betrachter bzw. Besucher eine virtuelle Reise durch das einstige „Jesuitenland“ unternehmen kann.

Im März ist der argentinische Kardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio

und damit zugleich ein Jesuit zum neuen Papst gewählt wurden. Dadurch wurde auch die Aufmerksamkeit verstärkt auf die Rastatter Jesuitenausstellung gerichtet. Und als sich der neue Papst den Namen Franziskus zulegte, hatte er als Jesuit dabei gewiss nicht nur den hl. Franz von Assisi, sondern auch die Jesuitenheiligen gleichen Namens im Sinne: Franz Xaver, Franz Borgia und Franz Regis. Der Name des neuen Papstes wird so zum Programm seines Pontifikats, ein Programm, das deshalb durch einen Besuch der Jesuiten-Ausstellung noch deutlicher und verständlicher gemacht werden kann.

Historische Bibliothek Rastatt

Hans Heid

***Journey to the Ends of the World: Michele Ruggieri and the Jesuits in China* (Macao, Museu de Macao, 29th November 2012 – 3rd March 2013).**

Perched high above an enchanting maze of atmospheric old streets, the Macau Museum lies within the ramparts of the *Fortaleza do Monte*, a high on impregnable redoubt built by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. I visited the Museum last November to attend the opening of *Journey to the Ends of the World: Michele Ruggieri and the Jesuits in China*, a fascinating window on the early days of Sino-European cultural exchange. My prompt arrival for this special event was almost scotched by a hotel receptionist's badly drawn map – a distinct irony, given that the exhibition I'd come to see was largely conceived to showcase Ruggieri's cartographic talent. Thankfully, a kind passer-by came to my rescue by offering to access Google Maps on her smartphone, miraculous technology that would have dumbfounded the map makers of old. Thus I arrived in the nick of time at the Museum's elegantly arched foyer where the inauguration was about to start. After finding my seat, I quickly settled down to follow a series of speeches delivered by the key figures involved in the planning and realization of this important exhibition. A panoramic backdrop showing one of Ruggieri's groundbreaking maps of Ming dynasty China persuasively set the scene.

The ceremony got underway with some opening remarks made by Mr. Ung Vai Meng, President of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macau S.A.R. Government. Mr Ung spoke of Macau's historical role as the earliest platform for cultural exchange between East and West (The Portuguese first arrived in Macau in the 1550s,

while the British had to wait until 1711 to establish their first trading post in Canton). He went on to express his gratitude to the numerous cultural institutions whose close collaboration and generous loans of precious heritage made the exhibition possible. Mr Ung concluded his speech by extending his special thanks to the Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, Rome's State Archives, the Consul General of Italy in Hong Kong and Macau, the Italian Cultural Institute of Hong Kong, and the Macau Museum.

Next to speak was the Consul General of Italy in Hong Kong and Macau, Alessandra Schiavo. In her address, the consul emphasized the long history of friendship between Italy and China and the huge importance of Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri's early efforts to overcome the cultural divide between Chinese and Western civilization. Ms. Schiavo reminded us that these men were the first Westerners to meet the challenge of mastering the Chinese language; indeed, it is believed that in the 1580s they worked together to create a pioneering Portuguese-Chinese dictionary. Also highlighted in the consul's speech was the Jesuit Fathers' clear respect for Chinese culture, a crucial factor which greatly assisted them in establishing cordial ties with the Ming era authorities. Ms. Schiavo was scrupulous in her reference to Macau's unique position in the history of East-West relations, and she warmly saluted the numerous institutions that contributed to the successful staging of the exhibition.

Following the consul's address, it was the turn of Professor Eugenio Lo Sardo, Director of Rome's State Archives (where Ruggieri's priceless maps are normally held), to deliver his inaugural speech, and he did so with panache. He began by thanking everyone involved in the development and realization of the project, and made a special point of acknowledging the *pivotal* role played by the exhibition's central organizing body, *Mondo Mostre*. Professor Lo Sardo identified Mr Ung's initial trip to meet him in Rome as the starting point of a complex process which led to the exhibition being held in Macau. At the meeting, Mr Ung was shown a copy of Ruggieri's Atlas of China (*Atlante della Cina di Michele Ruggieri*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1993), an important volume containing beautiful reproductions of Ruggieri's original manuscripts that Professor Lo Sardo published in the early 1990s. The professor emphasized Michele Ruggieri's position as the protagonist of the exhibition and contrasted his character and background with that of the much better-known Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (Ricci was steeped in mathematics

and astronomy, whereas Ruggieri's mind was shaped by study of civil and canon law, philosophy and theology). He went on to explain how Ruggieri's seminal maps of China – then known as “Tamincuo” – were the first to accurately indicate the vast size of the Middle Kingdom's territory and to describe in detail its centres of population, cultural characteristics, rivers, agriculture and mines etc, thereby radically reshaping the West's idea of China (and hence of the world). He also underscored the importance of the highly educated Italian Jesuits' trailblazing activity in the area of cultural interchange between East and West, and therefore the importance of the Italian contribution to the opening of a dialogue with China some four hundred years ago. To conclude his speech, Professor Lo Sardo whetted our appetites by providing a verbal “walk-through” of the exhibition we'd come to see.

Also present at the inauguration were the Director of the Department of Education and Culture of the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the Macau S.A.R., Mr. Liu Xiaohang; the Bishop of the Macau Diocese, Dom José Lai Hung-seng; the Superior of the Society of Jesus in Macau, Fr. Beda Liu; and the President of the Macau Holy House of Mercy, Mr. António José de Freitas.

So who exactly was this intrepid – and hitherto rather neglected – figure, whose groundbreaking maps of China I'd come to see? Of relatively modest origins, Ruggieri was born in 1543 at Spinazzola in Apulia (then part of the Kingdom of Naples, now Puglia in the heel of Italy). His parents named him Pompilio, though he later changed his name to Michele when he entered the Jesuit order. His early education was provided by the Jesuits in Naples. In the 1560s, Ruggieri was awarded a doctorate in civil and canon law (*in utroque iure*) at University of Naples. For a brief period he served as a civil lawyer in the city's Court of Justice (at that time Spain, under Philip II, exerted direct control over Naples). At the age of twenty-nine, on October 28, 1572, he entered the Society of Jesus in Rome. In 1578, Ruggieri travelled to Lisbon, the main embarkation point for sea voyages to the East. While waiting for a berth on an eastward bound vessel, Michele Ruggieri was ordained a priest. In the same year, he was despatched (along with Matteo Ricci and several other Jesuit missionaries) to Goa, Portugal's enclave on India's Malabar Coast. The doubtless arduous voyage took seven months. Ruggieri spent only a short time in Goa before proceeding to Macau (another of Portugal's possessions in the East), where he had been assigned to go by Alessandro Valignano, the superior

in charge of all Jesuit missions in Asia. Despite the brevity of his stay in Goa, Ruggieri was able to become proficient in the local language, an impressive feat that hinted at his soon to be deployed linguistic talent.

Arriving at Macau on southern China's shores in 1579 (some three years before Matteo Ricci), Ruggieri, now thirty-five, immediately set about the formidable task of mastering Guanhua – Mandarin Chinese, that is – in accordance with Valignano's wishes. He was aided by a local painter who made explanatory sketches alongside each of the hundreds of characters that had to be learned. In addition to learning the language, Ruggieri thoroughly immersed himself in all aspects of Chinese culture and showed a clear affinity for the same. It can safely be said that Michele Ruggieri was one of Europe's first sinologists. Soon he began to travel up the Pearl River to the bustling city of Canton (today's Guangzhou) to serve as an interpreter for the Portuguese trade legation. The important Chinese officials he encountered on these expeditions were deeply impressed by his level of social refinement and exceptional command of their language.

In 1583, Ruggieri and Ricci (1552-1610) ventured further into mainland China and succeeded in obtaining permission from the authorities to set up a church and residence in the city of Zhaoqing, at that time the centre of government for the southern provinces of Guangdong and Guanxi. Once again, the supreme effort that Ruggieri had made to learn their language greatly pleased the Chinese and certainly favoured his developing good relations with important and influential officials. It seems that he also took to donning Chinese clothes and even shaved his head, in the manner of a Buddhist bonze, so as to be better accepted by the people. During visits to outlying villages, he succeeded in baptizing a number of families. In 1585, assisted by confrere António de Almeida, Ruggieri founded a further mission at Zhejiang, and in 1587 another in what was then known as Huguang province.

Between 1583 and 1588, Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri very likely worked together to formulate a coherent system for the transcription of Chinese words into the Roman alphabet; they went on to compile a Portuguese-Chinese dictionary which was the first of its kind and represented an important tool for the advancement of early Sino-European cultural exchange. (The long-lost original manuscript of Ricci and Ruggieri's dictionary was finally re-discovered in Rome's Jesuit archives in 1934.) Also during this time, Ruggieri produced the first Roman Catholic

catechism in Chinese, the *Tianzhu Shilu*, or *True Account of God* (this was the first book printed by Europeans in mainland China), and started to translate (into Latin) some key Chinese texts, including parts of Confucius's classic works. He even managed to write some accomplished poetry in Chinese, further proof of his exceptional mastery of the language.

In 1588, the arrival of a new – and unaccommodating – Governor-General in Zhaoqing resulted in the Jesuits' expulsion from the city. Ruggieri was quickly despatched to Rome by Valignano in order to persuade the Pope to send a delegation to the Imperial Court of the Ming emperor, Wanli, seeking his consent to preach Christianity in the Middle Kingdom. Unfortunately, at that moment in history several popes died in rapid succession, so Ruggieri was ultimately thwarted in his attempt to bring this plan to fruition. Meanwhile, his own health took a turn for the worse and he was compelled to retire to Salerno in the Kingdom of Sicily (today's Campania in southern Italy), where he faded into relative obscurity. However, in his retirement Ruggieri continued to work on his Latin translations of important Chinese texts; he also worked on the large quantity of detailed notes he had accumulated in China, eventually transforming them into his highly original atlas of China, the first of its kind to be produced in Europe. Michele Ruggieri died at the age of 64 in Salerno on May 11, 1607, having never succeeded in returning to the "Tamincuo" he'd clearly been so ungrossed by.

And so to the exhibition, the initial part of which focuses on Naples and Rome, the two cities that were most familiar to the young Ruggieri prior to his journeying to the East. Included among the beautifully presented exhibits are some fine period engravings depicting St Peter's Basilica, S. Ivo alla Sapienza and the Collegio Romano – the Jesuit "nerve centre" from which all missions to Asia originated.

The section that follows represents the *pièce de résistance* of the exhibition: an unprecedented display of around thirty of Michele Ruggieri's original manuscript maps showing fifteen provinces of Ming dynasty China. The ancient manuscripts finally resurfaced in 1987 at Rome's State Archives. Drawn on high quality laid paper using iron-gall ink (the maps were most likely produced between the mid 1580s and 1606), they are works of exceptional cartographic and artistic merit. Ruggieri's maps are the first of their kind to have been produced in Europe and provide an extraordinarily accurate description of China under the long-reigning Ming emperor Wanli.

Indeed, what makes the maps so special is their highly detailed nature: land morphology is shown by means of meticulous drawings of mountainous and hilly zones; lakes, rivers, waterways and provincial boundaries are painstakingly plotted; pictograms of buildings are used to indicate the types, sizes, positions and military importance of centres of population; alchemical symbols show where gold, silver, mercury, copper iron, tin and lead are mined. Ruggieri's atlas also provides detailed information (in textual and annotated form) on the Ming dynasty's intricate administrative structure (prefectures, subprefectures, counties, etc.), seats of learning, religious practices, grain production, dietary habits and typical clothing. Characteristic activities, such as fishing with cormorants, are even described. Some of the maps are displayed in special mounts which allow both sides of a sheet to be viewed by visitors (Ruggieri's original text in Latin can be seen on the retro side of such sheets). Apart from their considerable aesthetic appeal, the ancient maps are clearly the product of a highly analytical and exacting mind.

The display of Ruggieri's manuscripts is followed by a selection of later maps attributed to the Polish scientist, explorer and missionary, Michal Boyn (1612-1659); also exhibited are some examples of the Belgium Jesuit Antoine Thomas's (1644-1709) maps of China. Additional noteworthy exhibits include a Latin version of Ruggieri's *True Account of God*; the Flemish mathematician and astronomer Ferdinand Verbiest's (1623-1688) fascinating drawings of his astronomical instruments, the actual instruments being conserved at the Peking Observatory (Chinese scholars of the Ming and Qing dynasties greatly admired the Jesuits' knowledge of astronomy and mathematics); and a reproduction of Luo Hongxian's (1504-1564) *Guang Yu Tu* (Great Terrestrial Atlas), which is held in the Shanghai Library.

More than four hundred years after his death, the key role played by Michele Ruggieri in initiating cultural interchange between the West and China has finally been acknowledged through the staging of this highly worthwhile exhibition in Macau, the historic entrepôt where he first made landfall in 1579. Ruggieri's contribution to the birth of Western sinology and the awakening of Europe to a true sense of China's great size and cultural richness should not be underestimated.

***Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods*
(Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, McMullen
Museum of Art, February 16 - June 2, 2013).**

Japanese-European relations began with the shipwreck of three Portuguese traders on Japan's southwestern coast in 1543 and temporarily ended a century later with Japan's execution of 55 Christians on a single day and its complete expulsion of the Portuguese. Bookended by these tragic events, trade and ecclesiastical relations between Japan and Portugal flourished. The former was in a rare moment of openness, and the latter was engaged in its Age of Exploration. It was an era marked by the exchange of luxury goods and Catholicism, each adapted for the new culture's tastes. Though it was to end with banishment, bloodshed, and isolation, this nascent globalization was also captured in the gilded sacred and secular goods that traveled from Portugal and its ports of call throughout Asia to Japan and back again, such as the goods currently exhibited at the McMullen Museum of Art at Boston College in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts.

At the beginning of this exchange, Japan was a divided realm. It was the period of "sengoku," a nation at war, when military rulers (called the daimyo) vied against one another with swords for control of territory. The islands themselves remained relatively unknown to Europeans until three Portuguese traders were shipwrecked aboard a Chinese vessel on the southwestern island of Tanegshima in September 1543. Among the traders' cargo were guns – the shoulder-mounted, matchlock arquebuses – and they, and their traders, were unlike anything the Japanese had ever seen. The firearms were quickly reproduced and adapted by the nearby daimyo. Leaders such as Oda Nobunaga of Owari province, whose army included a firearms brigade by 1549, capitalized on their newfound military advantages to help forge national unification.

The shipwreck of 1543 quickly led to an influx of Portuguese trading ships to Japanese ports. The large, black carrack sailing ships set sail from Portugal's ports in India, China, and Southeast Asia with luxury goods and visions of trade monopoly based on spices and textiles. The Japanese called the visitors "nanban-jin," or southern barbarians, and the local elite quickly coveted their exotic cargo such as the Mughal-style shield, made in India, that shimmered from the black lacquer made from the tree sap in

China and a floral design of gold leaf, and a yoke-back armchair that physically elevated a person of status. And then there were the ship's rare animals – the elephants, white cockerels, and horses – or the rolls and rolls of vibrant textiles from elsewhere in Asia.

Following in the first ships' wake were Catholic missionaries. In 1549, as Nobunaga amassed his firearms brigade, a 43-year-old Jesuit missionary from Navarre led three other members of the Society of Jesus ashore at Kagoshima City on the island of Kyushu. Francis Xavier was drawn to Japan by the tantalizing tales of Portuguese traders returning to Goa, India. There they told Xavier of a people "very clever, very desirous of learning not only religious truths, but also the natural truths which are a part of education." For Xavier, the tales were confirmed by those Japanese travelers he met and converted in Goa, then a hub of the Portugal's Asian operations. Buoyed by such tales and experiences, Xavier spoke of his plans to leave for Japan, where he felt "the Christian religion will be propagated in those parts far and wide."

Xavier's expectations were largely met at first, as local leaders warmly greeted the Catholic priests, perhaps seeing the ecclesiastical representatives of the Portuguese monarchy as magnets to attract Portuguese trading ships. The Jesuits, in turn, adapted to Japanese culture. They traveled north to welcoming regions, preached in the vernacular, used paintings for evangelizing, established art schools, gained converts, especially among the elites, and, thus, amassed power. In 1580, for example, Jesuits received the right of Nagasaki's port "in perpetuity." Yet, the sengoku period gave way to Japanese unification, which bred new suspicions of external threats, especially how Jesuits' evangelical successes might be mere precursors to temporal conquest. The newly appointed ruler of a unified Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, banned Catholicism in 1587 and reclaimed control of Nagasaki and Portuguese trade. It was in Nagasaki, a decade later, that 26 Christians, including three Japanese Jesuits, were crucified because of the fears that Catholicism and the general foreign presence supposedly posed for Japan's security. Another 55 Christians were martyred on similar charges in 1622, seven years before the Portuguese were formally expelled from Japan.

The century-long Portuguese trade and Jesuit missionary efforts in Japan shone brilliantly for nearly a century, and evidence of its relatively short-lived brilliance remains. The peak of the

earthly and spiritual dimensions of the Portuguese-Japanese relations is the subject of an exhibition on display from February 16 to June 2, 2013, at Boston College's McMullen Museum of Art. The exhibition consists of 70 objects from collections scattered across the globe, including the Camoes Institute of Cooperation and Language in Portugal's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and private collections in Great Britain, Portugal, Brazil, and the United States. Together, the artifacts radiate and fill the 7,000-square foot, two-story museum, telling a story of accommodation, affluence, and amazement with the exotic.

The dramatic centerpieces of the exhibition, which took six years to stage, are four painted folding screens, three of which are placed in pairs. The six-paneled screens, stretching ten feet in length, were sought after by wealthy samurai to divide large rooms. With a background in gold and vivid color and movement throughout, the screens dramatically present the unfolding scenes of the Japanese and the local Jesuits encountering the Portuguese traders, their goods, and their massive, bewildering ships. The screens were a popular form of "nanban" art – reflecting the images' foreignness – and appealed to elite Japanese tastes. The scenes should, therefore, be viewed right to left. Doing so puts the Japanese merchants and priests, rather than the arriving Portuguese traders, at the start of the story. On one panel, a local shopkeeper stands at his door, ready to inspect the latest shipment of textiles. Japanese Jesuits in black robes wait outside their hipped-roof churches (a similar building's use is only confirmed by the cross on its roof). Traders walk towards them carrying lavish boxes almost as offerings, the closed nature of the boxes only adding to their exoticism. Continuing the story to the left, behind the procession of traders, one finds more boxes, exotic pets, captains in seats of distinction directing the unloading of the cargo of the massive, black ship depicted in the final screen. There the vessel rollicks in the white-crested waves as the crew performs extensive acrobatics around the mast and ropes to stabilize the ship in the sea. The viewer is treated to six panels of intrigue, exoticism, dynamism, and fluidity, a scene depicted at the various Portuguese ports of call.

The curators of the Boston College exhibit present the screens alongside artifacts illustrated in their scenes, mixing scale of the large screens and the smaller artifacts, as one informs the other. For example, visitors entering the exhibit are confronted with a

vista of a pair of screens that condense the narrative of Portuguese trading: the scene of a ship's departure from an elite family in Macao stands next to that of the Japanese welcoming the exotic traders and their gifts. In the first screen, the Portuguese captains in Japanese dress are heading towards their departing ship while carrying parasols. To further connote their social status, one seaman rides king-like on the back of an Indian elephant while the other comfortably sits on a palanquin hoisted by six men.

The Portuguese ship readies for departure in this first screen, but not before some recreation for the crew as the elite sit to watch, one attended by a man holding an intricate Chinese picnic box. Such a box is found in the exhibition's section dedicated to "earthly goods." Made from zitan, an Indian sandalwood, and huagnhuali wood from China's tropical regions, the box's composition speaks volumes to the scope of the Portuguese trading routes, and its Japanese design reflects the blending of many tastes and needs. The production and transportation of this picnic box made it a cherished item among the Japanese elite and a fitting inclusion, as it is held with care, in the first nanban trading scene.

Back in the accompanying screen, Japanese merchants greet the visitors in the foreground as Jesuits do the same outside their large church. The gifts unloaded from the ship are wonders, the variety displaying as much of the diversity of Portuguese trade as do the differences in the crewmembers. War horses, common diplomatic gifts, are among the exotic animals paraded into town, and placed next to the folding screen at the Boston College exhibition is a pair of stirrups from the era. The stirrups, called "abumi," were made of iron with silver and mother-of-pearl ornamentation. They were the choice of elite riders, a marked demonstration of the owner's wealth and prominence. But they also had a Christian cross, a symbol banned in Japan after 1614. The stirrups rest alongside a matchlock, harquebuse gun inlaid with symbols of Christ's Passion. (The gun's owner was Anima Noaozini, a daimyo who renounced his conversion to Christianity in 1612.) The stirrups, gun, and screens together illustrate how religion was interwoven into the secular.

The cultural accommodation of this period of Japanese-Portuguese relations, therefore, continued to the sacred as well. Jesuits adopted local means and tastes to fulfill what the exhibition's curators call "the Christian mission" in Japan. In their evangelizing, Jesuits were frequently on the move through the

islands. A small, folding missal stand ("shokendai") on display was far different than the large, permanent pulpits of Europe. Such furniture had to be adapted for the missionary's lifestyle, and this missal could be placed on any table and used in any setting. But the stand, despite being emblazoned with "IHS," also represents the influences of the missionaries' host country. The mother-of-pearl inlays reflect a Japanese sense of style. The same is true of the small, nanban tabernacle of lacquered wood. (Demand for lacquered goods was so high during this period that Thai lacquer, rather than the more common Japanese and Chinese, was in wide use in Kyoto.) Based on its dome and columns, the tabernacle was constructed in India, but its gold powder and shell inlay ornamentation was done in Japan. On a small host box, mother-of-pearl inlays of "IHS" and a floral design dominate the black, wood item. The mother of pearl spelling "IHS" on the host box are shaped like small fish, two each for the I and S as small fishes rise to form a cross above the H. In a glazed stoneware baptismal bowl, the crab in relief reflects the miracle of a crab returning a cross to Xavier after he sacrificed it to quell a turbulent sea. To meet its religious needs, the bowl was wider than the one used by the Japanese, while the wavy line decoration and glaze were otherwise common.

Two other objects help illustrate the Jesuits as nomadic evangelists and also the lengths to which they went to proselytize in Japan. The two portable oratories are terrific examples of Jesuit hybridity. Each features oil paintings of the Madonna and child that were inspired by European illusionism. The paintings could well have been done in Japan, as Jesuits opened painting schools in the seminaries to teach the painting and engraving techniques then common in Italy and Northern Europe. While the source of the paintings is unclear, the oratories' frames were clearly made in Japan. They are of lacquered wood and are inlaid with shells and the floral design seen in many of the exhibition's objects. The oratories were small, capable of being easily transported, and conveyed a religious statement without saying a word.

Earthly goods accompany the sacred at the Boston College exhibition as they did with the Portuguese-Japanese trade four centuries ago. Both types of goods reflect the accommodation of a dynamic interchange. Among those items crafted for a European consumer is an ornate backgammon board of the traditional black lacquered wood and floral designs. A Japanese-made writing box – designed to hold ink sticks, inkwell, and pages – had to be

enlarged in order to accommodate the larger writing implements used in Europe. Another small writing desk with a geometric design of mother-of-pearl inlays and nature scenes proved too small for European writing implements and was more commonly used to store jewels and valuable papers. A similarly decorated large, domed chest was a common item obtained by foreigners in Japan, but its stand, raising it from the floor, was added once the traveler was back in Europe. A smaller domed chest was at the Sao Roque church in Portugal by the end of the 17th century and likely served similar ecclesiastical use while previously in Japan. A pair of sake bottles made in Japan perhaps best demonstrates how items were produced for different tastes only to be further modified. The bottles are tall, rectangular, and domed with small spouts. But what sets them apart from the ceramic bottles commonly used in Japan is that these sake bottles are lacquered wood. This appears to make little sense, as sake was served warm (the Jesuits likely turned to sake in place of sacramental wine). But in Europe, these elegantly ornamented containers were used for brandy. Either way, the two sake bottles and the other sacred and secular goods were modified to meet the needs and tastes of one culture and later adapted even further for often unintended and indeed unknowable purposes.

In 1600, Japan was reunified under a feudal military government, initiated in no small measure by Oda Nobunaga and his army brigade carrying Portuguese *harquebuses*. There soon developed among the new leaders a fear of what the Tokugawa shogunate condemned in 1614 as the “pernicious doctrine of the foreigners.” Nagasaki remained a sort of religious haven, “entirely a City of Christians” according to the Jesuit provincial, but only for a short time. On September 10, 1622, thirty Christians were beheaded while another 25 were burned at the stake in Nagasaki. Of these fifty victims, nineteen were members of religious orders, and most of the clergy and laypeople killed were Japanese. Jesuits who escaped reported that 118 were martyred in 1622, though the execution of Christians continued for more than a decade.

It was a violent end to a century-old relationship between Japan and their first European visitors – the traders and Jesuit missionaries from Portugal. The mass killing was captured in “The Great Martyrdom of Nagasaki,” a painting produced in a Jesuit painting school in Japan which now hangs in the Church of Gesu in Rome. At Boston College’s McMullen Museum, a photographic reproduction of the painting hangs over the

open stairwell connecting the exhibition's two floors, a stark reminder that despite the splendor of the screens and artifacts, evidencing a willing cultural accommodation, the story of Portuguese traders and Jesuit missionaries was not to end well. But those screens and artifacts curated this spring at the McMullen Museum demonstrate how spectacularly successfully the story actually was, if only temporarily.

Boston

Seth Mehan

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Nicolas Standaert, *Chinese Voices in the Rites Controversy. Travelling Books, Community Networks, Intercultural Arguments*, (Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I. 75), Rome 2012, Hardback, Coloured Illustrations, p. 476, ISBN 978-88-7041-375-5.

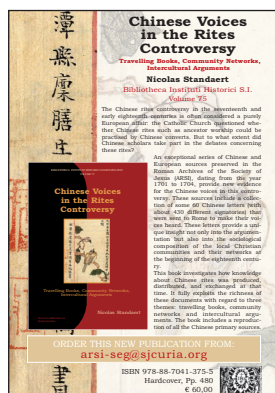
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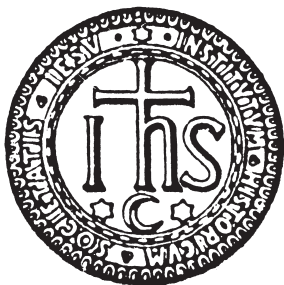
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Thank you,

Norman Tanner S.J., Editor

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU



The Jesuit Historical Institute (*Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu* - *IHSI*) was founded in 1930 under Father General Włodimir Ledóchowski. Over the years its members in Rome oversaw the publication of the biannual review *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (*AHSI*), the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (*MHSI*), the monograph series *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu* (*BIHSI*), and the series *Subsidia ad historiam Societatis Iesu* (*SAHSI*).

In the light of Father General Adolfo Nicolás's letter of 25 February 2010 to the major superiors of the Society (published in *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, vol. XXIV (2010), pp. 931-933), the apostolate of Jesuit history at the Curia in Rome was reconstituted within the context of the Archives (*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* - *ARSI*).

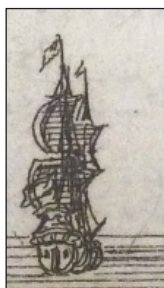
Henceforth *ARSI* was given an expanded mission. Among its competences is to oversee publications relating to the Society's history. Thus the historical publications continue as part of *ARSI*, while retaining the publication imprint *IHSI*.

Norman Tanner S.J., *Editor*
Mauro Brunello, *Assistant Editor*

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L'École des Jésuites au Caire dans l'Ancienne Compagnie

Charles Libois S.J.*

Il nous semble superflu de développer le fait que la Compagnie de Jésus, presque dès sa fondation, s'est consacrée à l'enseignement sous toutes ses formes, depuis les leçons de catéchisme que les primi patres dispensaient aux enfants de la rue, et le début du premier collège à Messine, du temps de saint Ignace lui-même qui y expédia son homme de confiance le père Jérôme Nadal.¹

Le père Christophe Rodríguez² envoyé en Égypte avec le père Jean-Baptiste Eliano³ écrivait en 1562 au père Jacques Laínez⁴ général, comme il serait souhaitable qu'il y ait à Alexandrie un collège car ainsi, dans cette ville cosmopolite, un bien infini pourrait être opéré. Les circonstances n'ont pas permis une telle fondation qui ne s'est réalisée qu'en 1882.

Cependant, cette idée de fonder un collège en Égypte, ne tombait pas dans le vide. Il devait y avoir une raison, une cause, pour justifier une telle entreprise; c'était l'état lamentable du niveau intellectuel des Égyptiens, aux yeux des Européens, bien que tous n'utilisent pas la formule aussi lapidaire que péremptoire du consul Benoît de Maillet: «En Égypte on n'aime ni à s'instruire ni à être instruit».⁵ Prosper Alpin, un médecin vénitien qui a pratiqué la médecine en Égypte pendant

* Charles Libois S. J., originaire des Pays-Bas, est venu en 1960 au Proche-Orient. Arrivé en 1964 en Égypte, il a passé d'abord trois ans dans un village en Haute-Égypte, puis, il a résidé au Collège de la Sainte Famille au Caire, où il a exercé des charges administratives. Il a publié quatre volumes des *Monumenta Historica*, sur les Jésuites de l'Ancienne Compagnie en Égypte (1547-1773), ainsi qu'une traduction d'un voyageur Franciscain en Égypte (1665-1666), de même qu'un résumé historique de la Province du Proche-Orient.

1 Jérôme Nadal, * 1.VIII.1507 Palma de Mallorca, S.J. 29.IX.1545 Roma, + 3.IV.1580 Roma (*DHCJ* III, pp. 2793-2796), John W. O'MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 220-242.

2 Christophe Rodríguez, * 1521 Hita (Alcalá de Henares), S.J. X.1554, + 12.II.1581 Naples (*Mon. Prox. Or.* II, pp. 327-328).

3 Jean-Baptiste Eliano, * 1530 Rome, S.J. 1551 Venise, + 3.III.1589 Rome (*DHCJ* II, pp. 1233-1234).

4 Jacques Laínez * 1512 Almazán (Espagne), un des premiers compagnons, + 19.I. 1565 (*DHCJ* II, pp.1601-1605).

5 Benoît DE MAILLET, *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris, Rollin, 1735 p. 65

deux ans, a pu écrire en 1582: «Toutes les autres sciences ont émigré de l'Égypte vers les autres parties du globe...dans le territoire des Turcs c'est maintenant le vide du point de vue des études scientifiques».⁶

Edward Brown renchérit: «bien qu'ils (= les Coptes) ne soient ni très cultivés ni d'esprit très vif...leur très grande pauvreté et l'abattement qui en résulte suscitent le dédain des Francs».⁷ Ellis Veryard (1678): «Les indigènes d'Égypte sont généralement misérables...illettrés».⁸ Et terminons avec une citation prise de Charles Nicolas Sigisbert Sonnini, un officier français qui fit un voyage en Égypte l'an VII de la République (1798), et qui assène à gauche et à droite ses remarques féroces: «Le bey et l'homme grossier de la lie du peuple sont également ignorants, également fanatiques, également superstitieux. Aucun d'eux ne sait lire ni écrire».⁹ Ce florilège sombre pourrait s'allonger (Il est pourtant évident que toutes ces remarques déplaisantes doivent être interprétées dans un certain contexte, variable selon les lieux et les personnes).¹⁰

Et cela dans une Égypte qui, en son temps, avait brillé comme une phare dans le monde, avec ses pyramides, avec sa célèbre bibliothèque d'Alexandrie, avec le niveau de sa civilisation qui attirait à elle dans l'Antiquité les grands esprits de l'époque: tel Hérodote, tel Strabon, tel Pythagore. Et s'il y avait des périodes de réveil et de grande culture, c'était plutôt dans les monastères isolés, dont la masse ne subissait guère l'influence.¹¹

Tout de même, il y avait des écoles. Joost van Ghistele¹² raconte comment les Mamelouks en 1482-1483 ramassaient les garçons pris durant leurs conquêtes et les mettaient ensemble dans une école pour

6 Prosper ALPIN, *La Medecine des Egyptiens par Prosper Alpin 1581-1584*, Le Caire, Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale (IFAO), 1980, I, p. 24.

7 Edward BROWN, *Le Voyage en Égypte d'Edward Brown 1673 -1674*, Le Caire, IFAO, 1974, pp. 121-122.

8 Ellis VERYARD, Joseph PITTS, John OVINGTON et alii, *Voyages en Égypte pendant les années 1678-1701*, Le Caire, IFAO, 1981, p. 83.

9 Charles Nicolas Sigisbert SONNINI DE MANONCOURT, *Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Égypte*, Paris, F. Buisson, 1798, II p. 303.

10 Lorsque, par exemple, on apprend que les Coptes seraient des ignorants, il ne faut pas oublier qu'un certain nombre de Coptes servait les maîtres du pays comme des secrétaires, comme des économes, comme des administrateurs, et que, ainsi, ils avaient des connaissances que les Mameluks, les Turcs, n'avaient pas.

11 Par contre, Vincent STOCHOVE, Gilles FERMANEL, Robert FAUVEL, *Voyage en Égypte 1631*, Le Caire, IFAO, 1975, pp. 60 et 62.

12 JOOS VAN GHISTELE, *Voyage en Égypte de Joos van Ghistele*, Le Caire, IFAO, 1976, pp. 31-32.

qu'ils y apprennent à lire, à écrire, à manier les armes. Ils formèrent cependant une caste à part; le niveau du peuple était loin d'être brillant.

On sait qu'il y avait des *kuttab*s, des écoles coraniques pour les enfants musulmans. Johann Wild le raconte: «les enfants apprenaient le Coran par cœur; parfois on leur apprenait à lire et/ou à écrire (les filles en étaient exclues; si elles savaient lire et écrire, c'était qu'elles l'avaient appris chez elles). Les plus intelligents devenaient qadi ou imam». ¹³ Les chrétiens, évidemment, n'étaient guère différents. Les garçons apprenaient par cœur les psaumes, les évangiles et les épîtres de saint Paul, aussi bien en copte qu'en arabe. Mais la langue copte n'était pas enseignée pour elle-même.

Pour les uns comme pour les autres, la religion était le sujet principal: le Coran ou la doctrine chrétienne. Pourtant, l'estime des Européens était faible. Ils estimaient les connaissances religieuses chrétiennes peu conformes à la vraie religion et ils étaient ahuris par certaines pratiques superstitieuses des Coptes. Il fallait à tout prix remédier à cette situation. Mais la pauvreté extrême du peuple, incapable de payer des scolarités, bloquait tout progrès: «Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait nulle part des Chrétiens plus pauvres que ceux d'Égypte», écrit de Maillet. ¹⁴

Les Jeunes de langue ¹⁵

Évidemment, ni l'Église ni les États européens n'ignoraient cette réalité; ils cherchaient à y remédier en fondant des centres d'instruction chez eux-mêmes en Europe. Donc, papes et cardinaux faisaient chercher par les missionnaires en Orient, de jeunes

13 Johann WILD, *Voyages en Egypte de Johann Wild 1606-1610*, Le Caire, IFAO, 1973, pp. 100-101.

14 DE MAILLET, *Description*, pp. 65-67.

15 Quelque littérature: Frédéric MASSON, "Les jeunes de langues. Notes sur l'éducation dans un établissement des Jésuites au xvii^e siècle", *Le Correspondant* 88/1881, pp. 905-930; Antoine RABBATH, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient*, Paris-Leipzig, A. Picards et Fils-Otto Harrassowitz, 1910, II, p. 537 ss.; il donne une courte histoire et quelques documents/lettres à ce sujet; Amédée DE CAIX DE SAINT AYMOUR, *La France en Éthiopie. Histoire des relations de la France avec l'Abyssinie chrétienne sous les règnes de Louis XIII et de Louis XIV (1634-1706) d'après les documents inédits des archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères*, Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1886, p. 185 ss.; René RISTELHUEBER, *Traditions françaises au Liban*, Paris, Felix Alcan, 1918, pp. 111-113; Gustave DUPONT-FERRIER, *Du Collège de Clermont au Lycée Louis le Grand (1563-1920)*, Paris, E. de Boccard, 1921-1922, deux vol.; *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des Missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus* (dorénavant LE), 24 vol., Paris, J.G. Merigot le Jeune, 1780, I, p. 194 ss; Pierre DELATTRE, *Les établissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles*, Enghien-Wetteren, Institut Supérieur de Théologie, 1955, II, col. 94 (Marseille) et 1150 (Paris).

garçons, studieux, consciencieux et doués. Ces enfants, malgré leur jeunesse qui nous étonne à notre époque (entre dix et quinze ans), étaient envoyés au Collège Urbain de la Propagande ou dans un autre établissement, comme par exemple le Collège des Grecs, ou celui des Maronites. Après leurs études, ces hommes, ordonnés prêtres, rentraient dans leur pays afin d'y constituer le noyau d'un clergé local. Pour les missionnaires sur place, la recherche de ces jeunes représentait une tâche passablement ardue. Même si les pères détectaient une personne pleine de promesses, il fallait vaincre la résistance légitime des parents, surtout en Égypte. Déjà le père Eliano s'était appliqué à recruter quelques Coptes - ses lettres reviennent régulièrement sur ce sujet - sans résultat d'ailleurs malgré plusieurs engagements.

De son côté aussi, l'État français imposa aux consuls du Levant l'obligation d'expédier à Paris, des jeunes, triés sur le volet, aptes à servir dans l'avenir les consulats dans les Échelles, comme drogmans ou fonctionnaires. Ces élus, ou *jeunes de langue* d'après leur appellation habituelle, traduction d'une expression turque *élève interprète*, logeaient au Lycée Louis-le-Grand. À l'instigation de Colbert, Louis XIV avait institué des bourses, douze au début, puis dix, pour les frais de ces Orientaux¹⁶ (1670 et 1690) Arméniens, Grecs, Syriens et Coptes; le roi, dans la pratique le Ministre de la Marine, les entretenait. Leur nombre n'a jamais été très grand, autour d'une dizaine, et leur conduite tumultueuse ils vivaient loin de leur pays, sous les cieux sombres de Paris, sans visite de leur famille, pour apprendre des choses qui ne les intéressaient guère (le latin!), dans un climat différent, moins ensoleillé et à un autre rythme de vie. Plusieurs sont morts à Paris. Leur recrutement laissait à désirer, et on le comprend; ils n'avaient que huit à dix ans. Il semble aussi que leurs condisciples les détestaient cordialement. Dans son histoire de la mission, le père Antoine-Marie Nacchi¹⁷ consacre quelques pages à cette école et à leur puissant protecteur, Louis le Grand, qui chérissait cette école, des pages onctueuses comme il se doit, et dont on se demande si elles ne sont pas sorties de la plume du père Thomas Charles Fleuriau.¹⁸ Signalons en passant que les Anglais en avaient fait autant, avec la fondation (1690) du séminaire protestant d'Oxford.¹⁹

16 DUPONT-FERRIER, *Du Collège*, I, p. 75.

17 Antoine-Marie Nacchi, * VI.1666 Asómatos (Chypre), S.J. 27.VII.1681Rome, † 1746 Antoura (Lebanon) (DHJC III, p. 2791).

18 Thomas Charles Fleuriau d'Armenonville, * 20.XI. 1651 Paris, S.J. 24.X. 1760, † 15.VI.1735 Paris (*Sommervogel* III, col. 788-789), *LE I*, pp. 194-197.

19 Masson, *Les jeunes*, p. 908.

Sans doute, cette politique de formation de longue durée, exigeait des investissements considérables, en hommes et en argent, de la part de l'Église ainsi que de l'État. Comme je l'ai déjà dit, le nombre des favoris fut rarement élevé et des pertes se firent sentir plus d'une fois. Les résultats, en gros, paraissent cependant avoir donné satisfaction; le principe même ne fut pas mis en cause. Un article déjà ancien se termine sur un ton optimiste: «Cette suite de bons serviteurs, d'hommes remarquables, de patriotes dévoués, de royalistes éprouvés, de catholiques convaincus qui, pendant tout le dix-huitième siècle portèrent haut dans tout l'Orient le pavillon français»,²⁰ D'autres auteurs, cependant, se montrent moins enthousiastes. Ristelhueber parle d'une «naïve générosité».²¹

Rome n'avait pas pu rester en arrière. Avec le temps furent fondés plusieurs collèges dans la Ville Sainte: le Collège de la Propagande, le Collège Maronite, le Collège des Néophytes, le collège des Grecs, et d'autres encore.

Le père Eliano reçut dans ses *Instructions* des directives pour rechercher des: «fanciulli di buoni costumi et buona indole et perspicace ingegno, atti ad imparare, di età conveniente come di anni dodeci sono a sedeci o deceotto in circa...per educarli et erudirli qui nel Collegio delle Nationi Oltramarini, nelle lingue et scientie et religione catholica, et poi rimandarli da essi alle loro patrie per servitio delle chiese et beneficio della detta natione».²² Et lorsque Jacques de Valimbert se rend au Sinaï et prend dans sa caravane le père Sasso,²³ il pense qu'il appartient aux Jésuites, appartenant «au collège récemment fondé».²⁴ Les élus n'étaient que des enfants: Antoine-Marie Nacchi n'avait que dix ans lorsqu'il fut envoyé à Rome, et son frère Philippe huit ans seulement (le garçon mourut au bout de quelques années).²⁵ Joseph Assemani avait huit ans seulement lorsqu'il arriva à Rome et son parent Étienne Awad entra à dix ans au Collège Maronite. Tout cela, c'étaient des mesures prises sur un fond d'ignorance et d'absence d'instruction sur place.

20 MASSON, *Les jeunes*, p. 930.

21 RISTELHUEBER, *Traditions*, p. 114.

22 *Mon. Prox. Or.* IV, p. 78 §16; aussi pp. 118; 162; 189; 433.

23 François Sasso, * 1552 Naples, S.J. 9.IV.1569; † 20.XI.1623 Naples (*Mon. Prox. Or.* IV, p. 442).

24 *Mon. Prox. Or.* IV, p. 433.

25 Samir KURI, "Vocations orientales à la Compagnie de Jésus aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (AHSI) LVI (1987), p. 130.

On connaît l'histoire du père Joseph-Marie de Jérusalem o.f.m., vice-préfet. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de raconter comment il arriva à Gondar en Éthiopie. D'après ses récits - invérifiables, car il était le seul survivant de l'expédition, et un rapport du père Jean Verzeau²⁶ à la Propagande²⁷ montre que, en lisant entre les lignes, on comprend que le père Verzeau n'en croyait rien - il fut reçu par le roi d'Éthiopie, il eut des discussions théologiques avec lui et avec ses théologiens, et le tout avec un succès foudroyant. Au bout de cinq mois à Gondar - on est en 1702 - le père Joseph-Marie exprima le désir de rentrer en Égypte. Il refusa net tous les dons dont le roi voulut le combler, mais il demanda uniquement quelques jeunes pour les emmener à Rome. Le roi lui confia huit garçons entre huit et treize ans²⁸ et le père entama son retour, un voyage de plusieurs mois, en caravane, à travers les déserts, avec plusieurs accidents. En février 1703, le groupe arriva au Caire. En mars, le père poursuivit, avec six garçons, le voyage à Rome. Une réception grandiose les y attendait. L'accueil fut délirant. Le pape les reçut en audience. Les cardinaux désiraient les rencontrer. Un imprimé spécial sortit de presse.²⁹

L'éducation en Égypte

L'éducation, le système scolaire en Égypte, a été l'objet de plusieurs études. Il existe divers recueils ou des bibliographies. L'ouvrage de Ibrahim Salama³⁰ date de 1938 et concerne surtout la pédagogie islamique. L'inventaire de Ibrahim Hilmy³¹ est trop général. La

26 Jean Verzeau, * 11.XI.1656 Vervins, S.J. 13.X.1674 Nancy, † 18.II.1735 Sedan (DHCJ IV, p.3936).

27 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, pp. 223-228.

28 Theodor KRUMP, *Hoher und fruchtbarer Palmbaum des heiligm Evangelij*, Augsburg, 1710, p. 346.

29 Giacomo d'ALBANO, *Historia della missione francescana in Alto Egitto-Fungi-Etiopia, 1686-1720*, Gabriele GIAMBERARDINI (ed.), Il Cairo, Centro Francescano di Studi Orientali Cristiani, 1961, p. 106 ss.; Giovanni Maria MONTANO (ed.), *Etiopia francescana nei documenti dei secoli XVII e XVIII. La missione di Akhmim Fungi ed Etiopia prefettura del p. Francesco M. Passalacqua da Salemi*, Quaracchi presso Firenze, Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1948, II, p. cxxxv, note 4.

30 Ibrahim SALAMA, *Bibliographie analytique et critique touchant la question de l'enseignement en Égypte depuis la période des Mameluks jusqu'à nos jours*, Le Caire, Imprimerie Nationale, 1938.

31 Ibrahim HILMY, *The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan from the earliest times to the year 1885 inclusive*, London, Trübner & Co. 1886, 2 vol.

bibliographie que donne René Maunier³² est utile. Il est à remarquer que, lorsqu'il donne une bibliographie de l'éducation et des écoles, il renvoie à des "revues spéciales" sans indiquer un titre précis.³³ D'autres travaux, parmi les anciens, sont ceux de Yacoub Artin Pacha de 1890,³⁴ et L'instruction publique de Édouard Dor,³⁵ de 1872, sans exclure d'autres, comme p. ex. Heyworth-Dunne.³⁶

Tous ces ouvrages, cependant, concernent les écoles en Égypte, en gros, après l'Expédition d'Égypte, depuis laquelle l'influence européenne est devenue dominante. Rares cependant sont les études ou publications qui décrivent la situation au début du dix-huitième siècle, période qui nous concerne d'une façon plus directe. Il faut cependant remarquer que Maunier - qui s'est attiré le reproche d'Ibrahim Salama d'avoir négligé de consulter les Archives de la Citadelle - semble avoir senti qu'il existe d'autres sources non consultées : des revues spéciales (à savoir : missionnaires). Heyworth-Dunne même donne quelques pages sur les écoles des Franciscains en Haute-Égypte, mais sans aller aux sources elles-mêmes.³⁷ Clément écrit quelques passages, basés sur des documents de seconde main.

Il est très frappant de constater que tous ces recueils ont omis de consulter les Archives de la Congrégation de Propaganda Fide à Rome, pourtant publiques. Là, régulièrement, dans la correspondance des missionnaires du monde entier y compris l'Égypte, et dans les comptes-rendus des discussions des responsables ecclésiastiques, les problèmes des écoles reviennent: le lieu, l'utilité, le maître, la scolarité (ou l'exemption), la matière, la responsabilité. Sur les écoles d'Égypte, seul le père Giulio Basetti-Sani o.f.m. a écrit un article sous un titre qui n'en révèle qu'imparfaitement le contenu.³⁸ Son tableau

32 René MAUNIER, *Bibliographie économique, juridique et sociale de l'Égypte moderne de 1798 à 1916*, Le Caire, IFAO, 1918.

33 MAUNIER, *Bibliographie*, p. 316 note 1.

34 Yacoub Pacha ARTIN, *Considérations sur l'Instruction publique en Égypte*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1890.

35 Édouard DOR, *L'instruction publique en Égypte*, Paris, A. Lacroix, Verboeckhoven et Cie, 1872.

36 James HEYWORTH-DUNNE, *An introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt*, London, Luzac and Co., 1939, 2^e 1968.

37 James HEYWORTH-DUNNE, *An introduction*, pp. 84-92.

38 Giulio Basetti-SANI, "La mission franciscaine de Haute Égypte", *Cahiers d'Histoire égyptienne*, Série II, 4 (1950), pp. 359-371.

donne une image incomplète. Se limitant aux écoles tenues par les pères Franciscains, cette étude laisse de côté les nombreuses informations de la Propagande sur d'autres écoles. L'ouvrage *Les lettres des préfets apostoliques* comble toutefois un certain vide dans les sources de l'article de Basetti-Sani. Le père Montano apporte également des éléments valables, sans aller au-delà de 1703.

L'ouvrage de Jean-Pierre Trossen contient une note courte mais substantielle.³⁹ Le chercheur trouve diverses références dans la *Bibliotheca Missionum* vol. XVI. Les deux ouvrages du père Angelo Colombo exposent les activités apostoliques de plusieurs prêtres coptes ou catholicisants, dont quelques-uns ont tenu, pendant un temps plus ou moins long, une espèce d'école.⁴⁰ Tous ces ouvrages exploitent la veine délaissée par les compilations qui ignorent les archives de la Propagande.

En parcourant cet ensemble de renseignements, on est frappé par tout cet essaim de minuscules établissements durant le dix-septième et le dix-huitième siècles, malgré les impressions globales des voyageurs rapides qui insistent sur l'ignorance généralisée du peuple. Les pères Franciscains, les Récollets et les Réformés, dirigent des classes au Vieux-Caire et en Haute-Égypte, à Akhmim, à Girga, à Tahta, à Farsciut. Les pères Capucins donnent des classes aux jeunes Francs.⁴¹ Des prêtres séculiers enseignent aux enfants, non seulement aux Coptes, mais aussi aux Grecs, aux Arméniens: Don Mas'ud avec son frère Nasim, diacre,⁴² Don Salib Bezzo,⁴³ Don Grazia (Name) Kodsi, prêtre syrien,⁴⁴ Don Joseph/Giuseppe

39 Jean Pierre TROSSEN, *Les relations du patriarche copte Jean XVI avec Rome (1676-1718)*, Luxembourg, Hermann 1948, p. 70.

40 Angelo COLOMBO, *Le origini della gerarchia della Chiesa copta cattolica nel secolo XVIII*, Roma, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1953; Angelo COLOMBO, *La nascita della Chiesa copto-cattolica nella prima metà del 1700*, Roma, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1996.

41 Lettre du P. Giuseppe della Carità, 20 avril 1725, Rome, Archivio storico della Congregazione "de Propaganda Fide" (APF), *Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali* (SOCG) 655 (1725), f. 128rv.

42 TROSSEN, *Les relations*, doc. XXXIV, pp. 160-162; MONTANO, *Etiopia francescana*, p. 556: une «numerosa scola».

43 APF, *Lettere* 15 (28 mai 1738); COLOMBO, *Le origini*, doc. III, pp. 128-134; COLOMBO, *La nascita*, Salib Bessu *passim*.

44 Lettre Assemani 20 septembre 1715, APF, SOCG 602 (1715), ff. 260r-262v; lettre Codsi 12 novembre 1719, APF, SOCG 624 (1719), f. 471r; lettre Sicard 20 mars 1721, *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 138, pp. 350-351.

Dimanus Abyssinus,⁴⁵ Don Joseph/Giuseppe el-Fayyumi,⁴⁶ le moine Antoine Melochia,⁴⁷ Raphaël Tukhi.⁴⁸ À en croire certains documents qui décrivent vraisemblablement une situation idéalisée, même le patriarcat copte dirigeait une ou plusieurs écoles.⁴⁹ Autant d'établissements, parfois éphémères comme des étoiles filantes, dont on ignore pratiquement tout mais dont on apprend l'existence grâce à une observation fortuite, jetée comme par hasard dans une lettre ou dans un rapport. Ce besoin de dispenser une instruction quelconque, prouve tout de même comment l'Église catholique, avec ses modestes moyens sur place et au niveau du pays, s'intéressait à l'éducation du peuple égyptien et d'autres nations.

Notre article se limitera à l'école des Pères Jésuites au Caire, sa préparation et ses premiers essais tâtonnants, à l'aide des informations conservées dans les archives de la Propagande et celles de la Compagnie de Jésus, à Rome ou ailleurs. À ce sujet, les archives françaises ne nous renseignent qu'à peine, excepté par une remarque isolée.

Cet établissement dans la capitale égyptienne n'était point l'unique école pour les Coptes d'Égypte, dirigée par les Jésuites. Signalons en passant, sans nous arrêter davantage, faute de documents, que les chrétiens d'Égypte pouvaient aller s'instruire au Liban. Le séminaire d'Antoura, fondé en 1728 et dont le père Nacchi assumait, le premier, le supérieurat, devait, d'après l'intention des fondateurs, être ouvert aux Coptes, dans une certaine proportion. Le père François Retz,⁵⁰ général, écrit: «Fundatorem eam esse mentem, ita admittendos adolescentes Maronitas in dicto seminario, pro quibus fundatum est, ut iuvenes aliorum nationum, praesertim Copi et Chaldaei, excludi non debeant, dummodo harum et aliarum

45 Lettre 9 août 1723, APF, *Scrittura Riferite nei Congressi* (SC) Egitto-Copti 2, f 314rv; TROSSEN, *Les relations*, pp. 90-91.

46 APF, *Lettere* 49, p. 124 (15 février 1745); COLOMBO, *Le origini*, doc. XXVIII, pp. 202-203, *passim*.

47 APF, *Lettere* 49, p. 124, (15 février 1745); APF, *Congregazioni particolari* (CP) 123, f 138r.

48 Sur Tukhi: TROSSEN, *Les relations*, p. 219; COLOMBO, *Le origini*, *passim*; COLOMBO, *La nascita*, *passim*; APF, *Lettere*, *passim*; Mon. Prox. Or VI *passim*; STEPHANOS II, *Anba Rufail Tukhi* (1703-1787), Le Caire, édition du Patriarcat copte-catholique, 1987 (en arabe); BASETTI-SANI, *La mission*, pp. 362-364.

49 TROSSEN, *Les relations*, pp. 48; 84; 142; 189; 196 *sub* 5 *ad* 4.

50 François Retz, * 13.IX.1673 Prague, S.J. 14.X.1689 Brno, † 19.XI.1750 Rome (DHICJ II, pp. 1653-1654).

nationum numerus quartam partem alumnorum non excedat». ⁵¹

Le tableau des écoles que nous présentons ci-dessous, n'offrira pas de traits très vivants; il restera un peu incolore. Les documents ne nous transmettent pas d'événements saillants, vécus, pleins de couleurs, ni des descriptions de séances théâtrales ou de joutes littéraires comme pour les collèges européens. Comme nous aurions apprécié d'avoir des statistiques, des listes d'élèves, des titres de livres, des horaires, des plans et des images, tout ce qui fait revivre l'atmosphère d'un établissement scolaire de ces temps-là! Les remarques de détail sont éparses, maigres, sans beaucoup de perspectives, pas toujours faciles à placer dans une vision globale. D'habitude, elles sont provoquées par des circonstances anormales, c'est-à-dire lorsque les choses ne marchent pas à souhait. La portée de certaines observations nous échappe. Tantôt il s'agit d'une école pour les Coptes, tantôt d'une institution pour toutes les nations au Caire. Vraisemblablement, les cardinaux de la Propagande en savaient plus que nous, qui sommes forcés de nous contenter de quelques écrits. Ils jouissaient, eux, de l'avantage d'être renseignés par des témoins oculaires: Don Gabriel Eva (ou Hawa), Don Joseph Assemani, Don Andrea Scandar, l'Abbé d'Orvalle, le père Severin Martin. Tous ces visiteurs pouvaient transmettre de vive voix leurs impressions, et apporter des compléments oraux aux rapports écrits. Pourtant, notre modeste tableau se justifie par le fait qu'il représente, quoique sommairement, une image de l'apostolat missionnaire de l'Église et plus spécialement de l'Ancienne Compagnie, en Égypte.

Mûrissement de l'idée; le père Guillaume Dubernat⁵²

Nous avons déjà signalé plus haut, comment l'idée d'un collège à Alexandrie avait été évoquée par le père Rodríguez, voyageur de

51 Lettre Retz, 27 février 1734, publiée dans, *Acta et decreta conciliorum recentiorum. Collectio Lacensis*, Gerhard SCHNEEMANN, Theodor GRANDERATH (eds), 7 vol., Freiburg, Herder, 1870-1890, II, c. 435. Nous n'avons pas poursuivi notre recherche s'il y avait réellement des Coptes au séminaire d'Antoura; dans une lettre d'Antoura, le 9 juin 1756, au P. Jean-Baptiste Wirle (*17.IX.1701 Oberried, S.J. 13.IX.1721, † 22.I.1773 Straubing, *Mon. Pr. Or.* VI, p. 642) le P. Florian Renschmid (*22.III.1718 Göttlkofen, S.J. 28.IX.1735 Landsberg, † 5.IV.1758 Damas, *Mon. Pr. Or.* VI, pp 623-624) signale qu'il trouve en avril 1756 quatre jeunes au séminaire sans professeur, dans un établissement sans supérieur depuis quatre ans.

52 Guillaume Dubernat, * 12.VI.1667 Agen (France), S.J. 21.X.1687 Burdeos, † 21.IX.1711 Chypre (*DHCJ* II, p. 1158).

passage.⁵³ Il fallait pourtant attendre une présence permanente. Les Jésuites de la petite résidence du Caire savaient indubitablement que l'éducation, sous n'importe quelle forme, avait de tout temps été un apostolat privilégié de leur ordre. Devant l'ignorance généralisée des Coptes, aussi bien religieuse que scolaire, il paraît peu probable que l'idée de fonder une école n'ait jamais effleuré leurs esprits ; sans doute avaient-ils entendu parler des efforts des Franciscains en Haute-Égypte. Le 12 février 1700, le père Louis Grenier⁵⁴ écrit au père Thyrsse Gonzalez⁵⁵, général : «Il faut espérer que, dans quelque tems, nous pourrons travailler à leur instruction. Mais il faut un peu de patience, car ils ont un éloignement inconcevable de nous ».⁵⁶

Le père Grenier, durant à peu près deux ans supérieur de la résidence, a-t-il désiré, ou pu, entreprendre quelque chose de concret dans ce sens ? Au début de leur implantation en Égypte, les Jésuites visaient avant tout leur mission éthiopienne ; leur intérêt principal ne se portait pas du tout sur l'Égypte et sur ses problèmes. Mais la mort des pères Grenier, Antoine Paulet⁵⁷ et Charles F.-X. de Brévedent⁵⁸ durant leurs expéditions, fit comprendre aux Jésuites, tout doucement, que la Providence les voulait dans la vallée du Nil et non sur les hauts plateaux d'Abyssinie.

L'allusion la plus ancienne à une école se lit dans un résumé, fait par le père Verzeau, d'une lettre du père Benoît Bichot,⁵⁹ le successeur du père Grenier, en date du 13 mars 1702 : «Son (le patriarche) dessein est de nous confier ses ecoles pour l'éducation de la Jeunesse, ayant appris comme nous l' élevons en Europe dans nos collèges».⁶⁰

Les notables coptes paraissent avoir fait pression sur les Jésu-

53 *Mon. Prox. Or* II, § 21, p. 46 ; *Mon. Prox. Or.* II, § 19, pp.158-159 ; *Mon. Prox. Or.* II, § 4, p.178.

54 Louis Grenier, * 8.XII.1666 Paris, S.J. 15.VIII.1682, + 25.IX.1701 Tchelga (Éthiopie) (*Mon. Prox. Or.* V, p. 561).

55 Thyrsse Gonzalez, * 18.I.1624 Arganza (Espagne), S.J. 3.III.1643 Oviedo, + 27.X.1705 Rome (*DHCJ* II, pp.1644-1650).

56 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 3, p. 25.

57 Antoine Paulet, * 1670 Auvergnat, S.J. 1690 Toulouse, + 3.III.1702 Sennaar (*Mon. Prox. Or.* V, pp. 567-568).

58 Charles François Xavier de Brévedent, * 25.III.1659 Genneville, S.J. 7.IX.1674 Paris, + 9.VII.1699 Barko (Gondar, Éthiopie) (*DHCJ* I, pp.544-545).

59 Benoît Bichot, * 8.IV.1668 Dijon, S.J. 23.IX.1685 Nancy, + 23.IV.1704 Le Caire (*Mon. Prox. Or.* V, pp. 557-558).

60 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 51, p. 175.

ites, favorablement disposés bien que handicapés par l'absence de fonds suffisants. Une seconde lettre du père Bichot, également sous forme d'un résumé par le père Verzeau, dit, deux ans après celle que nous venons de citer: «Quant à l'Ecole que nous projetons icy et pour laquelle le patriarche et les principaux de la nation me pressent, il faudroit tous les ans cinquante à soixante écus». ⁶¹

Trois semaines auparavant, le père Bichot avait adressé à Ibrahim Hanna, l'envoyé du patriarche copte à la cour de France et à celle de Rome, une lettre où il le priait de sauter sur l'occasion: «Parlés encore pour nostre ecole au Caire. C'est le moyen de changer en peu toute la nation copte...le mallem Hanna el Masri que vous scavez estre le chef de toute la Nation copte et administrateur de presque toute l'Egypte nous est fort amy, il sçait tous nos desseins et il est disposé à les seconder, il me presse pour ouvrir une école». ⁶²

Comme, à ce moment, aussi bien Ibrahim Hanna que le père Verzeau se trouvent à Rome, le père Bichot cherche indubitablement à intéresser la Propagande à ses projets. De toute évidence, parmi les Jésuites du Caire eux-mêmes se dégagea assez rapidement une opinion commune: l'ignorance des Coptes est générale; là réside la cause principale de toutes leurs erreurs et hérésies; pour vaincre ces opinions erronées, il n'y a qu'à saper cette ignorance; à cette fin, le seul moyen effectif, ce sont les écoles; de cette façon, avec le temps et tout doucement, les erreurs et les hérésies se dissiperont. Bichot, Nacchi, Dubernat, expriment tous, à tour de rôle, le même point de vue: il doit y avoir une école au Caire. ⁶³

Bien qu'il soit difficile de leur prêter foi, certaines tournures paraissent nettement confirmer l'existence d'une école des Jésuites. Par exemple, dans une lettre en latin au patriarche copte, le Pape Clément XI lui exprime sa reconnaissance pour la liberté consentie aux Jésuites pour former la jeunesse copte. ⁶⁴ Parmi ses documents, Trossen publie une lettre du prêtre Mas'ud et de son frère Nasim, diacre, qui se déclarent anciens élèves des Jésuites et disent être disposés à donner à leurs propres disciples, dans

⁶¹ *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 89, pp. 238-240.

⁶² Bichot à Ibrahim Hanna, 29 février 1704, Stonyhurst College Archives, *Mss Stonyhurst A I 36 4*.

⁶³ *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 88, pp. 236-238.

⁶⁴ TROSSEN, *Les relations*, p. 197.

leur école, les enseignements reçus de ces maîtres vénérés.⁶⁵ Cette lettre pourtant - une traduction dont il faudrait vérifier la teneur exacte de l'original arabe, s'il existe dans les recueils de la Propagande - a plutôt l'air d'être composée *ad captandam benevolentiam* du destinataire, le pape lui-même. Enfin, Charles Poncet, médecin du roi d'Éthiopie, explorateur du Royaume du prêtre Jean et ancien patron du père de Brévedent, fait également une observation, digne d'intérêt et néanmoins discutable. Écrivant certaines sottises à Pontchartrain, le ministre de la marine, Poncet rappelle comment le patriarche copte avait interdit, sous peine d'excommunication, à tous les chefs de famille d'envoyer leurs enfants chez les Jésuites et même de les introduire chez les pères.⁶⁶ Cependant les Jésuites eux-mêmes, dans leurs propres écrits ne font pas la moindre allusion à l'existence d'une école au sens strict; ces textes ne semblent donc pas refléter la vraie réalité.

Le père Bichot mort, le père Nacchi dans les montagnes libanaises, le devoir d'entretenir le mouvement incombe au père Dubernat, supérieur de la résidence de 1704 à 1711. Son point de vue, sans doute, il l'a communiqué au consul de Maillet, avec qui il s'entendait à merveille, mais qui n'a jamais vraiment cru dans la mission des Jésuites en Éthiopie, quoiqu'il les ait soutenus comme des pions dans ses visées expansionnistes. À son ministre (qui s'empresse de transmettre ces paroles au père Fleuriau), de Maillet écrit: «que si on s'attachait à l'instruction des Coptes qui n'ont plus que le nom des Chrestiens, on y ferait un fruit bien plus certain qu'en allant en Éthiopie».⁶⁷ À partir de 1706, le père Dubernat, libéré enfin des problèmes d'Éthiopie et des soucis financiers que le zèle indiscret de son prédécesseur lui a légués, se consacre à l'affaire des écoles. Il envoya deux lettres, l'une à Rome, au père Jean-Joseph Guibert,⁶⁸ Assistant, en date de 7 avril 1706, l'autre à Paris en date du 5 mai au ministre.

65 TROSSEN, *Les relations*, pp. 160-162, lettre 7 janvier 1703: «e quello, che ci hanno insegnato li Giesuiti nostri Padri...noi l'insegnaremo alli Figlioli...e scolari nostri». Cette lettre est signée: «Massaud Curato e Rettore della scola, e Nassim suo fratello ... allievi e Discepoli delli Padri Giesuiti». Voir aussi TROSSEN, *Les relations*, p. 181.

66 Poncet à Pontchartrain, [Téhéran] 31 août 1708, Camillo BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, Roma, C. de Luigi 1914, vol. XIV, doc. 148, p. 402.

67 Pontchartrain à Fleuriau, 12 août 1705, RABBATH, *Documents II*, p. 542.

68 Jean-Joseph Guibert, * 13.02.1647 Nevers, S.J. 04.02.1664 Bordeaux, † 17.04.1723 Rome (*Mon. Prox. Or.* V, p. 577).

À ce dernier, le supérieur de la résidence s'adresse en termes polis à l'extrême. Les Coptes se montrent réservés, lui écrit-il, à l'idée de se séparer de leurs enfants et de les laisser partir pour le Lycée Louis-le-Grand. Mais, comme Sa Grandeur a daigné tirer la petite mission d'un sérieux embarras financier, capable de compromettre son existence même, le père Dubernat espère pouvoir compter sur les libéralités royales pour une école à fonder: «Elle vient de nous mettre en état de pouvoir espérer aux premiers tems favorables un etablissement propre pour enseigner ici leurs enfans, comme ils le desirent. Nous le souhaittons aussi beaucoup, parce que je crois, que c'est l'unique moyen de faire un bien solide parmi eux, car pour les reunir à l'Eglise romaine, il faut dissiper leur ignorance qui est extrême ... il resteroit donc d'ouvrir des ecoles pour enseigner leurs enfans et saper par la peu a peu les fondemens de cette ignorance crasse ou ils sont».⁶⁹

Sa Grandeur pourtant se fait tirer l'oreille! L'assurance de son correspondant ne le convainc pas du tout, sans doute à cause des déboires financiers occasionnés par le père Bichot. Dans sa réponse au père Dubernat, le 11 août 1706, le Ministre mêle habilement cette affaire déplorable à un refus poli mais net: l'expédient pour dissiper l'ignorance des Coptes paraît bon, mais l'envoi de quelques jeunes au collège à Paris semble préférable.⁷⁰ Une missive au père Fleuriau à la même date fournit une réponse pareille: l'idée semble bonne mais pour le moment irréalisable; qu'ils évitent dans l'avenir les bévues du père Bichot!⁷¹

Un mois auparavant, le 7 avril 1706, le père Dubernat avait adressé une lettre au père Assistant. Le soulagement d'avoir renoncé à la mission d'Éthiopie, «au moins pour quelque temps», se fait sentir; ensuite, une conviction profonde et un espoir suppliant se lisent dans les phrases de sa lettre, citée en partie ci-dessous: «Il y aura bientôt quatre ans que ie suis dans ce pais, et par le commerce que i'ay avec les gens du pais et par les reflexions que j'ay eû tems de faire sur la maniere dont il faudroit s'y prendre pour les gaigner, ie crois que ce seroit d'avoir des ecoles pour enseigner leurs enfans et saper par là les fondemens de leur ignorance qui est extrême. Nos superieurs donnent unanimement dans le proiet mais les finances manquent pour l'executer si tot ... à moins que

69 Beyrouth, Archives de la Compagnie de Jesus au Proche Orient, *Mss Rabbath II*, pp. 3128-3130.

70 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 102, p. 271.

71 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 103, p. 272.

Rome ne voulut nous aider, ce que ie n'ose guere esperer. Les depenses qu'elle feroit pour cela contribueroient peut etre plus a la propagation de la foi que beaucoup d'autres qu'elle fait dans ces pais ... ie ne vois encore en un coup d'autre moyen pour tacher de vaincre les obstacles qu'en se chargeant de l'education de leurs enfans. Ils le souhaitent eux mêmes et nous promettent de les envoyer chez nous, quand nous serons en etat de les enseigner».⁷²

Mais Rome, non plus, ne réagit pas, au moins en apparence. L'idée demandait son temps pour être assimilée; petit à petit, les esprits s'y habituaient. On en parlait dans les corridors de la Propagande. Les rapports et les suggestions que Don Gabriel Eva (ou Hawa) rapporta de sa visite en Égypte durant les années 1703-1705, circulaient d'un bureau à l'autre. Le père Verzeau, procureur des missions, n'épargnait pas sa peine. Et de cette façon, la conviction profonde du père Dubernat gagna du terrain, progressa pas à pas. De Maillet y fait allusion dans sa correspondance avec le père Verzeau.⁷³ Le père Pierre Maucollot,⁷⁴ missionnaire fraîchement arrivé de France, partage l'idée de son mentor, plus avisé que lui dans les choses de la mission.⁷⁵ Le père Barse,⁷⁶ supérieur général du Levant, appuie le point de vue du père Dubernat dans un rapport au père Général.⁷⁷

Jusqu'à sa mort, le père Dubernat ne cessa pas de proclamer sa ferme opinion. Le 9 janvier, il envoie une lettre au père Verzeau; ce dernier remet l'affaire à la Propagande,⁷⁸ où les cardinaux en discutent durant leur séance du 20 avril 1711.⁷⁹ À la demande instantane pour «qualche aiuto per la fabrica e fondatione delle scuole in detta città», la Congrégation demeure réticente comme la Cour de France,

72 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 99, pp. 263-267.

73 de Maillet à Verzeau, 18 janvier 1707, BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum* XIV, doc. 142, p. 386.

74 Pierre Maucollot, * 19.06.1677 Ligny-le.Châtel, S.J. 04.06.1696 Nancy, † 16.08.1719 Damas (*Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, p. 622).

75 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 112, pp. 300-303: «son dessein serait d'établir ici une Ecole où il prétend qu'il y aurait un très grand nombre de petits Enfants qu'on pourrait instruire du moins les pratiques de notre Religion; mais il faut un peu attendre».

76 Jean Barse, * 16.03.1667 région Auvergne, S.J. 24.09.1687 Toulouse, † 06.12.1715 Tripoli (*DHCJ* I, p. 359).

77 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 120, pp. 313-315.

78 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 113, pp. 303-304.

79 APF, *Acta Sacrae Congregationis (Acta)* 81 (1711), f. 222 n° 29.

et elle recommande plutôt l'envoi à Rome, de «*duo iuvenes optimae expectationis*». Cette décision n'exclut pas une réponse favorable dans l'avenir, car elle vaut «*pro nunc*».

L'étude du père sur les Coptes porte le caractère d'un véritable testament. Dans l'édition des *Lettres Édifiantes*, l'étude s'achève le 20 juillet 1711.⁸⁰ Se rendant en Syrie pour y assumer la charge de provincial, le père Dubernat meurt à Chypre à une date inconnue mais avant le 2 novembre 1711⁸¹ où son décès est annoncé. Trois mois encore avant son trépas, le père Guillaume Dubernat consigna pour la postérité les paroles que voici: «Un moyen efficace, & le seul que je sçache, de dissiper les épaisses ténèbres, seroit d'établir des écoles & de commencer par les enfans, que leurs pères nous enverroient d'autant plus volontiers qu'il ne leur en coûteroit rien: mais il faudroit qu'il en coutat à des personnes zélées, pour faire voir aux Coptes la pure lumière de l'Évangile. Avec leurs secours, nos peines, bien loin de nous coûter, nous paraîtront douces».⁸²

1715: L'école de la Propagande. Don Gabriel Eva et Don Joseph Assemani

Les années de réflexion permirent aux fruits de mûrir. Quoique le père Dubernat ne fût plus, ses vœux ardents furent exaucés: en 1715, la Congrégation de la Propagande se réveille soudainement. Le père Verzeau avait déjà soumis les idées de son confrère à l'attention des cardinaux; mais une seconde personne dans les coulisses fit basculer la balance en faveur des écoles. Ce n'était pas un inconnu en Égypte. Une dizaine d'années auparavant, entre 1703 et 1705 il l'avait visitée; il s'était familiarisé avec les Coptes et connaissait sans doute le Père Dubernat et ses opinions. C'était Don Gabriel Eva (ou: *Hawa*, en arabe), moine maronite à Rome, parent du Père Eliass Alepino⁸³ et, dans le temps, l'envoyé du pape au patriarche copte.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ *LE IV*, pp. 413-493.

⁸¹ *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 117, p. 308.

⁸² *LE IV*, p. 434, Cf p. 487: «j'en reviens encore à dire que le moyen le plus efficace de la hâter (sc. l'union entre les deux Églises), est de commencer par écarter l'ignorance, d'augmenter le nombre d'ouvriers de l'Évangile, et d'ouvrir des écoles; ce seront les fruits des aumônes que vous nous procurerez». Dans cette lettre, le père Dubernat revient plusieurs fois sur l'ignorance des Coptes: pp. 430; 432; 487.

⁸³ Eliass de Georgiis (Alepino), * XI.1663 Alep, S.J. 22.IV.1697 Rome, † 28.XII.1736 Le Caire (*DHCJ II*, p. 1716); Lettre Don Scandar à Don Gabriel Eva, 25 août 1718, APF, *Miscellanea Varie T. X*, f. 43rv.

⁸⁴ Sur Don Gabriel Eva, voir de nombreux détails dans Jean-Pierre Trossen, et

De retour à Rome vers la fin de 1705, Don Gabriel soumit aux responsables un certain nombre de propositions pour le bien spirituel des Coptes.⁸⁵ La première préconisait de maintenir trois prêtres coptes-catholiques dans trois écoles différentes, à raison de cinquante écus par an, afin qu'ils instruisent gratuitement la jeunesse du pays. D'après une seconde proposition, trois missionnaires devaient leur prêter secours et assistance pour l'enseignement de la doctrine chrétienne, «e questo è uno de' piu atti mezzi per salvare gran quantità de' Copti».⁸⁶ Toujours le même refrain. En troisième lieu, Don Gabriel proposait de continuer les efforts pour envoyer quelques jeunes Coptes à Rome, indiquant avoir reçu plusieurs offres: «vi sono non pochi, che appetiscono con desiderio venire in Roma, come in fatti molti m'hanno pregato portare meco alcuni giovani».⁸⁷

Ces propositions datent de 1705. À ce moment-là, la Propagande, prudemment, n'accepta pas encore: dilata. Par contre, dix ans plus tard, les choses évoluèrent avec une rapidité déconcertante. Durant leur séance du 14 janvier 1715, les cardinaux se penchent sur les propositions déjà anciennes, mais toujours valables, de Don Gabriel, qui leur expliquait comment la fondation d'une école pour les Coptes paraissait hautement désirable et assurément moins coûteuse que l'entretien de quelques séminaristes dans la Ville Éternelle.⁸⁸ Se rendant aux suggestions de Don Gabriel, le

dans Giuseppe Simone ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana in qua manuscriptos codices Syriacos, Arabicos, Persicos, Turcicos, Hebraicos, Samaritanos, Armenicos, Aethiopicos, Graecos, Aegyptiacos, Ibericos, & Malabricos ... recensuit, digessit, & genuina scripta a spuriiis secrevit, addita singulorum auctorum vita*, Joseph Simonius Assemanus Syrus Maronita, 4 vol., Romae, typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide 1719-1728, Praefatio totius operis sub n° XI. Détails aussi dans le *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique...*(DTC), Paris, Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1928, X; dans Pierre RAPHAËL, *Le rôle du collège maronite romain dans l'orientalisme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Beyrouth, Université Saint Joseph, 1950, p. 152.

85 TROSSEN, *Les relations*, p. 195. Un autre texte se trouve dans APF, *Scrittura riferite nei Congressi* (SC) *Egitto-Copti* 2, f. 222rv.

86 TROSSEN, *Les relations*, p. 195. Le texte poursuit: «mentre non solo alle dette scole concorrerà tutta la gioventù di' Cophti del Gran Cairo, ma di più, quel che è di maggior profitto quelle medemi giovani così allevati, et in tal modo nodriti nella pietà e verita Catholica, possono à tempo suo produrre non poco frutto nel anime di quelli della sua Nazioni. E questi tre soli Missionarij in questo modo basterebbero per tutto il Gran Cairo».

87 TROSSEN, *Les relations*, p. 195.

88 APF, *Acta* 85 (1715) Séance du 14 janvier 1715, n. 39, ff. 27r-30v.

secrétaire de la Propagande expédie le jour même une lettre aux quatre supérieurs d'ordre dans la capitale égyptienne, les priant gentiment de se réunir pour étudier en commun le principe d'une ouverture de deux écoles au Caire, et de transmettre à Rome, dans les plus brefs délais, leurs avis dûment pesés.⁸⁹

Les réponses ne débordent pas d'enthousiasme. Comme la Propagande s'engageait à fournir de quoi payer un maître d'école, ou plusieurs, le problème financier ne se posait pas. Il s'agissait de trouver de bons professeurs. Rome, alors, avança un nom: Don Mas'ud,⁹⁰ qui dirigeait déjà un établissement scolaire.

Le père Giacomo d'Albano, supérieur des Franciscains Réformés, exprima les plus grandes réserves au projet; finalement, il fit bande à part et il ne s'associa pas aux autres pour appuyer l'école souhaitée par la Propagande. D'après lui, une expérience claire comme le jour prouvait qu'aucun établissement de ce genre n'avait jamais produit un véritable catholique. De plus, il n'éprouve pas la moindre confiance dans la personne de Mas'ud, prêtre copte catholicisant, mais chancelant toujours dans son adhésion à la foi catholique.⁹¹ Les trois autres supérieurs, le Père Giacomo di Lucca, Vice-préfet de Terre- Sainte, le père Giuseppe della Carità, Capucin, et le père Claude Sicard,⁹² leur homologue jésuite, confirment leur acceptation du principe, tout en exprimant, eux aussi, leurs appréhensions sur la personne de Mas'ud.⁹³

À ce moment, une personnalité puissante entra en scène, Don Giuseppe Assemani,⁹⁴ envoyé par Rome en Orient à la recherche de manuscrits. Fin juillet ou début août 1715, le savant ecclésiastique arriva au Caire,⁹⁵ muni d'instructions précises au sujet de cette école. Sous sa pression, les trois supérieurs acceptent (le père Giacomo ne se rend pas). Trois lettres, l'une d'Assemani, et deux autres de ces supérieurs, nous renseignent sur le déroulement de

89 Lettre 14 janvier 1715, APF, *Lettere* 104 (1715), ff. 5r-6v.

90 Lettre 30 juillet 1715, APF, *Lettere* 104 (1715), ff. 152v-153v.

91 Lettre à la Propagande, 2 septembre 1715, APF, *SC Etiopia, Arabia e Socotra* 2, f. 560v.

92 Claude Sicard, *4.III.1675 Aubagne, S.J. 8.VIII.1692 Avignon, † 12.IV.1726 Le Caire (DHCJ IV, pp. 3567-3568).

93 APF, *SC Etiopia, Arabia e Socotra* 2, f. 560v.

94 Sur Don Giuseppe/Joseph et Evodio (Assemani) voir *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, pp. 629-630.

95 ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca orientalis, Praefatio totius operis sub n. XI.*

la mise en place.⁹⁶ L'obstacle principal était la personne de Mas'ud; son manque de constance dans la foi catholique effrayait les responsables. Mais au fond, aucune autre possibilité ne s'offrait. Ce prêtre jouissait déjà d'une expérience pratique de nombreuses années dans l'enseignement (on se demande: où?). En vérité, il y avait encore Don Grazia (Name) Kodsi, prêtre syrien, homme excellent, mais pas tout à fait la personne qu'il fallait pour la jeunesse copte; on le considérait comme franc, il ignorait le copte et habitait trop loin du quartier. Tous l'estimaient capable de devenir un jour un bon évêque en Syrie,⁹⁷ mais vraiment, Don Grazia ne pouvait pas être pris en considération comme maître d'école, et Assemani dut se résigner à sa mise à l'écart. Le 18 septembre 1715, Don Mas'ud fut convoqué à l'hospice des Jésuites. En présence des supérieurs, Don Assemani lui servit une exhortation qui ne manquait pas de clarté.

Don Mas'ud devait se comporter en véritable prêtre catholique, ce qu'il promit promptement. Don Assemani lui expliqua que les supérieurs présents allaient lui remettre, chacun à son tour, un *buon salario* jusqu'à cinquante écus par an. Entre parenthèses: personne ne devait savoir que cet argent provenait de la Congrégation de la Propagande, car une telle nouvelle aurait provoqué des réactions hostiles. De sa part, Don Mas'ud dut s'engager à continuer son école sans rien réclamer comme scolarité, à enseigner à la jeunesse copte, gratuitement, l'arabe et le copte (les supérieurs dans leur lettre à la Propagande n'en parlent pas), la doctrine chrétienne, tout spécialement les articles de la foi niés ou contestés par les Coptes, à conduire les élèves (les supérieurs ajoutent: et aussi leurs parents) dans les églises des missionnaires, les Dimanches et les jours de fête, pour venir écouter les sermons, et à accepter finalement que les trois supérieurs viennent chacun à son tour rendre visite à l'école pour vérifier en personne le progrès des élèves.⁹⁸

96 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 124 et 125 pp. 321-327.

97 APF, *Acta* 85 (1715), Congrég. Génér. 17 décembre 1715 n. 19 f. 661r-662r; *Acta* 89 (1719), Congrég. Génér. 23 janvier 1719 n. 23, f. 45r-46r; lettre Don Scandar 5 septembre 1718, citée dans la séance du 23 janvier 1719; Don Grazia devient effectivement évêque de Damas le 12 avril 1721, Remigium RITZLER, *Pirminum SEFRIN, Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*, V, 1667-1730, Padoue, Il Messaggero di sant'Antonio, 1952, p. 181.

98 On a l'impression que l'année scolaire de l'école de Don Mas'ud commença le 10 septembre 1715, à savoir la fête de Nairouz, le premier jour de l'an copte; que Don Assemani intervint huit jours plus tard, le 18 septembre, pour expliquer ce que l'on attendait de Don Mas'ud, avec toutefois un règlement de son salaire à partir du 10 septembre 1715; *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 124, p. 321-325.

Et voilà! Cette école si problématique marchait tout de même. Enthousiaste, Don Assemani écrit à Rome que personne n'en croyait ses yeux. À la surprise de tous, l'impossible s'était accompli. Bien contente, la Propagande prit acte de cet heureux message dans sa dernière séance de l'année mémorable 1715.⁹⁹ Le vieux rêve du père Dubernat, finalement, s'était transformé en réalité.

Cependant, la victoire était trop belle; l'expérience des vieux missionnaires dépassait celle du jeune Assemani. Le résultat allait se montrer décevant. L'école dans ces conditions était vouée à l'échec. Que se passa-t-il ? Les cardinaux à Rome ne le surent que trois ans plus tard. Pourquoi? Nous l'ignorons. Les missionnaires n'en firent-ils pas mention dans leur correspondance? Les lettres ne parvenaient-elles pas à Rome? L'argent destiné au salaire de Mas'ud n'arriva-t-il pas comme il le fallait? En fait, à un moment donné, les cardinaux à Rome commencèrent à flairer que quelque chose clochait. En 1718 Don Andrea Scandar, un prêtre maronite, attaché aux services ecclésiastiques romains, partit pour un voyage à travers tout le Proche-Orient. La Congrégation lui remit des instructions pour qu'il tire au clair les progrès éventuels de cette école au Caire, fondée trois ans plus tôt dans l'euphorie. Ingénument, Rome avoue: «non si sa se detta scuola sia più in essere»!¹⁰⁰

Arrivé mi-juillet 1718 au Caire, Don Andrea Scandar raconte à Don Gabriel les détails de son voyage sans faire allusion à l'école. Le 5 septembre 1718, le visiteur expédia un rapport détaillé à ses supérieurs hiérarchiques où la bombe est lâchée: après six mois d'existence, l'école pour les Coptes avait dû fermer ses portes.¹⁰¹ Les raisons? Le petit nombre d'élèves, mais aussi et surtout, le malheur que les disciples ne se laissaient pas conduire aux églises des missionnaires pour y assister, les Dimanches et les fêtes, aux prédications et aux offices (ce qui avait été le but principal de la création de cette œuvre). Don Mas'ud, finalement, restait chancelant dans sa foi; sa situation ne lui permettait pas une indépendance absolue par rapport au patriarche copte.

Ainsi prit fin l'existence éphémère de l'école pour les Coptes, malgré les efforts de la Propagande, bénévoles et sincères.

99 APF, *Acta* 85 (1715) Séance 17 décembre 1715, n.19 f. 661r-662r.

100 APF, *Acta* 88 (1718) Séance 8 mars 1718, n. 21 f. 145r.

101 APF, *Acta* 89 (1719) Séance 23 janvier 1719, n. 23 f. 45r-46r.

Les écoles de la Propaganda, dirigées par les Pères Jésuites: Don Andrea Scandar, Don Mas'ud, Don Giuseppe Dimanus.

Sûre de la justesse du principe, la Propagande ne démord pas de ses projets. En 1718, au printemps, Don Andrea Scandar part visiter l'Orient, et les cardinaux le chargent de faire une enquête sur l'état de l'école cairote.¹⁰² Après une quarantaine passée à Alexandrie à cause de la peste, Don Andrea poursuit son voyage au Caire, qu'il atteint dans le courant de juillet 1718; il y loge dans l'hospice des Jésuites.¹⁰³

L'ancienne formule s'était avérée invivable. L'école continuera quand même, mais la direction sera confiée, non aux trois supérieurs, mais aux Jésuites, en fait au Père Eliass Alepino, plus stable que le Père Sicard, son supérieur itinérant. Comme le Père Eliass risquait justement de recevoir une nomination pour la Syrie, la Congrégation expédia une lettre au père Nacchi, le provincial, le priant de laisser sur place le père, pour le moment indispensable, au moins provisoirement, jusqu'à ce que l'établissement projeté au Caire soit mené à bon terme. Pour le Père Nacchi, les désirs de la Congrégation furent des ordres et le père Eliass demeura à son poste.¹⁰⁴

Selon toute vraisemblance, l'erreur commise quelques années auparavant, résidait dans l'absence de contacts avec le patriarche copte. Bien que les documents datant de 1715 ne fassent pas mention de sa personne, certains détails donnent à penser que le patriarche s'est montré irrité; du fait que les écoliers ou leurs parents ne voulaient point fréquenter les églises des missionnaires, on peut présumer, sans risque de se tromper beaucoup, qu'ils craignaient le courroux du patriarche. Cette fois, contrairement à 1715, ce prélat fut partie prenante dans le rétablissement de l'école.

S'adressant le 12 novembre 1719 à la Congrégation, le Père Eliass fait le point de la situation, et il rend compte des derniers mois, riches en événements mémorables. Un certain nombre d'autres documents, mais tous de novembre 1719, s'y ajoutent pour nous transmettre, d'une façon circonstanciée, le récit de la résurrection de l'école.¹⁰⁵

102 APF, *Acta* 85 (1715) Séance 17 décembre 1715, n. 19 f. 661r-662r.

103 LE IV, p. 434, Cf p. 487.

104 Lettre au P. Nacchi, 6 mai 1719, APF, *Lettere* 108 (1719), f. 83r; réponse du P. Nacchi, 20 août 1719, APF, *SC Egitto Copti* 2, f. 185rv.

105 Plusieurs documents entre 1 et 12 novembre 1719, APF, SOCG 624, f. 470r-485r;

D'abord, le peuple copte venait d'accueillir un nouveau patriarche. Âgé de trente-trois ans, l'ancien supérieur du couvent Saint-Paul reçut la consécration le 21 août 1718. Il prit le nom de Pierre VI, et se montra d'un caractère détestable: il excommunia les catholiques. Cette mesure retarda l'ouverture de l'école. Le père Eliass dut, avant tout, apaiser la colère du patriarche et calmer la tempête soulevée par les Coptes; jaloux, ce peuple s'emporta contre les catholiques dont le nombre croissait avec régularité, aussi bien celui des fidèles que celui des prêtres. De leur côté, et exploitant le soupçon séculaire des Turcs contre tout ce qui sent le *Franc*, les Grecs ameutèrent les gouvernants du pays.¹⁰⁶ Désorientés et les larmes aux yeux, les pauvres diables de catholiques vinrent chercher refuge et secours chez le père Eliass; celui-ci: «dopo mille prieghi et alcuni regali» parvint à apaiser le patriarche.¹⁰⁷ Selon le principe qu'il faut battre le fer quand il est chaud, le père aborda le problème de l'école. Habilement, il présenta ses arguments. Cette institution pouvait être établie chez un brave prêtre arménien catholique, Don Suchias Vartabit, disposé à la recevoir sous son toit. Un bienfaiteur connu du père Eliass la subventionnerait. Le missionnaire expliqua au patriarche comment le peuple copte, désireux de recevoir une instruction dans les choses de la foi, venait chez les catholiques, car leurs propres prêtres, ignorants et pris par leur métier ou par des affaires familiales, omettaient de s'en occuper.¹⁰⁸ Le patriarche se montra tout à fait satisfait de ces explications. Et de bon gré, il accepta de recommander cette école et d'exhorter ses ouailles à envoyer leurs enfants chez le maître, Don Mas'ud. Les cartons de la Propagande contiennent le texte de cette ordonnance, copiée par Mas'ud, et sa traduction, un peu libre, pas toujours exacte, en italien.

D'après ce texte, ces élèves furent surtout des *chierici piccoli*, des *shamamisat* en arabe, les enfants de chœur de l'église de la Vierge à Haret Zuweila (et non: Bab Zuweila, comme porte la traduction). Don Mas'ud s'engagea à leur enseigner à lire et à écrire, et les choses nécessaires pour le service de l'église, probablement la langue et le chant copte.

Mon. Prox. Or. VI, doc. 131-134 pp. 336-347; Note sur l'école du Caire: APF, *SC Egitto-Copti* 2, f. 184r.

¹⁰⁶ De nombreux détails dans *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 132 et 133, pp. 337-345.

¹⁰⁷ *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI doc. 132, pp. 337-338.

¹⁰⁸ *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI doc. 133, pp. 340-345.

Sur ces entrefaites, Don Andrea Scandar, parti pour un long voyage à travers la Syrie et la Mésopotamie, rentra le 28 octobre 1719, sain et sauf, dans la capitale égyptienne. En ce qui concerne Don Mas'ud, le maître d'école, le visiteur n'y alla pas de main morte. Quatre jours plus tard, le premier novembre 1719, Don Mas'ud fut convoqué à l'hospice des Jésuites et la même procédure que quatre ans auparavant devant Don Assemani, se répéta. On lui intima «fortement, più e più volte» de se montrer fort dans la foi catholique, d'enseigner les élèves gratis, sans réclamer de scolarités, de leur apprendre à lire et à écrire en arabe, les prières, la doctrine chrétienne, de leur faire réciter tous les jours le Pater, l'Ave, le Credo, etc. En contrepartie, le père Eliass lui réglerait un salaire de cinquante écus par an (dont personne presque ne savait d'où ils venaient; les gens croyaient que Don Suchias, présent avec le père Sicard à l'entretien, était le bienfaiteur anonyme).¹⁰⁹ De nouveau, Don Mas'ud promit tout ce qu'on voulait de lui et il s'engagea même par écrit.¹¹⁰ Le lendemain, le 2 novembre 1719, Don Scandar procéda à l'ouverture de l'école au nom de Dieu, de la sainte Vierge, de saint Pierre, le prince des Apôtres et de saint Marc, protecteur de l'église d'Alexandrie. Peu de jours plus tard, Don Scandar et le père Elias rendirent visite à l'école; il n'y avait encore que dix élèves mais on espérait que, avec le temps, leur nombre croîtrait.

Après plusieurs mois, Don Scandar envoya des nouvelles réconfortantes à la Propagande: l'école marchait d'une façon satisfaisante.¹¹¹ Une visite-éclair à la maison de Don Suchias où l'enseignement se dispensait, lui avait fait constater que le nombre des élèves s'élevait à dix-huit garçons (dont quelques-uns d'un autre rite: des Grecs, des Arméniens) et qu'ils savaient correctement réciter certaines prières.

Entre temps, le père Elias écrivit à Don Assemani une lettre, où il confirmait l'ouverture et le bon progrès du petit établissement, mais où il se permettait d'exprimer, en même temps, son désir que le salaire de Don Mas'ud soit porté à soixante écus, vu certains frais qu'il devait supporter: loyers, et pertes dans les émoluments de ses ministères (Don Mas'ud devait se consacrer entièrement à son devoir d'enseignant). Le missionnaire demandait qu'on

109 Lettre Don Andrea Scandar, 5 mars 1720, APF, SOCG 626 (1720), ff. 255r-256v.

110 Lettre au P. Nacchi, 6 mai 1719, APF, *Lettere* 108 (1719), f. 83r; réponse du P. Nacchi, 20 août 1719, APF, *SC Egitto Copti* 2, f. 185rv.

111 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI doc. 133, pp. 340-345.

lui fasse parvenir quelques objets de dévotion: des chapelets, de petites croix, des médailles, à donner comme récompense aux élèves méritants.¹¹² À la fin le Père Elias suggérait à la Propagande d'ouvrir au Caire une seconde école, destinée, cette fois, non aux Coptes mais aux autres nations. Ses arguments: l'étendue de la ville, le nombre élevé des enfants qu'un seul établissement ne suffisait pas à absorber, les grandes distances à parcourir. Trouver un maître d'école ne présentait pas un problème majeur, car Don Name, prêtre syrien, pourrait remplir avec succès cette tâche, pourvu que la Congrégation lui assure un salaire honnête et convenable. Dans ses séances du 3 juin 1720 et du 2 décembre suivant, la Propagande étudia et discuta cette proposition et, à moitié gagnée, elle finit par solliciter l'avis du supérieur du couvent des Franciscains de Terre Sainte.

En 1721, le drame éclata de nouveau. Les catholiques paraissaient jouir d'une paix sereine, dans la joie et l'unité d'esprit. Leur nombre ne cessait d'augmenter, une réalité que les autres chrétiens supportaient de moins en moins. Un jour, l'orage, contenu pendant quelque temps, se déchaîna. Les excommunications pleuvent, le patriarche tempête et ramène avec force ses ouailles sous sa coupe, parmi elles Don Mas'ud et Nasim (son frère ?).¹¹³ Un diacre, Salib, pour échapper aux sbires du patriarche, se voit obligé de chercher refuge dans la maison d'un Turc. Quant à l'école, elle fut fermée, supprimée. Mais c'était la défection de Don Mas'ud qui se faisait sentir le plus cruellement; l'ascendant du père Elias sur lui n'avait pas pu empêcher ce prêtre de communiquer in sacris avec les orthodoxes.¹¹⁴

Entre temps, les cardinaux de la Propagande, dans l'ignorance des graves événements du Caire, poursuivaient en toute tranquillité leurs discussions sur la suggestion du Père Elias d'ouvrir d'autres écoles. D'après les avis recueillis, les missionnaires furent d'accord, et jugèrent une deuxième école utile, voire nécessaire, mais ils ne savaient pas comment réaliser ce projet, faute de maîtres compétents, quoiqu'en puisse dire le Père Elias. Pour instruire la jeunesse, les missionnaires, par habitude, pensaient

112 Note par Elias voir Lettre au P. Nacchi, 6 mai 1719, APF, *Lettere* 108 (1719), f. 83r; réponse du P. Nacchi, 20 août 1719, APF, *SC Egitto Copti* 2, f. 185rv.

113 Quelques lettres écrites par les notables coptes au Père Benedetto da Teano donnent des détails de cette situation de paix et de persécution: COLOMBO, *La nascita*, pp. 198-200; 204-207; 208-209.

114 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 139, pp. 352-353.

spontanément à un prêtre oriental, catholique, effectivement difficile à trouver vu les circonstances. À ce moment-là, Don Mas'ud semble avoir été déjà congédié pour son manque de constance;¹¹⁵ cela signifiait un maître en moins. Faute de mieux, un laïc paraît avoir pris la place.

Néanmoins, les avantages et les inconvénients éventuels d'un nombre plus grand d'écoles devaient être dûment envisagés sous tous les angles. Là-dessus, le Vice-Préfet présenta l'opinion suivante, assez sévère: «Si dovesse prendere informazione da persone degne di fede nel Cairo principalmente sopra il frutto che si era fin allora raccolto dalla scuola già eretta per i Copti, stante che essendo essi d'una nazione la piu miserabile fra tutte le altre, e naturalmente alieni dall'acquisto delle scienze, poteva con ragione dubitarsi, che dai loro genitori fosser mandati alla scuola per il fine di qualche utile temporale, appunto come si era veduto per esperienza praticarsi dai Greci, i quali mandavano i loro figli alla scuola presso i PP di Terra Santa, non ad altro fine, che per assicurar loro il vitto della mattina, ch'era somministrato a medesimi dai detti religiosi; e licenziati poi dalla scuola, seguivano la religione de loro genitori scismatici. Et inoltre propose, che se nel Cairo si trovasse qualche sacerdote Armeno capace, utilissimo sarebbe l'istituire la nuova scuola per gl'Armeni, molto piu disposti d'ogni altra nazione a far profitto negli studi, et abbracciare la santa Fede; tanto piu che essendosi rifugiare in quella città molte famiglie armene cattoliche quali per difetto d'assistenza vanno à poco à poco contraendi degli errori, i loro figli potrebbero ricevere i sacramenti almeno in privato, dal maestro della nuova scuola, e venir perfettamente educati nella cattolica religione».¹¹⁶

Exprimant son propre avis, le père Sicard se montre également déçu par le peu de succès de l'école copte; en ce qui concerne la seconde école, il exprima pourtant un sentiment favorable.¹¹⁷

Le père Elias s'efforce contre vents et marées de maintenir l'école copte. De nouveau, il use de tout son charme et de toute son influence auprès du Patriarche Pierre VI et, avec l'aide de Dieu, ainsi que de quelques marchands français, il parvient à ralentir

115 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 139, pp. 352-353; Congrégation 3 octobre 1721, APF, *Acta* 91 (1721), ff. 396r-397r; lettre Père Elias, 7 mai 1722, *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 147, pp. 363-365; le maître s'appelle aabd esserd (nom corrompu); ailleurs Abdallah (lettre Sion).

116 APF, *Acta* 91 (1721), ff. 396r-397r.

117 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 138, p. 350-351.

l'exécution de certaines mesures vexatoires contre les catholiques, et à désarmer graduellement le patriarche. Cependant, l'école resta fermée durant quarante jours; le nombre des élèves tomba de cinquante-sept à vingt-sept. Par une lettre du Père Elias, nous comprenons que Don Mas'ud, à part déjà sa fragilité religieuse, n'était plus capable, physiquement, de tenir en main ses élèves. Au début de l'année scolaire, sans doute en septembre 1722, un diacre s'en chargea.¹¹⁸ Malgré cela, l'école pour les Coptes, secouée tant de fois, périlait inexorablement; durant l'année scolaire 1722-1723, le nombre des élèves baissa de vingt-sept à quinze! D'autres périodes de persécution ralentirent la marche régulière, si bien que l'école ne fonctionna que pendant quatre mois. Le nouveau maître ne donna point satisfaction. Dans ces circonstances, le Père Elias préféra finalement ne pas gaspiller l'argent de la Congrégation. L'école des Coptes ferma ses portes.¹¹⁹

Si nous regardons bien, il existe au Caire depuis deux ans déjà, parallèle à l'école des Coptes, un deuxième établissement pour les enfants des autres nations, spécialement pour les Arméniens; il est dirigé par un ancien élève de la Propagande, Don Giuseppe/ Joseph Dimanus Abyssinus, prêtre éthiopien, échoué au Caire probablement quand il faisait route vers sa patrie.¹²⁰ Quoique les documents explicites fassent défaut, l'impression domine que Rome, désireuse d'ouvrir une seconde école au Caire, a formellement pris en charge (à un moment indéterminé mais peut-être en 1723, c'est-à-dire après l'échec de l'école copte), cet établissement dirigé par leur ancien élève.¹²¹ Le père Elias reçut des encouragements pour prêter assistance à Don Giuseppe. Ce dernier se montra très satisfait de son propre travail; il se vanta d'avoir converti vingt-deux de ses élèves. Son enthousiasme pourtant ne doit pas cacher le fait que cet établissement connut des ennuis; selon les années, il passa par des hauts et des bas. Les élèves étaient peu nombreux, sans que nous sachions le nombre exact.

118 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 139, pp. 352-353; Congrégation 3 octobre 1721, APF, *Acta* 91 (1721), ff. 396r-397r; lettre Père Elias, 7 mai 1722, *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 147, pp. 363-365; le maître s'appelle aabd esserd (nom corrompu); ailleurs Abdallah (lettre Sion).

119 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 154, pp. 377-380; doc. 158, pp. 388-390.

120 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 154, pp. 377-380; TROSSEN, *Les relations*, p. 91 note 25; Congr. génér. 28 janvier 1727, APF, *Acta* 97 (1727), ff. 31v-33r.

121 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 154, pp. 377-380; lettre Don Dimanus 9 août 1723, APF, *SC Egitto Copti* 2, f. 314rv.

Le supérieur des Capucins, chez qui l'enseignement avait lieu, mit un jour Don Giuseppe et ses disciples à la porte.¹²² Dans une lettre obséquieuse à la Propagande¹²³ pour expliquer son geste apparemment inamical, le supérieur, le Père Giuseppe della Carità, se lamenta en disant que ce n'était pas la bonne volonté qui lui manquait, mais l'espace. Vu la dureté des temps, une partie de l'hospice des Capucins dut être louée à un commerçant pour assurer ainsi un revenu, à défaut des aumônes habituelles; ensuite, le supérieur enseigna chez lui cinq ou six petits Français, et les habitants de la contrée n'aimaient pas voir les gens du pays passer par leur ruelle. Au fond, le brave Capucin ne désirait guère souffrir pour un idéal d'après lui irréaliste. De l'école des Coptes n'est jamais sorti aucun catholique. Quant au maître, l'opinion du supérieur sur Don Giuseppe n'a rien de favorable.

Malgré tous ces ennuis, l'école continue. Deux lettres du début de 1727, nous renseignent sur l'état des choses à ce moment.¹²⁴ Entre autres, Don Dimanus est gêné par un problème d'argent. Les religieux du Caire se montrent peu disposés à collaborer. Etant forcé de quitter les locaux des Capucins, Don Dimanus ne trouve aucun abri ailleurs, ni chez les pères de Terre Sainte, ni chez les Réformés, de sorte qu'il se voit obligé de louer une pièce dans le quartier des Turcs, contre paiement d'un loyer. Les versements de ses honoraires traînent en longueur; à la suite de la peste de 1726, la vie au Caire a considérablement renchéri. Néanmoins, l'école marche bien et avec fruit, le Père Elias pourra l'attester. Signalons en passant que le zélé directeur prie les cardinaux de lui envoyer une bible latine - arabe, et l'Épitomé de Brizio.¹²⁵

Le 28 avril 1727, le père Elias (c'est le père Nacchi qui a écrit la lettre en entier, signature comprise) annonce à la Propagande le décès de leur ancien élève, Don Giuseppe Dimanus, survenu le 2 avril 1727. En trois jours, la peste l'avait emporté et «con la morte poi del predetto Sgr D. Giuseppe e morte ancora la scuola». Pour plusieurs années.¹²⁶

122 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 158, pp. 388-390.

123 Lettre P. Giuseppe della Carità, 20 avril 1725, APF, SOCG 655 (1725), f. 128rv.

124 Cong. génér. 28 janvier 1727, APF, *Acta* 97 (1727), n.15 ff. 31v-33r; *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 171 p. 408-409.

125 Lettre Elias 7 mai 1722, *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 147, pp. 363-365; Congr. génér. 28 janvier 1727, APF, *Acta* 97 (1727) n. 15, p. 32v.

126 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 172, p. 411. Le décès du P. Dimanus est donné comme

Mais sa mort apporta au dossier des écoles un nouvel élément. Sachant que Don Dimanus avait laissé tous ses modestes biens en héritage à la Congrégation de la Propagande, le père Elias se permit de suggérer aux cardinaux que la somme qu'on en retirerait puisse servir comme fondation pour une école.

L'école des Jésuites 1736-1762

Durant de longues années, les documents parvenus jusqu'à nous ne mentionnent plus l'existence d'aucune école confiée aux Jésuites. Cependant, le père Élia fit sans doute patiemment son possible pour recueillir des fonds et des dons. En 1760 encore, Mgr Giuseppe Assemani témoigne avoir vu ce zélé missionnaire à l'œuvre,¹²⁷ frappant aux portes des riches commerçants, mendiant pour ses pauvres et pour son école. Le rapport du père Jean-Pierre de Lachapelle¹²⁸ fait état des efforts du père Pierre Hodoul¹²⁹ dans le même sens.¹³⁰ Ce dernier séjourna au Caire de 1736 à 1740. Tout indique que les Jésuites n'ont jamais songé à abandonner entièrement l'instruction de la jeunesse, mais les circonstances furent plus fortes qu'eux.

Le 2 octobre 1736, le père Elias, vénérable mais infatigable septuagénaire, fit savoir au Père Retz, Général, qu'il comptait ouvrir, quelques jours plus tard, une école pour les Coptes.¹³¹ Le même jour la Propagande reçut un message identique.¹³² Est-ce que, les années précédentes, la conjoncture ne s'était pas présentée favorablement pour l'exécution de ce dessein? Le fait est que le père fait allusion aux bonnes dispositions du Patriarche Jean XVII

suit dans le *Liber mortuorum*, conservé à la paroisse des PP Franciscains, Mousky, Le Caire, f 28v: «Die vero secunda Aprilis eiusdem anni (sc 1727) morbo pestilentiali correptus, et reffectus de more Ecclesiae sacramentis, defunctus fuit Dominus Joseph, vulgo dictus l'Abyssino Sacerdos alumnus, et Missionarius Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, et sepulturae traditus fuit, (de mea licentia) in Sepulchro Fratrum Minorum Terrae Sanctae, existente in supra dicta ecclesia, praehabitis prius functionibus de more. Frater Gregorius qui supra».

127 Attestation de Mgr Assemani, 22 août 1760, APF, CP 132, f 133r.

128 Jean-Pierre Lachapelle, *3.XI.1723 Clermont-Ferrand, S.J. 10.X.1739 Toulouse, + 3.VI.1764 Alep (*Mon. Prox. Or. VI*, pp. 618-619).

129 Pierre Hodoul, * 25.VII.1701, S.J. 5.XI.1718 Avignon, + 27.VI.1744 Damas (*Mon. Prox. Or. VI*, pp. 617-618).

130 *Mon. Prox. Or. VI*, doc. 236 et 237, pp. 571-579.

131 Lettre Elias 2 octobre 1736, *Mon. Prox. Or. VI*, doc. 197, pp. 465-467.

132 Lettre Elias 2 octobre 1736, *Mon. Prox. Or. VI*, doc. 196, pp. 463-465.

(qui, durant ces années, faillit se déclarer ouvertement catholique), pour procéder à l'ouverture d'une école avec un brave copte-catholique comme professeur.

Une petite phrase attire l'attention: *alla mia spessa*, à mes frais, expression répétée régulièrement pendant la période suivante. D'une subvention de la Propagande, il n'est plus question; grâce à une fondation, l'école des Jésuites pour les Coptes arrive à tourner. Aussi bien le père Général que le Cardinal Belluga, touchés et généreux, envoient un secours substantiel,¹³³ avec promesse du dernier de porter sa contribution de trente à cinquante écus par an en cas d'ouverture d'une seconde école. Sur ces entrefaites, le Père Elias Alepino est décédé le 28 décembre 1736, plein de mérites et regretté par tous les chrétiens.

L'œuvre lancée fut poursuivie par ses confrères, animés de la même conviction. Le supérieur de la résidence, le père Yves de Lerne,¹³⁴ fait savoir au père général, que l'école se trouve dans une maisonnette louée par le Père Elias et que, aussi bien lui même que le Père Hodoul, allaient fréquemment visiter ce «*tam pium et utile opus*».¹³⁵

Durant l'année 1738, le père Michel Angelo da Vestigné arrive pour visiter les missions des Franciscains en Égypte. Un long rapport de sa main, adressé à la Congrégation, fait le point sur les écoles du pays.¹³⁶ Certains détails sur la situation locale nous échappent. Don Raphaël Tukhi – ainsi le fait-il savoir à la Propagande – n'éprouve pas la moindre envie de s'occuper d'une école publique, comme le souhaite la Propagande, et cela pour plusieurs raisons: manque de place dans sa maison, disproportion entre ses honoraires et les frais à supporter, danger d'avaries. Au fond, Don Raphaël, vrai studax, aime mieux se consacrer à des travaux de recherche, même au prix de sa santé, que de se charger

133 Avis de réception du P. de Lerne, 27 mai 1737, *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 201, p. 474; lettre de la Propagande au père Elias Alepino, février 1737, APF, SC 4 (1736-1740), ff. 73r-74v.

134 Yves de Lerne, * 24.XI.1670 Quentin, S.J. 17.IX.1678 Paris, + 20.VIII.1746 Tripoli (*Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, pp. 619-620).

135 Avis de réception du P. de Lerne, 27 mai 1737, *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 202, pp. 475-480.

136 APF, *Lettere* 14, pp. 21-30 (30 mars 1738), spécialement pp. 24 et 25; *Lettere* 15, pp. 30-34 (28 mai 1738), surtout p. 34; COLOMBO, *Le origini*, doc. III, reproduit le texte qui se trouve aux APF, sub doc. III, en partie seulement, omettant le passage sur les écoles.

d'enseigner les enfants. D'autre part – écrit le Père Michel Angelo – les Jésuites vont ouvrir («devono erigere») une école dans la contrée des Francs pour les enfants grecs, arméniens et pour les quelques Coptes voisins, durant le mois de mai 1738, sur la demande d'un «bienfaiteur» (sans doute les Jésuites eux-mêmes, aidés par leur fondation). Devons-nous comprendre qu'à part l'école du Père Elias pour les Coptes, la résidence envisagea une autre école, interrituelle cette fois? Ce n'est pas tout à fait clair. Cet établissement des Jésuites, situé dans la contrée des Francs, souffre de l'inconvénient de se trouver loin du lieu où habitent la plupart des Coptes, à savoir: «Asbakia», à une lieue italienne et demie de distance. Les enfants coptes ne pourraient pas fréquenter l'école dans la contrée; pourtant ce quartier d'Asbakia représente la huitième partie de la ville du Caire et il est entièrement habité par des chrétiens coptes. La solution du Père Michel Angelo, peu élégante il est vrai, mais dictée par les circonstances, fut de s'entendre avec Don Salib Bezzo, prêtre copte catholicisant, résidant dans ce quartier même où il dirigeait déjà une école.¹³⁷

Sans que les gens le sachent, la Congrégation la prendrait en charge; Don Salib recevrait des honoraires de cinquante écus; on lui enverrait aussi les enfants coptes-catholiques. Don Salib devait apprendre aux enfants à lire et à écrire, et surtout la vraie religion. Deux prêtres catholiques, Don Raphaël Tukhi et Don Giovanni Costantini, grec-catholique, rendraient visite de temps à autre à cette école, comme «médecins», pour contrôler la santé spirituelle, c'est-à-dire le progrès religieux des disciples de Don Bezzo. Pour ne pas heurter de front la susceptibilité des non-catholiques, personne, à part quelques initiés, ne saurait que cet établissement de Don Bezzo relèverait en fait de Rome. La solution nous paraît plus ingénieuse qu'élégante et honnête; son histoire ultérieure dépasse le cadre de notre étude.

En janvier 1740, le Père Antoine Gueynard,¹³⁸ le vice-provincial (superior generalis), envoie à Rome une information intéressante: ses confrères venaient d'ouvrir une école où les Coptes apprenaient l'arabe et la religion.¹³⁹ Cette lettre était écrite en un latin très poli,

137 Basetti-Sani, *La mission*, pp. 362-365.

138 Antoine Gueynard, * 19.07.1705 Billom, S.J. 2.09.1723 Toulouse, † 1778 Damas (ARSI, Schedario unificato Lamalle, *sub nomine*).

139 Lettre Gueynard, 16 janvier 1740, *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 207, pp. 488-489: «...in fama et auctoritate concilianda ludo litterario quem nuper aperuerunt, in quo una cum rudimentis linguae arabicae educuntur Copti indumenta religionis».

d'après un ouï-dire, il est vrai, car la résidence du Caire n'avait pas encore été l'objet d'une visite de sa part.

D'après ce qu'il semble, cette institution ne dura que trois ans environ, de 1737 jusqu'à 1740. C'est par une indication indirecte que nous le savons: aucune lettre du Caire ne la mentionne plus et d'ailleurs, la résidence demeura à peu près un an sans occupant.¹⁴⁰ Le vice-préfet, le père Jacques de Kremsier, Réformé, signale en passant, dans un rapport à Rome, que personne parmi les missionnaires ne s'occupe de la jeunesse et que les Coptes-catholiques eux-mêmes désirent prendre en main le, ou un établissement scolaire.¹⁴¹ L'explication de ce fait est donnée dans une longue relation de 8 décembre 1743: «quando viveva quel zelantiso porporato E. Belluga, ha dato qualche limosina: come pure il revmo P. Ret.e (=Retz) Generale de PP Gesuiti, come lo racconto' il P. Grle in Rome; e fu mantenuto con tal denaro qui in Cajro un certo Abd Alla el Kassar, un braviso maestro, credo per 3 anni. Consumato quel denaro si sero' la scuola alli poveri fanciulli».¹⁴²

Incontestablement, les cardinaux avaient ce texte sous les yeux pendant leur congrégation générale le 1er juin 1744, car ces mots s'y trouvent presque textuellement reproduits.¹⁴³ Même le plus bel apostolat ne peut se faire sans de sérieuses ressources matérielles!

Après qu'en mars 1744, les trois Jésuites de la résidence ont succombé à la peste, l'un après l'autre, dans l'espace de quinze jours, le Père Marc-Antoine Seguran (1696-1753) vient au Caire, et «iterato maximo cum emolumento»,¹⁴⁴ il parvient à rouvrir une école, en se faisant seconder par une personne qui dominera, pendant une vingtaine d'années, la chronique scolaire: Don Giuseppe el-Fayyumi,¹⁴⁵ homme d'environ quarante ans.¹⁴⁶ L'école prospère

140 Sc l'année 1740-1741, Charles LIBOIS, "Les Jésuites de l'Ancienne Compagnie en Egypte, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* LI/101 (1982), pp.161-189.

141 APF, *Lettere* 41, p. 93 (28 septembre 1742); COLOMBO, *Le origini*, doc. XIX, p. 184: «et cum nemo nostrum, nec PP Terrae Sanctae, nec PP Societatis, nec nos scholam erectam habeant...».

142 APF, *Lettere* 46, p. 119 (8 décembre 1743); COLOMBO, *Le origini*, doc. XXI, partiellement reproduit, omettant notre passage.

143 Congr. génér. 1 juin 1744, APF, *Acta* 114 (1744) 22 sub VII, f 227r-229r.

144 Lettre Kremsier au P. Retz, 26 février 1745, *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI doc. 209, p. 498.

145 APF, *Lettere* 49, p. 124 (15 février 1745); COLOMBO, *Le origini*, doc. XXVIII, partiellement reproduit.

146 APF, *Lettere* 63, p. 155 (4 octobre 1747), voir TROSSEN, doc. LVI: 42 ans en 1747.

(«va giornalmente crescendo») pour le moment! Un autre prêtre, Don Antonio, est empêché d'ouvrir une école dans le quartier où il habite, à Asbakia, à cause de l'opposition des non-catholiques, qui est si forte que l'on conseille aux catholiques d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école des Jésuites, celle du P. Seguran et du P. Giuseppe el-Fayyumi.¹⁴⁷

Le Père Seguran ne demeure pas plus d'une année au Caire, sans doute, à cause, au moins en partie, d'une incompatibilité d'humeur entre lui et d'Amirat, le consul français.¹⁴⁸ Les relations entre les Jésuites et les consuls de France ne sont plus empreintes de la même chaleur qu'à l'époque de Benoît de Maillet et du Père Verzeau ou du Père Dubernat. À la place du père Seguran, arrive le père Emmanuel Buman,¹⁴⁹ un Suisse de Fribourg; débarqué fraîchement d'Europe, il devient le nouveau supérieur, le pivot de la résidence; il le restera une trentaine d'années.¹⁵⁰

Depuis ce moment, l'école fonctionna sans interruption et, apparemment, toujours dans l'hospice même des Jésuites,¹⁵¹ jusqu'à sa fermeture en 1762. Le père Giuseppe el-Fayyumi assurait l'enseignement aux élèves, contre des honoraires réguliers de la part des Jésuites;¹⁵² son renvoi vers 1759 signifiera le début de la fin.

Plusieurs témoignages confirment la marche régulière de l'école. Dans une courte relation à la Propaganda, le Père Séverin Martin, Récollet, fort d'une expérience de huit ans sur place, mentionne – sans faire état d'autres écoles – l'établissement des Jésuites, disant: «une petite école établie par les Jésuites sous la direction d'un prêtre gopte catholique ... et cette école demande l'attention».¹⁵³

C'était en 1750. Une année après, en 1751, arrive dans la résidence cairote un Jésuite bavarois, le père Florian Renschmid.¹⁵⁴ Dans les

147 APF, *Lettere* 49, 15 février 1745, p. 124; lettre de la Propaganda à Don Justus el Maraghi, 18 septembre 1745, dans COLOMBO, *Le origini*, doc. XXX, p. 207.

148 APF, *Lettere* 51, lettre Kremsier 16 juillet 1745, p. 129.

149 Emmanuel Buman, * 23.12.1712 Fribourg, S.J. 07.09.1731 Lyon; † 1779 Le Cairo (DHCJ I, p. 571).

150 APF, *Lettere* 51, lettre Kremsier 16 juillet 1745, p. 129; lettre consul d'Amirat, Le Caire, 1 avril 1745, *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI doc. 210, p. 500.

151 Rapport (sans date, prob. 1759) du P. Raphaël d'Orléans, APF, CP 132, ff. 28v-30v.

152 APF, *Lettere* 63, lettre Kremsier, 4 octobre 1747, p. 155; TROSSEN, o.c. doc. LVI, p. 213.

153 Lettre P. Severin Martin, Lorette 2 mars 1750, APF, SRC *Egitto-Copti* 5, ff. 28v-30v.

154 Florian Renschmid, * 1718 Göttlkofen, S.J. 28.09.1735 Landsberg, † 05.04.1758 Damas (*Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, p. 623-624).

quelques rares lettres qui, par bonheur, sont conservées de cette période et qui sont de sa main, il est question de certains dons pour l'école.¹⁵⁵ L'avis de réception qu'il envoie n'a rien de surprenant en soi et l'arrivée heureuse de fl 220.- après une longue attente, a de quoi réjouir tout le monde. Les paroles suivantes pourtant piquent notre curiosité: «Ein Teil sei der Lehrerin zum Trost ihres langen geduldigen Wartens gegeben worden».¹⁵⁶ C'est le mot «Lehrerin», «maîtresse» qui provoque notre étonnement, car il indique que pendant un certain temps, un groupe de filles bénéficia également de l'enseignement dans l'école des Jésuites. Sans que ce soit un fait rarissime, il revêt un caractère inhabituel pour l'époque.¹⁵⁷ Ce témoignage n'est pas isolé; quelques autres le confirment.

Signalons en passant une relation du Frère Wasmer,¹⁵⁸ écrite à Alep et datée du 5 février 1757. Le Frère ne s'est jamais rendu en Égypte, mais il en a entendu parler, notamment du fameux père Sicard, mort depuis trente ans, et de l'école du Caire, qui ressemble à celle de Damas.¹⁵⁹

Cette même année, où les relations entre les prêtres coptes-catholiques et les Franciscains Réformés connaissent des frictions sérieuses, la Propagande établit un questionnaire détaillé, destiné au Père Supérieur de la résidence des Jésuites. Le supérieur en charge était le Père Étienne-Philippe Cuenot¹⁶⁰ mais, en raison de sa petite santé, il ne put rester que quelques mois; le Père Buman prit la liberté de fournir les réponses aux questions posées. *Sub* no 8, la Propagande trace d'abord un court historique des différents établissements fondés par elle en 1744, et elle désire savoir quels en furent les résultats.¹⁶¹ De cette façon, en rétrospective, nous apprenons comment l'école des Jésuites avait commencé. Dans le temps, une école avait été ouverte par un nommé Antonio,

155 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 222; 224; 226.

156 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 222, pp. 519-520.

157 MONTANO, *Etiopia francescana*, I, p. LXXVI et p. 90; DOR, *L'instruction*, p. 185.

158 Antoine Wasmer, * 22.05.1712 *hungarus*, S.J. 07.04.1739 Avignon, † 13.07.1762 Alep (ARSI, Schedario unificato Lamalle, *sub nomine*).

159 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 228, pp. 544-546.

160 Etienne Philippe Cuenot, * 04.01.1717 diocèse Besançon, S.J. 07.09.1736 Avignon, † 1781 Syria (ARSI, Schedario unificato Lamalle, *sub nomine*).

161 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 229, pp. 546-551; Note au sujet des écoles en Égypte, APF, CP 123, f. 137 ss., n. XXX.

un moine.¹⁶² Par sa conduite peu régulière, ce personnage perdit rapidement toute considération. Les Jésuites, vraisemblablement le père Seguran, prirent cet établissement en charge et en assumèrent les frais, entre autres le salaire annuel de vingt sequins pour le maître, Don Giuseppe el- Fayyumi.

Dans ses réponses aux questions pertinentes de la Propagande, le Père Buman fournit des informations très instructives. Quant aux écoles, le père répond (sans parler d'autres établissements, indépendants de la Propagande et fondés à titre privé par certains prêtres pour subvenir à leurs besoins):

Il y a au Caire pour les enfans catholiques deux écoles, une pour les garçons, l'autre pour les filles, la première établie depuis 15 à 16 ans, la seconde depuis 5, l'une et l'autre s'entretiennent aux dépens et par les soins des missionnaires Jésuites; si les fonds qu'ils ont eu de personnes pour ce bon œuvre, sont un peu courts, ils ont soin de suppléer et de faire en sorte que ces deux écoles se fassent le mieux qu'il soit possible dans le pays.¹⁶³

Un rapport envoyé à Rome par le Commissaire Général de Terre-Sainte en 1760 confirme cet état des choses:

Duo sunt magistri, unus sacerdos coptus, qui vices gerit PP Jesuitarum circa Juventutis instructionem, ut fertur in civitate, et ab iisdem patribus tenuem accipit eleemosynam, quam mensile stipendium vocant. Pro instructione puellarum tenentur quoque sustentare per annum stipendium aliquam foeminam moribus probatam, quae dictas puellas edoceat in litteris ac fidei indumentis. Pro tali munere intelligimus fundatum fuisse quoddam legatum perpetuum ac Patres Jesuitas continuo accipere eleemosynas a benefactoribus civitatis. Alius invenitur magister saecularis pro iuventute instituenda; et hic vivit de incertis puerorum discipulorum.¹⁶⁴

162 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 229, p. 550.

163 *Mon. Prox. Or.* doc. 231, n. 8, p. 560.

164 Leonhard LEMMENS, *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide pro Terra Santa. Pars II 1721-1847*, Quaracchi presso Firenze, Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1922, p. 192 n. 37.

La fin de l'école e le P. de Lachapelle

À partir de 1759 la situation subit une modification profonde. Le Père de Lachapelle,¹⁶⁵ nouveau supérieur depuis 1757, réussit un exploit que ses prédécesseurs avaient voulu entreprendre sans y parvenir: il congédia le Père el-Fayyumi! Ce geste est le déclic qui marque le début de la fin.

Dans une instruction que lui adresse la Propagande, le Père Giuseppe da Sassello, le préfet de la mission, reçoit l'ordre suivant:

Ella osserverà non essersi presa risoluzione neruna intorno alla scuola del Cairo, perche si ha notizia, che ivi si tiene aperta da' P.P. Gesuiti i quali pagano il maestro co' proventi di un danaro contribuito già qualche tempo da pii Benefattori a questo titolo. Negl' anni passati v'era Maestro il sud° sacerdote P. Giuseppe Fajume, il quale ha esposto di esserne lizenziato, ma non ne allega il motivo. Dall' esserne egli stato maestro può arguirsi, che vi concorressero ancora i Giovani Cofiti, e che s'insegnasse ivi la lingua ed il canto cofto ; ma non sappiamo, se tale sia l'obbligo della scuola, e del maestro. Ella procuri d'informarsene, e ragguagliarne la S^a Cong^e con trattare fratanto col P. Superiore della Compagnia, e persuaderlo a non privare di un tal comodo la Nazione Cofita, la quale merita di essere ajutata in modo particolare, e riguardata con occhio de parziale benignità.¹⁶⁶

Ce texte intéressant (il mentionne entre autres comme matière enseignée la langue et le chant coptes) attire l'attention sur deux points ; d'abord le licenciement de Don Giuseppe, pour des raisons pas tout à fait claires pour l'auteur de la lettre; ensuite l'existence d'une fondation qui «obligerait» les Jésuites à maintenir cette école. Un certain nombre de documents datant des années 1759 à 1763 traite de cette affaire.

À en croire le rapport du Père de Lachapelle au Père Général, le Père Giuseppe ne semblait pas être l'homme qu'il fallait, vraiment, malgré ses longues années de service.¹⁶⁷ Ni sa conduite morale, ni sa fermeté dans la foi ne donnaient plus satisfaction. La qualité de son enseignement, aussi, laissait fort à désirer. Était-

165 Jean-Pierre Lachapelle, * 3.XI.1723 Clermont-Ferrand, S.J. 10.10.1739, + 3.VI.1764 Alep (*Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, pp. 618-619).

166 Le Caire, Archives OFM, *Dossier «Propaganda Fide»*, lettre 78b (en date du 27 septembre 1760).

167 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 237, pp. 572-579.

ce l'âge? Le père avait presque cinquante-cinq ans. Ses leçons devaient avoir lieu «a labry dune puissante protection seculière»! Le Père de Lachapelle souligne que ses griefs ne datent pas d'hier; ses prédécesseurs avaient le même point de vue que lui, mais ils n'avaient pas pu agir en conséquence.

Bien entendu, le Père Giuseppe résista de toutes ses forces; il alerta la Propagande, disant que les Jésuites lui coupaient les vivres.¹⁶⁸ Pourtant, il ne manqua pas d'autres prêtres pour appuyer le jeune supérieur, par exemple Don Giovanni Farargi, le futur Vicaire Apostolique; de même, le Père Raphaël d'Orléans o.f.m.cap., le visiteur de la part de la Propagande.¹⁶⁹ Don Giuseppe el-Fayyumi passa en 1764 – 1765 à l'orthodoxie.¹⁷⁰

Fallait-il pour autant fermer complètement l'école et priver les Coptes d'un secours important? Les responsables cherchent activement une solution; ils pressent Don Giovanni Farargi de se charger de l'affaire, mais celui-ci se refuse.¹⁷¹ Vraisemblablement, cet ancien élève de la Propagande sentait trop bien son inaptitude; le Père de Lachapelle écrit, en termes non ambigus, qu'il considère Don Farargi incapable d'enseigner le rite et le chant coptes, du fait de ses études à Rome depuis sa tendre enfance. Le supérieur des Jésuites trouva un laïc excellent, un Maronite d'Alep; ce professeur fit si bien son travail que les Pères de Terre Sainte le subtilisèrent au profit de leur nouvelle école. En fin de compte, le père supérieur estima que le jeu ne valait pas la chandelle: le nombre d'élèves demeurait insuffisant, ils habitaient trop loin; aussi, éprouvait-il des difficultés pour en rassembler une douzaine et il y avait deux autres écoles au Caire, qui lui faisaient concurrence.¹⁷²

Plus sérieux était le problème des finances, plutôt le principe de la fondation. D'après plusieurs témoignages, l'impression

168 Voir plusieurs suppliques, en arabe, dans APF, CP 132, f. 202 en date du 3 novembre 1759, par Don Giuseppe el-Fayyumi; congrég. génér. 17 mai 1763, APF, *Acta* 133 (1763), f. 305 ss.

169 Lettre Farargi 15 avril 1762, APF, SRC *Egitto-Copti* 6, f. 216rv; rapport du P. Raphaël d'Orléans, résumé dans la séance de 19 janvier 1762, APF, *Acta* 132 (1762), n. 12 ff. 19r-23v; 28v-30v.

170 COLOMBO, *Origine*, p. 111 note 5; Colombo donne plusieurs détails biographiques sur Giuseppe el-Fayyumi.

171 Congr. génér. 19 janvier 1762, APF, *Acta* 132 (1762), n. 12 ff. 19r-23v; congr. gén. 17 mai 1763, APF, *Acta* 133 (1763), ff. 305r-308v; lettre à Mgr Fulaifel, 26 février 1762, APF, *Lettere* 200 (1762), ff. 84v-86v.

172 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 237 pp. 572-579.

prévalait que la marche de l'école était garantie par un fonds spécial. Or si le supérieur se mettait à distribuer l'argent de ce fonds à de «pauvres filles» (quelles filles?) au détriment de l'œuvre prioritaire qu'était l'école pour les Coptes, il dépassait ses pouvoirs. Cela provoqua une levée de boucliers, le reproche de détournement de fonds, des accusations à Rome.¹⁷³

Dans un long mémoire au Père Général, le Père de Lachapelle retrace l'historique de cette école et l'origine de cette fameuse fondation, source de tant de malentendus. Il put ainsi mieux se défendre contre une si grave accusation.

Oui, il existe une fondation. Le Père Elias, d'heureuse mémoire, avait amassé des fonds, ainsi que le Père Hodoul; le Père Général lui-même avait accordé un don substantiel. Non, cette fondation, ne comportait aucune obligation, du fait que c'étaient les Jésuites eux-mêmes qui l'avaient constituée. L'argent reçu était destiné à la marche de l'école, mais sans aucun engagement formel, sans aucun contrat avec un bienfaiteur quelconque. À cause des risques, ce capital de deux cents fondoqlis n'avait pas été placé à intérêt chez des tiers, chez des marchands à la fortune volage, mais transformé en un bien immobilier par l'achat d'un lopin de terre attenant à la maison (mais il n'est pas dit que c'était le fameux jardin des Jésuites, ou qu'il en faisait partie). Faute de registres de comptabilité, les détails de cette opération ne s'avèrent pas entièrement clairs; il semble qu'au lieu de recevoir un intérêt de neuf pour cent du capital, les Jésuites consacraient eux-mêmes un intérêt de neuf pour cent à cette école, garantie probablement par la plus-value du terrain. L'inconvénient pratique fut que, avec le temps, cet intérêt perdit de son pouvoir d'achat et ne suffisait plus pour l'entretien d'un bon maître d'école. Le Père Laurent Ricci (1700-1775), général, se permet d'ajouter, dans sa lettre à la Propagande, que le courant d'aumônes et de subventions de la France s'était tari à la suite de la suppression de la Compagnie dans ce pays des Bourbons.

C'est ainsi que l'école des Jésuites pour les Coptes disparut. D'une reprise éventuelle, d'ailleurs très peu probable, il n'est nullement question. Plus d'un siècle allait s'écouler avant que les Jésuites n'en ouvrent une autre. Ce fut en 1879, mais non sans

173 *Mon. Prox. Or.* VI, doc. 237-240 pp.572-583; lettre à Mgr Fulaifel, 26 février 1762, APF, *Lettere* 200 (1762), ff. 84v-86v; lettre Propagande au P. Ricci, gén. 23 décembre 1762, APF, *Lettere* 201 (1762), f. 137rv; congr. génér. 17 mai 1763, APF *Acta* 133 (1763), ff. 305r-308v.

qu'un ouragan n'ait fait tomber en ruines aussi bien la Compagnie ancienne que l'Égypte des Mameluks, et balayé toute la poussière du passé: Napoléon Bonaparte et Mohammed Ali créèrent un pays nouveau, et la Compagnie dut sortir vivante de l'épreuve de sa suppression.

Deux rapports pour la Congrégation de Propaganda Fide

En guise de corollaire pour clore cet article sur les écoles, ce paragraphe veut attirer l'attention sur deux rapports intéressants. Sans entrer directement dans le sujet général, à savoir l'établissement des Jésuites au Caire pour les enfants coptes, ces deux textes méritent d'être signalés. Le premier se trouve dans une plaquette d'un nommé Don Philippe Ason; le second présente le projet pour un collège en Égypte. Ces deux textes ajoutent d'utiles compléments d'information à notre sujet.

Quant au premier: les archives de la Propagande contiennent un petit traité, un cahier, d'environ cent-dix feuilles d'une écriture très lisible: «Dello stato del Christianesimo nell'Egitto, e dei mezzi per restituirvi la Religione Cattolica. Opera de D. Filippo Ason».¹⁷⁴ L'exposé s'adresse aux cardinaux de la Propagande: «Dall' esposto fin qui comprendono bene l'E.E.V.V. che...».¹⁷⁵ Nulle date précise, mais une phrase au début permet de le situer: «Raffaele Tukhi... attuale alunno in questo Collegio di Propaganda». Or, Tukhi arriva le 28 septembre 1724 au Collège Urbain.¹⁷⁶ Vers la fin du traité, il est question de quelques événements de 1723 et de 1725. Finalement, chapitre XIII: «Con qual' mezzo cominciò a stabilirsi di nuovo la Religione Cattolica nell' Egitto» reproduit une description des activités apostoliques des Jésuites, visiblement calquée sur les personnes de Sicard et d'Elias, ou imprégnée de leurs souvenirs. Ainsi, le petit traité a probablement été composé vers les années 1726-1727.

Parmi une série de descriptions d'Égypte, très livresques (apparemment tirées de différents ouvrages; cette plaquette ne vient pas d'un voyageur mais d'un rat de bibliothèque) se trouve, dans le chapitre XIII déjà mentionné, un tableau, à vrai dire, peu flatteur, des Coptes: leur ignorance, leur ténacité, leur méfiance, leur jalousie, et aussi celle des Turcs. Le chapitre suivant, la

174 APF, *Miscellanea Diverse* 12: Egitto e Etiopia, Relazione e Notizie, Quaderno VIII; (il manque une pagination précise). Nous n'avons pas réussi à identifier l'auteur.

175 Chapitre 14 au début.

176 COLOMBO, *Origini*, p. 19 note 1.

«Conclusionone del Trattato» donne à l'auteur l'occasion d'insister, et cela avec force, sur l'instruction en Égypte même, tout en reconnaissant le bienfait causé par la venue de quelques jeunes Coptes à Rome. Ce qu'il faut, ce sont: «scuole, libri, maestri». Les Coptes doivent recevoir leur instruction des Coptes eux-mêmes, et non des étrangers car ils se méfient toujours, d'une méfiance innée. Un bon maître copte fait accepter aisément son enseignement, si bien qu'un effet multiplicateur se crée spontanément. La Congrégation de la Propagande trouverait avantage à consacrer ses deniers au salaire d'un maître zélé et efficace.

Le second texte date de 1738 environ.¹⁷⁷ C'est un «Progetto per un Collegio nel Cairo», sans signature. Bien entendu, il ne s'agit pas d'un collège traditionnel des études Jésuites; le ou les auteurs pensent à une réplique d'un des collèges de Rome. De la part de la Propagande, aucune réaction! Faut-il le considérer comme un working-paper, ou une suggestion sans lendemain, sans engagement? Sans doute provient-il des prêtres catholiques ou catholicisants du Caire durant les années 1738 ou 1739.

Ce projet, même sans suite, est extrêmement instructif, non seulement par le fait qu'il existe, et que la nécessité d'un ou de plusieurs établissements scolaires en Égypte y est relevée avec insistance, mais également par les différents motifs proposés, qui militent pour ou contre telle ou telle solution.

L'exposé s'ouvre avec le constat, déjà connu, que peu de parents se montrent disposés à laisser partir leurs enfants à Rome. Il souligne ensuite l'inégalité énorme du niveau de vie entre l'Égypte et la Ville Éternelle: la qualité de la nourriture, du mobilier, de tout. Le garçon envoyé à Rome est dépaysé; après avoir été habitué à vivre dans ce milieu plus développé, son intégration et son adaptation aux conditions prédominantes dans sa patrie ne se font pas sans heurts, si même elles se font. Le milieu protégé des Collèges romains, le rend inapte à affronter la vie moins facile, et même dure, de l'Égypte.

Pour ces raisons, il vaut mieux avoir un collège en Égypte, pareil aux institutions de Rome, sans nier l'utilité d'envoyer de bons éléments directement à Rome. Le futur recteur y est déjà désigné: le prêtre grec-catholique, Don Giovanni Costantini, homme excellent, fort de connaissances théologiques et linguistiques (il connaît l'arabe, le latin, l'italien). Le prêtre copte-catholique Raphaël Tukhi pourrait prêter une assistance précieuse, à

177 APF, SRC *Egitto-Copti* 4, ff. 128r-129v et 143r-144r.

condition d'être soutenu par le premier, «poiche altrimente non è buono se non per scrivere e tradurre!». Enfin, il faut quelqu'un comme lecteur de philosophie, de morale, de controverse, choisi de préférence dans un ordre religieux de rite latin, afin de mieux souligner l'universalité de ce collège.

Les implications financières sont également passées en revue: les honoraires de Don Costantini devaient atteindre au moins cent écus, de Don Tukhi soixante-dix et pour le troisième soixante. Les frais scolaires ne doivent pas créer de problèmes majeurs, étant entendu que l'entretien d'un seul pensionnaire à Rome équivaut à celui de deux ou trois élèves en Égypte.

Ce projet si élaboré n'était-il pas encore un rêve trop idéaliste, une charge trop lourde, éventuellement, pour les quelques anciens élèves de la Propagande au Caire, plus zélés que réfléchis? Aucune suite n'a été donnée à ce projet d'une dépendance romaine dans la Vallée du Nil. L'eau du fleuve allait s'écouler pendant un siècle et demi encore, avant que, en 1879, la formation du clergé copte et de la jeunesse égyptienne put être entreprise, sur place, au Caire, par le Collège de la Sainte Famille.

Sommaire

Dès que les Jésuites sont arrivés en Egypte, dans le but de rétablir l'union entre l'Eglise copte d'Egypte et l'Eglise de Rome (1561 – 1563), ils ont envisagé de fonder un collège. Car, d'après les voyageurs européens de ce temps, le niveau intellectuel des Egyptiens était abominable. Les circonstances n'étaient pas alors favorables, mais dès que les Jésuites ont pu se fixer en 1697 dans une résidence au Caire, ils ont exécuté leur projet de Fonder une école. Tant bien que mal, l'école du Caire a fonctionné jusqu'en 1767.

Summary

As soon as the Jesuits arrived in Egypt with the aim of re-establishing union between the Coptic Church of Egypt and the Church of Rome (1561 – 1563), they thought of founding a school. According to European travellers of the time, the general level of education among Egyptians was low! The circumstances were not favorable. But as soon as the Jesuits were able to establish a fixed residence in Cairo in 1697, they carried out their project of opening a school, which continued – for better or for worse - until 1767.

El padre Pedro Páez S.J. frente a la interpretación bíblica etíope. La controversia sobre “cómo llenar una brecha mítica”

Leonardo Cohen*

En memoria de mi abuelo Moisés Shabot,
apasionado lector de la interpretación bíblica

Varias generaciones de misioneros jesuitas hicieron grandes esfuerzos por conseguir subordinar la Iglesia etíope al papado. En 1557, bajo la inspiración de Ignacio de Loyola –quien había puesto sumo interés en esta empresa–,¹ llegaron a Etiopía los primeros miembros de la Compañía de Jesús. De inmediato, comenzaron a debatir con el emperador y los líderes del monasticismo local cuestiones teológicas y cristológicas que ponían de relieve las tradiciones diversas en las que se fundamentaban ambas Iglesias, la católica y la ortodoxa etíope.²

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- 1 Santiago MADRIGAL TERRAZAS, *Estudios de Ecclesiología Ignaciana*, Bilbao, Descleé de Brouwer, 2002, pp. 25-102.
- 2 Las principales obras de los jesuitas en Etiopía, así como su rico epistolario, fueron publicadas entre los años 1903 y 1917 por el jesuita italiano Camillo Beccari, * 14.VII.1849 Roma, S.J. 31.X.1864 Roma, † 4.VIII. 1928 Roma (DHCJ I, p. 381). Esta formidable colección, cuyo título es *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculis XVI ad XIX*, 15 vols., Roma, C. de Luigi, 1903-1917, constituye la base sobre la que se fundamentan las principales investigaciones sobre este periodo. En los últimos 25 años han aparecido diversos estudios sobre la misión jesuita en Etiopía. Véase, por ejemplo, Sevir CHERNETSOV, “The Role of Catholicism in the History of Ethiopia of the First Half of the 17th Century”, en: Claude LEPAGE, Etienne DELAGE (ed.), *Études Éthiopiennes. Actes de la X conférence internationale des études éthiopiennes, Paris 24-28 août 1988*, 2 vols., París, Société française pour les études éthiopiennes, 1994, 1, pp. 205-212; Leonardo COHEN, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia (1555-1632)*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009; Andreu MARTÍNEZ D’ALÒS-MONER, *In the Company of*

Para los líderes de la Compañía de Jesús, la sociedad etíope representaba un modelo civilizatorio que exigía de los misioneros erudición bíblica, habilidades retóricas y cualidades argumentativas. Éstas constituían la mejor manera de alcanzar el éxito y convertir el mayor número de almas al catolicismo. Al considerarlo una tradición cismática, los jesuitas veían en los representantes del cristianismo etíope –monjes y demás letrados– interlocutores a los que debían convencer, persuadir y someter a partir de un elegante e impecable manejo de la interpretación bíblica, que pusiera en evidencia los “errores” de la tradición local y resaltara las verdades de la doctrina católica.³ Personajes de diferentes generaciones, como los patriarcas André de Oviedo⁴ y Afonso Mendes,⁵ o el célebre misionero Pedro Páez,⁶ consideraron que, a partir de este tipo de confrontaciones

Iyäsus. The Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia 1557-1632, Tesis doctoral, Departamento de Historia, European University Institute, 2008; *Id.* “The Birth of a Mission: The Jesuit Patriarchate in Ethiopia”, *Portuguese Studies Review* 10, 2 (2003) 1-14; Hervé PENNEC, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie). Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d’implantation (1495-1633)*, París, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003. Para una bibliografía más completa sobre el tema, consúltase LEONARDO COHEN y ANDREU MARTÍNEZ D’ALÒS-MONER, “The Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia (16th and 17th Centuries): An Analytical Bibliography”, *Aethiopica. International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies* 9 (2006), pp. 190-212.

- 3 Desde la perspectiva de los misioneros, ciertos estados eran percibidos como afines a los europeos y constituidos con base en un modelo civilizatorio parecido. Éste era el caso de China y también de Etiopía. Se consideraba que para acercar estos países al catolicismo era necesario un alto nivel educacional y un buen conocimiento de las fuentes. En conformidad con la visión jesuita, la religión etíope era una forma de cristianismo cismático, provisto de Sagradas Escrituras. Cuando João Nunes Barreto (* 1517 Oporto, S.J. XII.1544 Coimbra, † 22.XII.1562 Goa, *DHCJ* I, pp.352-353) el patriarca electo para Etiopía, escribe al Rey Juan III de Portugal, sugiriéndole que André de Oviedo sea enviado a Etiopía, le dice: «si le parece que fuese el obispo Don André, cuyas letras bastan para confundir y vencer a todos los letrados de Etiopía...» (en portugués en el original). BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, X, p. 74.
- 4 André de Oviedo, * 1518 Illescas, Toledo (España), S.J. 19.VI.1519 Alcalá, Madrid (España), † 19.IX.1577 Feremona (Etiopía) (ANDREU MARTÍNEZ D’ALÒS MONER, “Oviedo, André”, en: Siegher UHLIG en colaboración con Alessandro BAUSI (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010, vol. 4, p. 83).
- 5 Afonso Mendes, * 20.VIII.1579 Santo Aleixo (Portugal), S.J. 1593, † 29.VI.1656 Goa (India) (LEONARDO COHEN, “Mendes, Afonso”, en: UHLIG, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3, pp. 920-921).
- 6 Pedro Páez, * 1564 Olmeda de las Cebollas (España), S. J. 18.VI.1584, † 20.V.1622 Gorgora (Etiopía) (ANDREU MARTÍNEZ D’ALÒS MONER, “Páez, Pedro”, en: UHLIG, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4, pp. 89-90).

con el liderazgo del clero local –que ocurrieron tanto de forma oral como escrita–, se abría el camino en la ardua labor de convertir a los jerarcas eclesiásticos y la nobleza etíopes. Para los jesuitas, era ésa una de las formas óptimas de consumir el sueño de una Etiopía católica, obediente de las órdenes del papa de Roma.

Varios estudios se han ocupado de señalar y discutir las críticas que los jesuitas emitieron hacia las creencias y prácticas de la Iglesia etíope.⁷ Los misioneros sostuvieron fervientemente el principio de las dos naturalezas en Cristo después de la encarnación (duofisismo) y acusaron a los etíopes de postular una cristología monofisita, de mezclar y confundir las dos naturalezas de Cristo, la humana y la divina.⁸ Además, atribuyeron a los monjes locales una comprensión errada con respecto a la creación de las almas racionales y con respecto a la creencia en el purgatorio,⁹ y los acusaron de sostener que el Espíritu Santo proviene sólo del Padre y no del Hijo.¹⁰ Aunado a esto, cuestionaron el apego de los cristianos etíopes a la santidad del sábado, la circuncisión y la observancia de ciertas restricciones alimenticias, que los jesuitas percibían como rasgos de judaísmo¹¹ y, además, pusieron en tela de juicio la legitimidad de las prácticas

7 Sobre los debates doctrinales en la corte de los emperadores de Etiopía – Gälawdewos, Susānyos y Zä Dəngəl– pueden consultarse las siguientes obras: TEWELDE BEIENE, *La politica cattolica di Seltan Säḡād I (1607–1632) e la missione della Compagnia di Gesù in Etiopia: precedenti, evoluzione e problematiche, 1589–1632*, Roma, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Facultas Historiae Ecclesiasticae, 1983, pp. 123–140, 362–376; COHEN, *The Missionary Strategies*, pp. 87–96; Ignazio GUIDI, “La Chiesa Abissinia”, *Oriente Moderno* 2 (1922–1923), pp. 12–128, 186–190, 252–256; Sevir B. CHERNETSOV, “Ethiopian theological response to European Missionary Proselytizing Activities in the 17th–19th Centuries”, en: Verena BÖLL *et al.* (ed.), *Ethiopia and the Mission: Historical and Anthropological Insights*, Münster, Lit Verlag, 2005, pp. 59–67.

8 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, pp. 365–391; IV, p. 289; VI, pp. 123–128; VIII, pp. 61–62; COHEN, *The Missionary Strategies*, pp. 116–125.

9 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, pp. 403–408; IV, pp. 289–290; VI, pp. 129–132; VIII, p. 62; COHEN, *The Missionary Strategies*, pp. 136–140.

10 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, IV, p. 289; VIII, p. 61; COHEN, *The Missionary Strategies*, pp. 133–136.

11 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, pp. 419–426; IV, p. 290; VI, pp. 133–136; VIII, pp. 62–63; Leonardo COHEN, “Los portugueses en Etiopía y la problemática de los ritos judaicos”, *Historia y Geografía* 17 (2001), pp. 209–240; Andreu MARTÍNEZ D’ALÒS MONER, “Paul and the Other: The Portuguese Debate on the Circumcision of the Ethiopians”, en: Verena BÖLL *et al.* (ed.), *Ethiopia and the Mission*, pp. 37–57.

sacramentales etíopes.¹² En respuesta, una significativa proporción de la literatura monástica etíope de finales del siglo XVI y primeras décadas del siglo XVII se ocupó de rebatir los argumentos de los jesuitas en lo referente a estas cuestiones y de reafirmar las posiciones tradicionales de la Iglesia etíope.¹³ Las controversias que tuvieron lugar entre monjes etíopes y misioneros jesuitas en el transcurso del siglo XVII generaron también divergencias cristológicas en el interior del propio cristianismo etíope, y varias corrientes teológicas se confrontaron entre sí durante siglos, aún después de que los misioneros fueran expulsados de Etiopía.¹⁴

Menos evidentes – y también menos atendidas por los investigadores – han sido las críticas que algunos jesuitas vertieron hacia la interpretación que sus interlocutores etíopes hacían de ciertos pasajes selectos del Antiguo Testamento y que no poseía consecuencias cristológicas significativas. Estas críticas versan sobre lo que podríamos denominar “percepciones mitológicas de la realidad histórica”, derivadas de una lectura y de una interpretación literal del texto sagrado que los misioneros concebían como inadecuada. Así, en el caso que estudiamos en este breve ensayo, podemos ver cómo el misionero español Pedro Páez mostraba gran recelo y desdén hacia aquellos comentarios propios de la tradición cristiana etíope que ponían de relieve los elementos de carácter mítico que residen

12 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, pp. 427-487; IV, pp. 288-289, 293-296; VIII, pp. 63-67; LEONARDO COHEN, “The Jesuits in Ethiopia and the Polemics over the Sacrament of the Eucharist”, en: Myriam YARDENI, Ilana ZINGUER (ed.), *Les deux réformes chrétiennes: Propagation et diffusion*, Leiden, Brill 2004), pp. 138-150.

13 ENRICO CERULLI (ed., tr.), *Scritti teologici etiopici dei secoli XVI-XVII*, 2 vols., Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960.

14 Bajo el impacto de la misión jesuita se desarrollaron diferentes corrientes teológicas dentro del cristianismo local. Por un lado, la teología uncionista postulaba que Cristo pasó a ser “Hijo natural de Dios por la unción del Espíritu Santo”; por otro lado, los unionistas (Täwahədo) consideraban que los uncionistas subordinaban la persona del Hijo en la trinidad e insistían en la fórmula de “Hijo natural a través de la unión (entre la divinidad y la humanidad y no por la unción del Espíritu Santo)”. Sólo hacia el año de 1878 el emperador Yohannēs IV liquidó la contienda, privilegiando la posición unionista y empujando a los uncionistas al margen de la herejía. Véase GETACHEW HAILE (ed., tr.), *The Faith of the Uncionists in the Ethiopian Church (Haymanot Mäsihawit)*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, vols. 517, 518, SAc 91, 92, Lovanii, E. Peeters, 1990; *Id.* “Materials on the Theology of Qəb‘at or Uncion”, en: Gideon GOLDENBERG (ed.), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Tel Aviv, 14-17 April 1980*, Rotterdam, Balkema, 1986, pp. 205-250; DONALD CRUMMEY, *Priests and Politicians. Protestant and Catholic Missions in Orthodox Ethiopia, 1830-1868*, Hollywood, Tsehai Publishers & Distributors, 2007, pp. 14-27; COHEN, *The Missionary Strategies*, pp. 125-129.

en el texto bíblico, y cómo esta cuestión se convirtió en un motivo de confrontación con el clero local, al que Páez consideraba ignorante por consentir este género de interpretaciones.

Biblia y narración mitológica

¿En qué consistían, a ojos del misionero católico, los elementos míticos presentes en la interpretación etíope que era preciso descalificar? Se trata, básicamente, de los elementos del relato bíblico que algunos autores modernos como Ijezekel Kaufmann consideran como meros ornamentos o adornos¹⁵ – los hijos de Dios mencionados en *Génesis* 6.1, y la lucha de Dios contra criaturas primordiales como los *taninim*. Tal como sugiere este investigador, pueden encontrarse en la Biblia restos fósiles de mitos antiguos que provienen de épocas anteriores al surgimiento de la religión israelita. Sin embargo, para Kaufmann, los que propiamente podrían denominarse mitos vivientes – sean israelitas o extranjeros – están ausentes del texto sagrado. Desde esta perspectiva, no existe ningún estrato mitológico o mágico en la literatura bíblica, y el “descubrimiento” de tales estratos es solamente el resultado de una interpretación superficial de los fenómenos bíblicos vistos a la luz de instituciones paganas.¹⁶

Pero como bien han señalado Moshé Halbertal y Avishai Margalit en su estudio sobre la idolatría, la filtración de elementos míticos en la Biblia – aun como reductos o fósiles, y sea cual fuere su razón y origen – ha generado lo que puede denominarse una “brecha mítica”. Si una brecha es cualquier punto de un relato que incita a

15 Kaufmann afirma que la idea religiosa israelita “consiste en que la voluntad de Dios es trascendente y soberana por sobre todas las cosas. La religión israelita no sujeta a la Divinidad a otra realidad primigenia ni la somete a las leyes de ésta. Su categoría primaria, en oposición fundamental con la del paganismo, es la libertad absoluta de Dios. Libera a Dios de todo vínculo mítico o mágico: la fe israelita no tiene una teogonía; su Dios no emerge de una sustancia preexistente, ni está sujeto o dependiente de cosa alguna. [Para Kaufmann] las expresiones mitológicas que aparecen en la Biblia no son otra cosa sino sublimes expresiones de la grandeza de Dios, sin reconocer en ellas las creencias míticas subyacentes”. Moshé HALBERTAL, Avishai MARGALIT, *Idolatría*, tr. Margarita Mizraji, Barcelona, Editorial Gedisa, 2003, p. 100.

16 Ijezekel KAUFMANN, *La época bíblica*, tr. Zoltan Szankay, Buenos Aires, Editorial Paidós, 1964, pp. 24-25. La posición de Kaufmann ha sido objeto de críticas por parte de Benjamin Uffenheimer. Conforme con ello, la fuente directa de la concepción de Kaufmann sobre la cuestión de la voluntad absoluta como línea de distinción entre monoteísmo y paganismo es Herman COHEN, “Myth and Reality in Ancient Israel”, en: Shmuel Noah EISENSTADT (ed.), *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1986, pp. 135-168.

que un intérprete lo llene con detalles, una brecha mítica es aquella que, debido a la mención de criaturas o acontecimientos míticos, requiere que se le complete con un relato mítico.¹⁷ Éste es el caso de los versículos bíblicos que hemos mencionado y que hacen referencia a la creación del Leviatán y los *taninim* (que comúnmente se traduce por “monstruos marinos”), o del comienzo del capítulo 6 del *Génesis*, que habla de los Hijos de Dios que han descendido a la tierra y han tomado como mujeres a las hijas de los hombres. Estos “residuos míticos” o restos fósiles – hayan sido reconocidos como tales por los lectores o editores de la Biblia o no – son aquellos que invitan a complementar la narración con hechos que le acontecen a la propia Divinidad, y es en este sentido que pueden generar la resurrección del mito.¹⁸ Como habremos de ver, la controversia que se suscitó entre el padre Pedro Páez y los representantes más destacados del cristianismo etíope – los monjes – giró en torno a la cuestión de cómo llenar esa brecha mítica que el texto bíblico deja entrever y donde, a juicio del padre jesuita, había que llevar a cabo lecturas de carácter alegórico o tipológico. Para Páez, los monjes locales introducían lecturas en exceso literales o sacramentales de las Sagradas Escrituras, lecturas que permitían el renacimiento del mito como amenaza a la concepción monoteísta y a la voluntad absoluta del Creador.

Así pues, conforme lo han señalado Halbertal y Margalit, podemos apreciar tres métodos principales para caracterizar los mitos, a saber: por el contenido, por la forma lingüística y por la forma del tiempo que es específica de este tipo de narración. En el primer caso podemos ubicar los relatos que se ocupan de la genealogía de los dioses; en el segundo y tercer caso podemos distinguir los mitos como relatos con una forma especial de tiempo: el tiempo mítico, que es cíclico y no lineal (como el tiempo histórico), y donde los acontecimientos se repiten de la misma manera en que se reiteran

17 HALBERTAL, MARGALIT, *Idolatría*, p. 102.

18 Diversos autores y teólogos han intentado precisar las diferencias que separan el texto bíblico de los textos mitológicos de carácter pagano. Kaufmann ha definido el mito por su contenido y lo considera el tipo más destacado de representación pagana. La mitología pagana no sería otra cosa sino la expresión de los límites de los dioses, de su participación en la naturaleza primordial. Sin embargo, la interdependencia emocional que incluye a Dios en una compleja relación con el mundo, le otorga también al relato bíblico una dimensión mítica. Para Kaufmann, las expresiones míticas que aparecen en la Biblia no son sino sublimes expresiones de la grandeza de Dios, y no hay por qué reconocer en ellas creencias míticas subyacentes. HALBERTAL, MARGALIT, *Idolatría*, p. 100.

las estaciones anuales.¹⁹ Sin embargo – advierten Halbertal y Margalit – existen leyendas narrativas en las cuales participa la divinidad, pero que no por ello constituyen un mito. El mito requiere algo más que una narración divina, requiere de seriedad y, más aún, requiere que los participantes de la narración sean figuras capaces de limitar la voluntad divina. Dentro de esta categoría de narraciones se encuentra la literatura midráshica.²⁰ La brecha midráshica, a diferencia de la mítica, radica en que la segunda se llena con criaturas que tienen voluntad independiente, mientras que la primera se llena con servidores de Dios.²¹ Como habremos de ver, las interpretaciones que se confrontan en Etiopía entre el misionero católico y sus interlocutores etíopes incluyen en ocasiones algunos de estos elementos. Pero, ya fuera por su contenido “mítico” o por su contenido midráshico, el padre jesuita ejerció una férrea crítica hacia esas formas de interpretación que, desde su perspectiva, pecaban de exceso de literalidad y que rayaban, a sus ojos, en lo absurdo o lo fantástico.

La Historia de Etiopía del padre Pedro Páez

Pedro Páez nació en Olmedo, España, en 1564. Gozó de una formación cosmopolita y alcanzó un dominio adecuado de varios idiomas.²²

19 HALBERTAL, MARGALIT, *Idolatría*, p. 94. Véase también MIRCEA ELIADE, *El mito del eterno retorno*, tr. Ricardo Anaya, México, Origen/Planeta, 1985; YONINA GARBER TALMON, “El concepto del tiempo en los mitos primitivos”, *Iyun* 2 (1951), pp. 201-214 [en hebreo].

20 La literatura rabínica conocida como *Midrash Aggadah* se ha definido comúnmente de manera negativa, es decir, como aquella parte de la enseñanza rabínica que no es propiamente halajá, o sea, que no se ocupa de regulaciones y leyes religiosas. Se puede decir que la *Aggadah* constituye una amplificación de aquellas partes de la Biblia que incluyen historias, narrativas, máximas éticas, reprensiones y consolaciones de los profetas. Ver “Aggadah”, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols., Jerusalén, Keter Publishing House Ltd., 1971, 2, pp. 354-363. Existen varias introducciones generales a la literatura midráshica. Véase, por ejemplo, CAROL BAKHOS, *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2006; MICHAEL FISHBANE, *The Midrashic Imagination. Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1993; GEOFFREY H. HARTMAN, SANFORD BUDICK (ed.), *Midrash and Literature*, New Haven y Londres, Yale University Press, 1952. Para una compilación clásica de literatura midráshica, véase LOUIS GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols., Filadelfia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946-1947.

21 HALBERTAL, MARGALIT, *Idolatría*, pp. 123, 138.

22 Sobre la figura de Páez véase en especial ANDREU MARTÍNEZ D’ALÓS MONER, “Páez, Pedro”, en: UHLIG, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, 4, pp. 89-90. Véase también, Hervé

Una vez en Etiopía no tuvo grandes dificultades en aprender el etíope clásico (Gəʿəz) y el amhárico, lo que le permitió traducir diversas obras religiosas etíopes al portugués y predicar con un nivel relativo de éxito.²³ En el año de 1615 Páez comenzó a compilar fuentes para escribir su *História da Etiópia*. Un año antes de morir, en 1621, concluyó su obra, que terminaría por convertirse en uno de los trabajos pioneros en el campo de la historiografía y etnografía de la Etiopía cristiana.²⁴ En este interesante texto, Páez muestra el grado de intimidad que alcanzó a tener con varios aspectos de la cultura local, los ritos, la interpretación bíblica, la liturgia y, como veremos, las tradiciones orales que explicaban pasajes veterotestamentarios que requerían de esclarecimiento y clarificaciones. La figura de Pedro Páez se inserta, así, dentro de una corriente general de misioneros jesuitas en el mundo (entre los cuales destacan Matteo Ricci²⁵ y Roberto de Nobili²⁶) que, a partir de principios del siglo XVII, mostraron una gran sensibilidad hacia las expresiones de la cultura local a la que iban a convertir. La *História da Etiópia* es, pues, una evidencia fundamental de la gran utilidad que muchos de los documentos jesuitas han tenido en el rescate de tradiciones escritas y orales de Etiopía, que pueden ser confrontadas con la información

PENNEC, "La mission Jésuite en Éthiopie au temps de Pedro Paez (1583-1622) et ses rapports avec le pouvoir éthiopien", *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, 36, 37, 38 (1992-1994), pp. 77-115, 135-165, 139-181.

23 Leonardo COHEN, "The Jesuit Missionary as Translator (1603-1632)", en: BÖLL *et al.* (ed.), *Ethiopia and the Missions*, pp. 11-30.

24 La *Historia de Etiópia* de Pedro Páez fue editada por primera vez por Camillo Beccari y está contenida en los volúmenes II y III de la obra citada de Beccari. En años recientes ha aparecido una nueva edición de la obra del jesuita español a cargo de Isabel Boavida, Hervé Pennec y João Manuel Ramos que se basa en dos manuscritos distintos: aquél que se halla en los archivos del Vaticano y un segundo, que se encuentra en la biblioteca municipal de Braga. Pedro PÁEZ, *História da Etiópia*, Lisboa, Assírio & Alvim, 2008. Esta versión fue también recientemente traducida al español por Noelia Adánez González. *Historia de Etiópia*, Granada, Fund. El Legado Andalusi, 2009. Al inglés fue traducida por Christopher J. Tribe, *Pedro Páez's History of Ethiopia*, Londres, Ashgate and the Hakluyt Society, 2011.

25 Matteo Ricci, * 6.X.1552 Macerata (Italia), S. J. 1571, + 11.V.1610 Pequín (China) (Nicolas TRIGAULT S. J., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Mathew Ricci: 1583-1610*, traducción al inglés de Lois J. Gallagher S.J., Nueva York, Random House, Inc., 1953).

26 Roberto de Nobili, * IX.1557 Montepulciano (Italia), S. J. 1597 Nápoles (Italia), + 1656 Mylapore (India) (Vincent CRONIN, *A Pearl to India: The Life of Roberto de Nobili*, Nueva York, Dutton & Co., Inc., 1959).

que aportan los documentos locales o las fuentes dejadas por otros viajeros y exploradores europeos.

La *Historia de Etiopía* de Páez se generó, en un principio, como una respuesta a la obra del dominico Fray Luis de Urreta que, sin haber llegado nunca a Etiopía, escribió su obra *Historia eclesiástica, política, natural y moral de los grandes y remotos reynos de la Etiopía*. Este libro, sustentado en tradiciones medievales concernientes a Etiopía, proporciona una serie de datos ficticios sobre dicho reino, con la intención de producir una imagen benevolente del cristianismo etíope.²⁷ En contraposición, Páez elabora su propia narrativa, precisa los datos y procura construir una historiografía sólida que rebata las fantasías que aparecen en la obra de su rival dominico. Así, la mayoría de las veces en que Páez emplea los términos “fábulas”, “patrañas” y “mentiras” en sus textos, es para referirse a las informaciones que trae a colación la obra de Urreta en lo que concierne a la historia y la realidad de Etiopía. Pero, en segundo lugar, Páez empleará la terminología de “fábulas” y “patrañas” para descalificar determinados comentarios al texto bíblico, propios de la tradición etíope, que a su juicio constituían una desviación del juicio natural y correcto con el que deben interpretarse las Sagradas Escrituras.

Como parte de la controversia que surgió entre ambas formas de cristianismo, encontramos en la obra de Páez referencias textuales a fuentes etiópicas. La manera en que rebate la doctrina cristológica del cristianismo etíope está bien organizada y sistematizada a lo largo de sus textos. Sin embargo, de forma esporádica aparecen también alusiones a tradiciones orales, singulares interpretaciones bíblicas que no necesariamente quedaron registradas por escrito en las fuentes etíopes posteriores²⁸ y que el misionero jesuita dice haber escuchado de boca de los propios monjes. Páez trae a colación versículos del

27 LUIS DE URRETA, *Historia eclesiástica, política, natural y moral de los grandes y remotos reynos de Etiopía, Monarchía del emperador llamado Preste Juan de las Indias*, Valencia, en casa de Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610. Véase Andreu MARTÍNEZ D'ALÒS-MONER, “Urreta, Luis de”, en: UHLIG, *Encyclopædia Aethiopica*, 4, p. 1045.

28 El término *andāmta* designa el vasto corpus de interpretación de textos religiosos en la literatura etíope. Incluye la exégesis de textos bíblicos, así como litúrgicos, patrísticos y monásticos. Existe una amplia conexión entre el *andāmta* y la tradición interpretativa propia de la escuela alejandrina, aunque en definitiva existen otro tipo de influencias. Curiosamente, los comentarios que trae a colación Páez, y que analizamos en el presente trabajo, no aparecen como dominantes en la tradición que quedó registrada en el *andāmta*. Véase, Kirsten STOFFREGEN-PEDERSEN, Tedros ABRAHA, “*Andāmta*”, en: UHLIG, *Encyclopædia Aethiopica*, 1, pp. 258-259.

Antiguo Testamento acompañados de las interpretaciones que sus interlocutores etíopes le comentan, y en cada uno de ellos destaca el hecho de que, para el padre jesuita, estas interpretaciones son siempre fábulas y patrañas, mentiras cuya base es la ignorancia o falta de entendimiento, así como la influencia de factores externos negativos, como podían ser los judíos que, con su sesgada visión de la realidad, permearon la conciencia religiosa etíope, generando con ello interpretaciones fallidas de los textos sagrados.

¿Quiénes son los hijos de Dios?

En su *Historia de Etiopía* el padre Páez expone la interpretación que un monje, de gran autoridad en cuestiones de Sagradas Escrituras y muy allegado al emperador, otorgaba a los primeros versículos del capítulo 6 del *Génesis*, relativos a los hijos de Dios.

Y después, estando yo hablando con él [el emperador] sobre algunas cosas de la Escritura, me dice que aquel monje que le enseñaba, llegando a declarar aquel lugar del *Génesis* que dice: “Videntes filii Dei filias hominum quod essent pulchrae etc.”, le dijera que los que aquí llama la Escritura hijos de Dios, eran ángeles, y que, viendo que las mujeres eran hermosas, se juntaron con ellas y parieron hijos gigantes de tan grande y extraordinaria estatura que metían el brazo hasta llegar al fondo del mar Oceano, y levantándose, asaban el pez que de ahí sacaban, en la región del fuego y, como acabaron con todo pez que había en el mar, fueron por los animales, y estos acabados, comenzaron a comer los hombres, que no eran de su casta; y viendo Dios tan grande peligro, mandó las aguas del Diluvio, con que los castigó.²⁹

En efecto, una de las obligaciones que Páez experimentaba como misionero en Etiopía era la de desacreditar historias fantásticas y desmitologizar la historia religiosa. En consonancia con la sentencia que Bernard Fontanelle expresara un siglo más tarde – que «los

29 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, pp. 225-226. La identificación de los Hijos de Dios con los ángeles tuvo sus orígenes en el judaísmo postexílico, tras el contacto con la religión iraní. Geo WIDENGREN, “Iran and Israel in Parthian Times with Special Regard to the Ethiopic Book of Enoch”, *Temenos* 2 (1966), pp. 139-177; Walther Bruno HENNING, “The Book of Giants”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943) 52-74; Józef Tadeusz MILIK, “Turfan et Qumran. Livre des Géants juif et manichéen”, en: Gert JEREMIAS, Heinz-Wolfgang KHUN, Hartmut STEGEMANN (ed.), *Tradition und Glaube. Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971, pp. 117-127.

hombres ven maravillas en proporción con su ignorancia y falta de experiencia»³⁰ – Páez, al igual que otros jesuitas, acusaba a menudo a los monjes etíopes de ser gente ignorante, dispuesta a creer en fábulas y mentiras.³¹ Sosteniendo que los hijos de Dios no eran otros sino los descendientes de Seth, en conformidad con la visión autorizada de san Agustín,³² Páez procuraba desmitologizar la interpretación que convertía a aquéllos en seres fantásticos, seres celestiales que, al igual que en los mitos paganos, podían hacer de Dios alguien con descendencia, como un dios pagano que es capaz de concebir generaciones divinas.

Los que aquí llama la Escritura hijos de Dios, no eran angeles, sino hijos de Seth, a quien quiso con este honroso nombre, diferenciar de los de la generación reprobada de Caín, cuyos descendientes eran tan malos, que se entregaban de todas maneras a lo malo de sus apetitos. Las hijas de estos miserables, lo que viendo los hijos de Seth, atraídos por su gran belleza y hermosura, quebrantaron la tradición y costumbre que tenían de no admitir a su conversación y trato gente de tan perverso tronco, y casándose con ellas, tomaron juntamente las perversas costumbres que traían consigo, con lo que se vino a pervertir de manera general la religión y el culto divino, y llegaron las maldades de los hombres a la cumbre de la disolución, tanto que ni la divina Escritura quizo particularizar tan nefastos delitos, sino que se contentó con decir, que en todos sus pecados mudaban el estilo y orden natural que la razón enseña. «Omnis quippe caro corruperat viam suam super terram» (*Génesis* 6).³³

30 James Samuel PREUS, *Explaining Religion. Criticism and Theory from Bodin to Freud*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987, p. 42.

31 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, p. 225.

32 AUGUSTINE, *De Civitate Dei*, XV, 23, J. P. MIGNÉ, *PL*, vol. 41, pp. 470-471. Tal como sostiene Walter E. Stephens, Agustín fue la autoridad que, de manera más resuelta, se opuso a la noción del "gigante". Agustín negó, esencialmente, que los gigantes fuesen otra cosa que grandes seres humanos. Primero, cita nombres de gente de estatura mayúscula, incluso de su propia época. Segundo, mantiene que las llamadas "razas monstruosas", incluidas aquellas del tipo que menciona Plinio, no pueden ser monstruos "inhumanos", sino que descienden de Adán. Esta advertencia no solamente excluye a los ángeles como *fili Dei*, sino que además desacredita la noción del gigante como "homínido", un cierto tipo de híbrido creado como resultado de la cruce entre seres de distinto orden. Véase Walter E. STEPHENS, "De historia gigantum: Theological Anthropology before Rebelais", *Traditio* 40 (1984), p. 62.

33 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, p. 226.

Al igual que otros intérpretes en la historia, Páez introduce el método alegórico de interpretación cuando percibe que el mito tomado literalmente es contradictorio con la razón o, más aún, cuando propicia una representación inadecuada de la divinidad, cuyos ángeles engendran gigantes en sus relaciones con las mujeres. Tal y como he señalado en un artículo anterior, tanto el libro de Enoch como el libro de los Jubileos, cuya autoridad era aceptada como canónica en Etiopía, respaldan la misma interpretación que cita Páez.³⁴ En efecto, las ideas enochicas influyeron intensamente en la teología de la Iglesia etíope. De acuerdo con ello, el pecado no sólo proviene de las trasgresiones de Adán; el Diablo, los demonios, los malos espíritus (los ángeles caídos) son igualmente responsables de su origen, continúan llevando al hombre por el mal camino, causando la ruina moral en la tierra.³⁵ La lectura literal del pasaje de *Génesis* 6, el tema de los ángeles caídos que han procreado con las hijas de los hombres, plantea el resurgimiento del mito, el problema de la genealogía de Dios, del dios que tiene descendencia, cuestión que genera tensión con la doctrina monoteísta.

Sin embargo, también en la literatura de la Europa medieval podemos ver reflejada esa fascinación por la figura del “gigante”. La influencia del libro de Enoch en la gigantología anglosajona ha sido ya puesta de relieve por varios autores.³⁶ También en el periodo de la Modernidad temprana se escribieron varios tratados sobre el problema de los gigantes. Hacia fines del siglo XVI Jean Cassagnon compuso un tratado en respuesta a la *Gigantomachia*, en el cual Johannes Goropius (1517-1578) expresaba su opinión de que los gigantes nunca habían existido. Más de cien años después Augustin Calmet (1672-1757) escribió su *Disertatio de Gigantibus*. Esta obra constituye un compendio de las tradiciones sobre gigantes y sus fuentes. En ella, Calmet buscaba probar que los gigantes mencionados en las Escrituras realmente existieron, y se compromete intensamente en resolver la cuestión de cómo y

34 Leonardo COHEN, “Who are the Sons of God? A Jesuit-Ethiopian Controversy on Genesis 6:2”, en: Denis NOSNITSIN *et al.* (ed.), *Scrinium. Varia Aethiopica. In Memoriam Sevir Chernetsov (1943-2005)*, San Petersburgo, Byzantinorossica, 2005, pp. 35-42.

35 Véase la introducción de Ephraim Isaac al libro Etiópico de Enoch en James H. CHARLESWORTH, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1983-1985, 1, p. 10.

36 R. E. KASKE, “Beowulf and the Book of Enoch”, *Speculum* 46-3 (1971), pp. 421-431; véase también Jeffrey Jerome COHEN, *Of Giants, Sex, Monsters and the Middle Ages*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1999, pp. 9-10.

hasta qué punto la estatura de los gigantes es posible.³⁷ Con esto queremos decir que la cuestión de los gigantes era aún debatida entre ciertos círculos europeos, y que la argumentación de Páez puede quedar encuadrada dentro de este vivo debate, como parte de la crítica a cierta forma de religiosidad popular presente tanto en Europa como en Etiopía.

Como se ha señalado anteriormente, para que las leyendas sobre Dios y sus ángeles sean consideradas mitos, se requiere no sólo que se les tome en serio, sino que además los participantes de la relación sean capaces de ponerle un límite a la voluntad de Dios y que las fuerzas externas a la divinidad tengan una voluntad ajena a la voluntad divina. Éste, sin embargo, no es el caso en cuestión. No obstante, más allá de toda especulación, está claro que para Páez la interpretación citada no es creíble o razonable y, por lo tanto, se le puede colocar sencillamente bajo la categoría de fábula. Bajo esta misma perspectiva fue que diferentes autores cristianos de la Antigüedad y la Edad Media consideraron los métodos de interpretación rabínica, en particular el *midrash*. Pero no sería éste el único caso donde Páez se opondría a una comprensión literal del texto. En el caso que analizamos a continuación aparece de manera más sólida – a ojos del padre jesuita – la conexión entre las interpretaciones etíopes y las “fábulas rabínicas” que, según Páez, llegaron hasta Etiopía.

Draco iste, quem formasti ad illudendum ei

Un espíritu similar al que hemos destacado en el apartado anterior prevalece en la crítica que Páez hace del comentario etíope al Salmo 104:26 y su conexión con un rito funerario propio de algunos círculos monásticos. En el capítulo 16 del segundo libro de su *Historia de Etiopía*, Páez cita el Salmo en su versión latina:³⁸ *Draco iste, quem formasti ad illudendum ei*.³⁹ La interpretación que Páez escuchó de este versículo es como sigue:

...creó Dios Nuestro Señor en el principio del mundo dos peces de inmensa grandeza, macho y hembra; mas, porque vio que por generación, se multiplicasen, impidieron la navegación, mató la hembra y la guardó para con ella dar un esplendido banquete a los

37 STEPHENS, “De historia gigantum”, p. 64.

38 Páez se refiere aquí al Salmo 103, conforme con la versión de la septuaginta.

39 La cita de Páez corresponde con el verso 26 del Salmo, que reza: «Allí van los barcos. Allí está el Leviatán, a quien Tú formaste para jugar con él».

justos después de la resurrección; entre tanto se divierte con el macho jugando con él tres horas cada día. Y dicen que esto significan aquellas palabras del salmo...⁴⁰

También este breve comentario proviene, aparentemente, de una fuente oral. El padre jesuita era demasiado confiable al citar sus fuentes cuando las conocía, y aquí sólo parece citar lo que había escuchado.⁴¹ Junto con este comentario, Páez señala la costumbre entre ciertos *bahtawis* – anacoretas etíopes – de pedir ser enterrados con una daga atada a la cintura para tener cómo cortar el pez cuando sean invitados al gran banquete el día de la resurrección.⁴² Los judíos –agrega– son los que en el pasado han lavado el cerebro a los etíopes con estas “fábulas rabínicas”.⁴³

Resulta extremadamente complejo determinar hasta qué punto el planteamiento de Páez, según el cual se trata de influencias judaicas, puede corroborarse. Ciertamente, en un artículo anterior hemos presentado los enormes paralelismos existentes entre esta interpretación, tal y como fue rescatada por Páez, y diferentes textos rabínicos contenidos en el Talmud de Babilonia.⁴⁴ En el tratado de Baba Batrá aparece la siguiente narración:

Dijo Rabí Iehudá en nombre de Rab: De todo lo que el Santo, bendito sea, creó en su mundo, hizo un macho y una hembra, incluso un Leviatán serpiente veloz y el Leviatán serpiente tortuosa, que creó como macho y hembra [respectivamente]. Si [estos dos] se hubieran copulado, habrían destruido al mundo. ¿Qué hizo entonces el Santo bendito sea? Castró al macho y mató a la hembra, a la que conservó en sal para [alimento de] los virtuosos en el mundo futuro; porque dice lo escrito: *y matará al dragón que está en el mar*. Y también del Behemot de las mil colinas, creó un macho y una hembra. Si se hubieran copulado, hubieran destruido el mundo. ¿Qué hizo entonces el Santo bendito sea? Castró al macho e hizo estéril a la hembra y la conservó

40 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, p. 500.

41 Acerca del libro particular que trata de los milagros efectuados por los alumnos del santo Täklä Haymanot, Páez escribe: «este no lo pude ver, por lo que no refiero aquí nada de ellos». BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, p. 605.

42 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, p.500.

43 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, p. 500.

44 LEONARDO COHEN, “Una interpretación etíope de la historia del Leviatán y su relación con la exégesis rabínica”, *Pe’amim* 120 (2009), pp. 93-116 [en hebreo].

para [alimento de] los virtuosos en el mundo futuro; porque dice lo escrito: *he aquí ahora que su fuerza está en sus lomos*, – refiriéndose al macho –, y su vigor en los músculos de su vientre – refiriéndose a la hembra –, ¿Por qué no hizo lo mismo [con el Leviatán], castrándolo al macho y esterilizando a la hembra? – Los peces son licenciosos. ¿Por qué no lo hizo al revés? – Si quieres diré que la hembra es más sabrosa, y si quieres diré que es porque reza lo escrito: *allí (anda) este leviatán que hiciste para que jugase con él*; y con una hembra no sería decoroso. – ¿Y por qué no conservó a la hembra en sal también aquí? – El pescado salado es sabroso y la carne salada no.⁴⁵

Y en el tratado de Avodá Zará se cuenta la narración siguiente:

Dijo Rabí Yehudá en nombre de Rab: el día comprende 12 horas. [Durante] las primeras tres [horas de cada día] el Santo, bendito sea, se sienta y se evuelve en [el estudio] de la Torá. [Durante] las segundas [tres horas] se sienta y juzga al mundo entero. Una vez que ve que el mundo merece la aniquilación, se levanta del trono del juicio [donde estaba sentado] y en su lugar se sienta en el trono de la compasión. [Durante] el tercer [periodo de tres horas de cada día] se sienta y provee de [alimentación] al mundo entero desde los cuernos de *re'emim*,⁴⁶ hasta los huevos del piojo. [Durante] el cuarto [periodo de tres horas de cada día] se sienta y se divierte con Leviatán, como está dicho: Leviatán que creaste para jugar con él.⁴⁷

Las correspondencias entre el *midrash* y la versión que cita Páez son altamente sugerentes. Sin embargo, aun así, no resulta fácil señalar con precisión el agente que condujo la información de un sitio a otro, o si acaso puede demostrarse que ambas interpretaciones se nutren de una fuente común, que podría ser incluso oral. El problema de las influencias judaicas sobre el cristianismo etíope y, más específicamente, de los paralelismos que pueden hallarse en términos de interpretación bíblica entre la tradición rabínica y el

45 *Baba Batrá* 74b. Abraham J. WEISS (ed.), *El Talmud de Babilonia. Tratado Baba Batrá*, Buenos Aires, Acervo Cultural Editores, 1966, pp. 294-297.

46 Antílopes.

47 *Avodá Zará* 3b [la traducción es mía]. Otros *midrashim* hacen referencia al Leviatán como juguete o pasatiempo de Dios. Véase, por ejemplo, Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer, 9. Ver Dagmar BÖRNER-KLEIN (ed., tr.), *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer. Nach der edition venedig 1544 unter berücksichtigung der edition Warschau 1852*, Berlín / Nueva York, Walter de Gruyter, 2004, pp. 88-89.

cristianismo etíope, siguen constituyendo un serio enigma. Autores como Roger Cowley han señalado que algunas de las fuentes judías que contienen paralelismos más claros con la interpretación bíblica etíope pueden hallarse en las porciones no halájicas del Talmud.⁴⁸ Por su parte, Michael Knibb sostiene que las influencias hebreas tuvieron un cierto peso en la escritura de manuscritos etíopes de la Biblia, así como en tradiciones interpretativas en un periodo relativamente tardío. De acuerdo con recientes investigaciones de Knibb «la principal, tercera etapa en el desarrollo de la historia del Antiguo Testamento etíope, está constituida por cierto texto de carácter hebraista, conocido como “recensión académica”, y puede encontrarse en manuscritos que datan del siglo XVII en adelante».⁴⁹ Aun así, no se ha podido probar con claridad que haya existido una influencia directa de la tradición rabínica sobre la etíope, ni se ha localizado el canal preciso por donde estas informaciones se hubieran podido transmitir. Cowley apunta a que estas influencias pudieron llegar de manera indirecta a través de obras de autores cristianos orientales que lograron permear la tradición interpretativa etíope.⁵⁰ Más aún, las propias fuentes jesuitas nos dan indicios de la presencia de un rabino de origen vienés en la corte del emperador Susānyos, que predicaba con éxito y aprobación de gran parte de la nobleza,⁵¹ pero no es posible saber si tales circunstancias se repitieron de manera más o menos frecuente.

Sin embargo, más allá de la discusión en curso respecto de

48 Cowley agrega *Targum pseudo-Jonathan, Midraš Rabbāh, Midraš haggadol sobre el Génesis, Midraš hahefes sobre el Génesis, Yalqut me'am lo'ez*. Roger COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: a Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 92.

49 Los manuscritos etiopes del Antiguo Testamento se dividen comúnmente en tres grupos: 1) los denominados “antiguos etiopicos”, que incluyen un pequeño número de manuscritos que datan, en su mayoría, de los siglos XIV y XV, y son considerados los más próximos a la traducción original; 2) un grupo de manuscritos revisados sobre la base de un patrón sirio-arábigo, recensión vinculada con la figura de “Abba Sālāma el traductor”, que proviene del siglo XIV (ver Arnold VAN LANTSCHOOT, “Abbā Salāmā, Métropole d'Éthiopie (1348-1388) et son rôle de Traducteur”, *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici* (Roma 2-4, Aprile 1959), Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1959, pp. 397-401); y 3) el tercer grupo que incluye una serie de manuscritos que deben haber sido revisados con base en un texto hebreo. Véase Michael KNIBB, *Translating the Bible. The Ethiopian Version of the Old Testament*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.

50 COWLEY, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation*, p. 66.

51 Leonardo COHEN, Steven KAPLAN, “Una nueva fuente sobre un judío de Viena en la corte del emperador Susānyos”, *Pe'amim*, 94-95 (2003), pp. 211-216 [en hebreo].

los orígenes de estas interpretaciones entre círculos monásticos etíopes, en el contexto del presente ensayo resulta importante destacar lo siguiente: esta interpretación, a ojos de Páez, representa al Dios trascendente de manera inadecuada y advenediza, en tanto que, aportando una lectura literal, lo coloca coexistiendo con su creación de una forma que resulta aparentemente risible. Más aún, el rito descrito por Páez tiene por objeto poner en evidencia el hecho de que esta interpretación es asumida de forma literal por los monjes, que la perciben como una descripción verdadera de la realidad y que desarrollan una conducta sacramental acorde con ella. En este sentido, podemos decir que el comentario que Páez escucha es un “mito vivo”. Se trata aquí, como escriben Halbertal y Margalit, de “una comprensión de la seriedad de los enunciados”⁵² que aparecen en el relato sobre Leviatán, a la luz de su asociación con un sacramento.⁵³ El contexto del culto ritual le otorga al relato ese carácter de mito, de relato sagrado que puede percibirse en el sentido literal de la narración, y esto es lo que Páez busca poner en evidencia. Pero hay otro aspecto que destaca en la crítica de Páez. Si el padre jesuita apunta hacia la conexión de este comentario con aquello que denomina “fábulas rabínicas”, es porque su crítica se sustenta sobre las mismas premisas que cuestionan la legitimidad de la interpretación corriente del *midrash* rabínico. Esta forma de interpretación fue blanco de ataques por parte de la Iglesia desde la Antigüedad, durante la Edad Media y hasta principios de la Modernidad. Así, estas leyendas que, desde el punto de vista cristiano, eran percibidas como si hablasen de manera “imprudente” del Dios bíblico, en ocasiones fueron condenadas con mayor severidad que otro tipo de leyendas comunes y corrientes.⁵⁴

52 HALBERTAL, MARGALIT, *Idolatría*, p. 108.

53 Tal como lo ha definido Mircea Eliade, se dice que el mito “tiene vida”, cuando proporciona modelos de conducta humana y confiere, por eso mismo, valor y significación a la existencia. Véase Mircea ELIADE, *Mito y Realidad*, tr. Luis Gil, Barcelona, Editorial Labor, 1991, p. 5.

54 Conforme se acentuó el antagonismo hacia el judaísmo en la Iglesia militante de la Edad Media, se fue notando un uso tendencioso del *midrash* judío para apuntalar los ataques cristianos sobre el judaísmo en general, y sobre el judaísmo de ese tiempo en particular. Chen-Melech MERCHAVIA, *El Talmud desde la visión del cristianismo. La relación con la literatura judía post-bíblica en el mundo cristiano de la Edad Media 500-1248*, Jerusalén, The Bialik Institution, 1970, pp. 5-6 [en hebreo]. Tal como lo estableció Pedro el venerable (1092-1156), las leyendas paganas que tratan temas y asuntos humanos –ficciones donde los animales hablan, donde los hombres se convierten en dioses, las mujeres en estrellas, donde se hace burla de cosas dignas–

Y los Hijos de Israel fructificaron y se multiplicaron

Existe otro caso en el que Páez consigna por escrito otro comentario a las escrituras que escuchó de boca de aquel monje que aconsejaba al emperador Susānyos. Preguntándole el emperador al monje cómo es que se multiplicaron tanto los hijos de Israel en el tiempo que estuvieron en Egipto, éste respondió que la primera vez que parieron las mujeres venía cada una con dos hijos, y la segunda vez con cuatro, y la tercera con ocho, a la cuarta 16 y así iban siempre doblando. El comentario hace alusión al versículo número 7 del primer capítulo del *Deuteronomio* (los hijos de Israel fructificaron y se multiplicaron y fueron aumentados y fortalecidos en extremo, y se llenó de ellos la tierra). Al igual que en el caso que hemos analizado anteriormente, resulta sorprendente la similitud de esta interpretación con comentarios presentes en la literatura rabínica. Conforme a este comentario, la fecundidad de las mujeres hebreas era milagrosa, en tanto que eran capaces de dar a luz seis y hasta doce (y conforme a la opinión de algunos sabios hasta sesenta y setenta) hijos de un solo vientre. Por ejemplo, el *Midrash Éxodo Rabbah* 1:8, dice:

Todas las mujeres alumbraban sextillizos en cada parte, y por eso está dicho “los hijos de Israel fueron prolíficos y se multiplicaron. Llegaron a ser fuertes y numerosos en extremo, llenándose de ellos el país”. Hay quien dice (que alumbraban) doce, pues donde está escrito “fueron prolíficos” significa dos “y se multiplicaron” otros dos, “llegaron a ser numerosos” dos más, “y fuertes” otros dos, “en extremo” otros dos, y “llenándose de ellos el país” dos más, por lo tanto doce. Respecto a “y fuertes” hay quien dice que eran sesenta en un solo parto, y no debes asombrarte, pues ahí tienes al escorpión, que pertenece a los reptiles y pare sesenta.⁵⁵

Esta forma de interpretación puede derivarse de un juego de palabras que permite el texto hebreo. Por ejemplo, la colección de *midrashim* conocida como *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* relata la conversación entre

pueden tolerarse, pero las leyendas en las cuales los judíos predicán sobre Dios con imprudencia y desvergüenza no pueden ser aceptables bajo ninguna condición. Estas últimas se diferencian de las leyendas de los demás pueblos en cuanto que no tienen moraleja ni proporcionan utilidad alguna, sino que no son más que tontería y herejía, sin forma ni contenido. Pedro el venerable confirma, así, previas posiciones de la Iglesia, que la Biblia se interpreta con la alegoría y no de forma literal, como lo hacen los judíos. MERCHAVIA, *El Talmud*, pp. 133-135.

55 Ver Luis Fernando GIRÓN-BLANC, (ed., tr.), *Midrás Éxodo Rabbah I*, Valencia, Institución San Jerónimo, 1989, p. 31.

dos amoraitas que, hablando sobre el significado de la palabra *vayyišrešu*, “aumentaron abundantemente”, derivada de *šaraš*, “pequeño animal”, leen este versículo de la siguiente manera: «Los hijos de Israel, siendo tan fértiles como pequeños animales, se multiplicaron y acrecentaron grandemente», y entonces comentan: «el versículo nos da una idea de cuán fértiles eran los israelitas, por cuanto que si la referencia a “pequeños animales” es al mayor de los pequeños animales, el ratón, puede parir hasta seis creaturas en una sola vez; si la referencia es al más pequeño de los pequeños animales, el escorpión, puede traer 60 de una sola vez».⁵⁶

Ciertamente, el comentario que cita Páez debe haberse derivado de una u otra manera de esta tradición midráshica. Aun siendo la lengua etíope una lengua semítica, no permite la traducción del término *šaraš* en sus dos acepciones, como ocurre a partir de la versión original hebrea.⁵⁷ Sin embargo, al igual que en muchas otras ocasiones, no resulta fácil determinar en qué momento y cuál es el conducto a través del cual dichas tradiciones arribaron a Etiopía. Sin duda, resulta destacable que otras interpretaciones cristianas del mismo versículo apunten hacia una interpretación de carácter tipológico.

Frente a la interpretación del monje, el comentario del padre jesuita es irónico: «Cierto que les obligaba a las preñadas a cargar por largo tiempo con una carga muy grande. Y más. Después de parir, qué leche y qué pechos habían de bastar para dar de mamar a tan grande multitud de hijos, ¿cómo por tiempos habían de vivir y parir juntos?». Al oír esto – escribe Páez – el emperador río mucho y agregó: «Aquí verá Vuestra Reverencia cuáles son maestros, que incluso son los más afamados que tenemos».⁵⁸

56 *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana*, tr. William G. (Gershon Zev) Braude e Israel J. Kapstein, Filadelfia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1975, p. 211. Otros ejemplos: *Tanḥuma*. *Yalkut Šimʿoni*. *Mekilta de-Rabbi Išmaʿel*: “una mujer daría a luz a seis niños a la vez. Y usted dice ¡uno de cada quinientos murió!”, GINZBERG, *The Legends*, 5, p. 391.

57 La forma verbal *šārāsā*, se traduce como germinar, brotar, proceder, crecer, florecer. Wolf LESLAU, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1987, p. 535. Las traducciones al etiópico se sirven más bien del término *haqāfā* (número) enorme, que no favorece el juego de palabras propio de la literatura rabínica. Ver Oscar BOYD (ed.), *The Octateuch in Ethiopic. According to the Text of the Paris Codex, with the Variants of Five Other Manuscripts*, 2 vols., Leyden / Princeton, N. J., E. J. Brill, The University Library, 1911, II p. 1; y LESLAU, *Comparative Dictionary*, p. 239.

58 BECCARI, *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, II, pp. 226-227.

En efecto, resalta el desprecio de Páez hacia una interpretación que contiene elementos propios del milagro, es decir, extraordinarios, inusuales y difíciles de aceptar racionalmente, pero que, a diferencia de aquellos que aparecen en el Nuevo Testamento, no nos indican de forma clara la intervención divina y ni siquiera la de un intermediario entre la divinidad y los hombres. Si bien Páez era capaz de reconocer sucesos de carácter sobrenatural, éstos podían ocurrir solamente como resultado de la intervención de la providencia, la única con capacidad para alterar el curso natural de los acontecimientos. En este caso, a diferencia de lo que analizamos anteriormente en el caso del Leviatán, el misionero no hace referencia a influencias de tradiciones rabínicas, que bien pudieron haber tenido lugar dentro de ciertas circunstancias. Sin embargo, tal y como se demostró en el apartado anterior, las posibles motivaciones detrás de esta crítica pueden corresponder al mismo patrón que originó la crítica de los padres de la Iglesia a la forma tradicional de interpretación judía: se objetaba su literalidad, su carencia de contenido cristiano y espiritual. Es cierto que autores como Cirilo y Jerónimo veían en la narrativa del *midrash* información histórica útil que permitía comprender adecuadamente ciertos pasajes del texto bíblico, pero en ese sentido, aplicaron la perspectiva de la gramática clásica a una forma de literatura que no fue contemplada así por sus creadores.⁵⁹ De ahí que Páez conciba con ironía la “absurda” explicación que dice haber escuchado con respecto al versículo en cuestión, colocándola fuera del contexto que le dio origen y juzgándola a través de parámetros ajenos al género narrativo del que se trata, un género que no se caracteriza, justamente, por su carácter historiográfico.

Conclusiones

En este trabajo hemos analizado tres casos distintos en los que el padre jesuita Pedro Páez reporta comentarios bíblicos etíopes que debe haber escuchado de fuentes orales. Se trata sin duda de una valiosa documentación de tradiciones que pudieron no haberse conservado en ninguna otra variante escrita u oral. Pero, como misionero que aspiraba a conseguir la conversión del imperio de Etiopía al catolicismo, Páez también emite un juicio de valor y presenta sus observaciones y críticas hacia estos comentarios, señalando en una y otra ocasión el error de comprensión que se

59 Adam KAMESAR, “The Evaluation of the Narrative Aggada in Greek and Latin Patristic Literature”, *Journal of Theological Studies* 45:1 (1994), pp. 39-42.

desprende –a sus ojos– de una interpretación que no consigue derivar en un mensaje espiritual. Destacan en la narración de Páez los vestigios mitológicos, débiles y rudimentarios, que aparecen en la Biblia, y que vuelven a imponerse, a partir de las interpretaciones que cita, más vívida y más elaboradamente que antes. Frente a ello Páez sugiere aplicar una medida diferente, indicando que las lecturas literales provocan una comprensión absurda del texto sagrado. Las “brechas míticas” presentes en el texto sagrado generan, desde su clericalismo oficial, incongruencias que resultan difíciles de zanjar. Si desde una perspectiva estrictamente monoteísta la divinidad no debe ser una divinidad creadora de hazañas arquetípicas, sino una personalidad que interviene sin cesar en la historia, que revela su voluntad a través de los acontecimientos, las “brechas míticas” presentes en el texto sagrado tienen un amplio potencial de convertirse en motivo de polémicos enfrentamientos entre diferentes posiciones interpretativas, tal como ocurrió en el caso preciso que estudiamos en este breve ensayo.

Sin embargo, a partir de lo dicho con anterioridad, destaca que la crítica que efectúa Páez a la interpretación literal del texto sagrado es en sí una crítica a la religión popular. Como teólogo y representante del cristianismo clerical post-tridentino, el misionero católico no podía sino manifestarse de manera reticente ante este tipo de expresiones, a las que rechazaba con base en una supuesta pureza evangélica. Con esta percepción están vinculadas las descripciones que Páez hace de la estructura del cristianismo local, un cristianismo que muestra tendencias hacia una cierta autonomía interpretativa, permeado de leyendas, de cuentos populares y de mitos que no coinciden con la versión oficial de cristianismo católico que Páez y los misioneros de su generación representan.

Como hemos visto, en ocasiones se encuentra presente el “nexo rabínico”, que coloca la interpretación etiópica bajo la esfera de influencia de “leyendas y patrañas” que los judíos difundían a partir de sus comentarios. Los jesuitas juzgaron con severidad muchas prácticas veterotestamentarias propias del cristianismo etíope como “puro judaísmo” e incitaron a los etíopes a abolirlas. Por lo tanto, más allá de que se pueda o no demostrar la existencia de un contacto directo entre ambas tradiciones –la rabínica y la etíope– podemos establecer con claridad que las acusaciones de Páez iban encaminadas a descalificar la interpretación etiópica por considerarla en exceso literal, absurda e inadecuada en su forma de referirse a la divinidad, tal y como sucedía, según su misma percepción, con la interpretación judía.

Resumen

Durante las primeras décadas del siglo XVII, el padre jesuita Pedro Páez consiguió convertirse en una de las personalidades más próximas y significativas para Susānyos, Emperador de Etiopía. Más allá de ser un activo promotor del catolicismo, el padre Páez nos legó uno de los más valiosos testimonios sobre el acontecer histórico de este país durante este turbulento periodo. La *Historia de Etiopía* del padre Páez es, en efecto, una fuente indispensable para la reconstrucción histórica del desarrollo del catolicismo en Etiopía.

El presente artículo constituye una novedosa aproximación a la obra de Páez, sosteniendo, básicamente, que a través de algunas informaciones que nos brinda, se pueden rescatar tradiciones orales etiopes, en lo referente al comentario bíblico. Páez sostuvo intensos debates cristológicos con prelados etiopes. Sin embargo, este trabajo analiza, particularmente, las controversias que se sucedieron en torno a la interpretación de ciertos pasajes veterotestamentarios. Destacan en la narración de Páez los vestigios mitológicos, débiles y rudimentarios, que aparecen en la Biblia, y que vuelven a imponerse, a partir de las interpretaciones que cita, más vívida y más elaboradamente que antes. Frente a ello Páez sugiere aplicar una medida diferente, indicando que las lecturas literales provocan una comprensión absurda del texto sagrado. El artículo muestra, en síntesis, los diferentes puntos de partida que hay en términos de interpretación, entre el clericalismo post-tridentino que representa el padre jesuita, y la interpretación cristiana etiope del siglo XVII.

Summary

During the early decades of the 17th century, Jesuit father Pedro Páez managed to become one of the closest and most important figures for Susānyos, Emperor of Ethiopia. Not only was Páez an active promoter of Catholicism, he left one of the most valuable testimonies about the history of Ethiopia during this turbulent period. Father Páez' *History of Ethiopia* is indeed an indispensable source for the historical reconstruction of the development of Catholicism in Ethiopia.

This article represents a new approach to Páez' work; it basically maintains that the information it provides can be used to recover Ethiopian oral traditions regarding biblical commentary. Páez held intense Christological debates with Ethiopian prelates; however, this work specifically analyzes the controversies which occurred in relation to the interpretation of certain passages from the Old Testament. Standing out in Páez' narrative are the weak and rudimentary

mythological vestiges in the Bible which are revived, even more vividly and elaborately than before, by the interpretations he cites. In light of this, Páez suggests a different course of action indicating that literal readings cause an absurd understanding of the sacred text. Therefore in terms of interpretation, the article shows the different starting points between post-Tridentine clericalism (represented by the Jesuit father) and Christian Ethiopian interpretation of the 17th century.

Astronomy versus Astrology. Johann Adam Schall von Bell and his “superstitious” Chinese Calendar

Claudia von Collani*

Johann Adam Schall von Bell (湯若望)¹ was the most famous of the German Jesuit missionaries to China. Despite the fact that the main purpose of his activity in China was to preach the Gospel, he is much better known as an astronomer, as the responsible for the reform of the calendar and as the first European director of the Astronomical Bureau in Peking. He was befriended by the young Shunzhi emperor 順治帝 (1644–1662), during the minority of the second Qing emperor Kangxi 康熙 (1662–1722). Schall was accused of having performed his duties badly, and he was nearly condemned to death (Calendar Case). “The Case of Schall” in this context refers to the long-lasting story about Schall’s early times as an astronomer in Peking and affords some glimpses into the Jesuit mission to China with its policy of accommodation. It also shows a clash of cultures between Europeans and Chinese over the understanding of astronomy, astrology and “superstition” in the different contexts, especially within the Catholic Church of the 17th century.

The Policy of Accommodation

When the first missionaries arrived in the Far East in early modern times and wanted to enter China, they did not get access. Only

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1 Johann Adam Schall von Bell, * 1.V.1592 Cologne, S.J. 21.X.1611 Rome, † 15.VIII.1666 Beijing (DHCJ IV, pp.3514-3516)

after the Jesuit visitor Alessandro Valignano² had developed the so-called method of accommodation which was extended by Michele Ruggieri³ and Matteo Ricci⁴ did the Jesuits find the right way to be allowed to enter China and obtain permission to stay there. The method of accommodation had several characteristics: learning the native language; mission from the top downwards (emperor, scholars); openness to and tolerance for those Chinese values which were not contradictory to the Christian message; indirect propagation of ideas with the help of European science and technology, and apostolate through books.⁵

The Chinese Calendar

From time immemorial the calendar had played an eminent role in imperial China as one of the symbols of the emperors' rule over the cosmos, i.e. over time and space.⁶ A correct calendar was regarded as necessary for human beings to live in harmony with the universe. Therefore each year calendars were distributed to vassals and rulers of the tributary countries as a sign and symbol of the supremacy of the Chinese emperor, which legitimated his rule. Sometimes a new calendar was introduced when a new dynasty or new emperor started to rule. Besides the imperial calendar, there was also the popular calendar with rules for everyday life. The imperial calendar computed the seasons, feasts and astronomical data, the time needed for performing the necessary rituals; but the calendar also contained predictions of extraordinary events to come, such as comets, eclipses, meteorites and so on. These events were considered potentially dangerous challenges to the rule of the emperor, for they could mean the confirmation of his mandate from heaven or of the end of his mandate. Only official imperial astronomers were permitted to

2 Alessandro Valignano, * 7.II.1539 Chieti, S.J. 29.V.1566 Rome, † 20.I.1606 Macau (DHCJ IV, pp. 3877-3879).

3 Michele Ruggieri, * 1543 Spinazzola, S.J. 27.X.1572 Rome, † 11.V.1607 Salerno (DHCJ IV, pp. 3433-3434).

4 Matteo Ricci, * 6.X.1552 Macerata, S.J. 15.VIII.1571 Rome, † 11.V.1610 Beijing (DHCJ IV, pp. 3351-3353).

5 Nicolas STANDAERT (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume I: 635-1800*, Leiden, Boston, Köln, Brill, 2001, p. 310.

6 Henri BERNARD, "L'Encyclopédie astronomique du Père Schall. (Tch'ong-tcheng li-chou 崇禎曆書, 1629 et Si-yang sin-fa li-chou 西洋新法曆書, 1645). La réforme du calendrier chinois sous l'influence de Clavius, de Galilée et de Kepler", *Monumenta Serica* III (1938) p. 39 n. 6.

calculate the calendar; if it was done by others it meant rebellion. For the people the calendar was necessary and helpful for daily rituals and actions during a year.⁷ The correctness of the calendar based on space and time had political meaning, for each failure and disorder in the official calendar undermined the prestige of the emperor.⁸

After the Ming dynasty had been driven out by the Mongols the empire was closed hermetically in 1368; as a consequence astronomical knowledge also declined, and the calendar no longer complied with reality. The instruments became more and more defective, and mathematical calculations were no longer accurate.⁹ Under the Wanli emperor 萬曆 (1572–1620), the defects in the calendar concerning eclipses became so grave that a reform of the calendar could not be delayed any longer.¹⁰

The reform of the Chinese Calendar

After the Jesuits had made their first conversions among Chinese scholars, their Christian Confucian friends wanted to help them to get a permanent position in China. This could be achieved by means of the Jesuits' astronomical knowledge. Astronomy and mathematics belonged to the special fields which were taught in Jesuit colleges, and especially at the Collegio Romano in Rome, where Christopher Clavius¹¹ 晷表图说 was the dominant personality for more than thirty years. He was the leading man of the Roman calendar reform which resulted in the Gregorian calendar, which was promulgated by Gregory XIII in 1582 and replaced the outdated Julian calendar initiated by Gaius Julius Caesar (100 BC–44 BC) in 46 BC.¹² It was also the time of the new heliocentric world-view developed by Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) and Galileo

7 Claudia VON COLLANI, "Johann Adam Schall von Bell und die Naturwissenschaften in China", *Verbum SVD* 33 (1992), pp. 28–32.

8 Rita Hsiao-fu PENG, "The K'ang-hsi Emperor's Absorption in Western Mathematics and Astronomy and his extensive Applications of Scientific Knowledge", *Bulletin of Historical Research* 3 (1975), p. 417.

9 Pasquale D'ELIA, *Galileo in China. Relations Through the Roman College between Galileo and the Jesuit Scientist-Missionaries (1610–1640)*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960, p. 61.

10 D'ELIA, *Galileo*, p. 20.

11 Cristophorus Clavius, * 1537/1538 Bamberg, S.J. II.1555 Rome, + 6.II.1612 Rome (DHS) I, pp. 825–826.

12 Rudolf WENDORFF, *Tag und Woche, Monat und Jahr. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Kalenders*, Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1993, pp. 79–92.

Galilei (1564–1642) which changed the old geocentric world view held by Aristotle and Ptolemy.¹³ The Jesuits were on the one hand on friendly terms with Galileo Galilei, on the other hand they were committed to the old geocentric world-view taught by the Church. Therefore they adhered to the semi-heliocentric world-view proposed by Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), the astronomer of the German emperor. In this model the planets orbited the sun, but the sun orbited the earth, which was still considered to be the centre of the cosmos.¹⁴ This model made it possible to obtain good results in calculating the orbits of the planets.

Most likely in 1613 the Chinese Christian scholar Leo Li Zhizao 李之藻 (1571–1630) for the first time proposed that three Jesuits should carry out the reform of the calendar, because the Imperial astronomers had failed to calculate an eclipse properly. Two Christian scholars and friends of the Jesuits, Paul Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562–1633) and Li Zhizao, made several attempts to initiate calendar reform. They started by writing treatises on European sciences. After some vain attempts and after the Jesuits had proved to have made the right computations for the eclipse in 1629, they were finally appointed by the Chongzhen emperor 崇禎 (1611, 1628–1644). In the imperial decree of March 27, 1629, when Xu Guangqi, then president of the Libu 禮部 (Ministry of Rites), also became the director of the reform, a new office was created, the *Qintianjian* 欽天監 dependent on the *Libu*.¹⁵ Xu Guangqi put together a team of Chinese and Western scholars for the reform. He selected Johannes Schreck¹⁶ (alias *Terrentius*) and Niccolò Longobardo¹⁷ 龍華民 as his European collaborators. The newly

13 The old world view considered the unmovable earth as the centre of the cosmos, the seven planets, sun and moon surrounding it. The stars were fixed at the 8th crystal sphere around the world. All this was moved by the ninth heaven as *primum mobile*.

14 The semi-heliocentric world view was created by the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe who served the German Emperor Rudolph (reign 1576–1612) in Prague for some years. His successor was Johannes Kepler.

15 See Antonella ROMANO, "Observer, vénérer, servir. Une polémique jésuite autour du Tribunal des mathématiques de Pékin", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales* 59 (2004), p. 748.

16 Johann Schreck, * 1576 Costanza (Germania), S.J. 1.XI.1611 Roma, † 11 o 13.V.1630 Beijing (*DHCJ* IV, p. 3533).

17 Niccolò Longobardo, * 10.IX.1565 Caltagirone, S.J. 1582 Messina, † 11.XII.1655 Beijing (*DHCJ* III, pp.2411-2412).

arrived Jesuits Giacomo Rho¹⁸ 羅雅谷 and Johann Adam Schall von Bell joined the group later. Xu Guangqi was the director from 1629 until his death in 1633.¹⁹ After Schreck's sudden death in 1630 and when Xu Guangqi died in 1633, Schall, who had received his astronomical and mathematical education at the Collegio Romano, became the chief coordinator of the project.²⁰

The reform was mostly done by translations, calculations and adaptation of Western methods to the Chinese lunar calendar. The treatises necessary to prepare and calculate the new calendar were submitted to the emperor in 137 juan as *Chongzhen lishu* 崇禎曆書, i.e. the "Calendar Classic of the Chongzhen emperor" between 1631 and 1635.²¹ However, the new calendar became invalid during Chongzhen's reign. There was opposition from Chinese officials because they were afraid that the new calendar would lead to the end of the dynasty.²² After the transition to the new Qing dynasty (1644–1911) the Manchu prince and regent Dorgon (Amawang) 多爾袞 (1612–1650) entrusted Schall with the office of director of the *Qintianjian*. Schall changed the title of the collection of treatises for the Chongzhen emperor into *Xiyang xinfa lishu* 西洋新法曆書 (New Western methods of calendar science) and submitted the whole matter to the new dynasty in 1645, which also needed and used the correct calendar to demonstrate its legitimacy and the start of the new reign. Schall as the first European president of the Bureau of Astronomy was followed by several other Jesuit presidents until the end of the 18th century.²³

18 Giacomo Rho, * 1592 Milan, S.J. 24.VIII.1614 Milan, † 26.IV.1638 Beijing (DHCJ IV, p. 3342).

19 VON COLLANI, "Johann Adam Schall von Bell und die Naturwissenschaften", p. 29.

20 Siu MAN-KEUNG, "Success and failure of Xu Guangqi: Response for the first Dissemination of European Science in Ming China", *Studies in History of Medicine and Science* 14:1-2 (1995), p. 166; Keizo HASHIMOTO, *Hsü Kuang-ch'i and Astronomical Reform. The Process of the Chinese Acceptance of Western Astronomy 1629-1635*, Osaka, Kansai University Press, 1988.

21 Jean-Claude MARTZLOFF, *Le Calendrier chinois: structure et calculs (104 av. J.-C.-1644). Indétermination céleste et réforme permanente. La construction chinoise officielle du temps quotidien discret à partir d'un temps mathématique caché, linéaire et continu*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2009, pp. 367-372. In the Chongzhen lishu the Jesuits described the theories concerning the planets and taught how the calculations of the solsticia, eclipses etc. had to be done.

22 BERNARD, "L'Encyclopédie", pp. 461-468.

23 STANDAERT, *Handbook*, pp. 696, 715, 739.

The Case of Schall

So far, we have given the “rational” background to the successful introduction of modern European science in the service of missionary purposes. However, there were consequences which went far beyond a normal conflict. The controversy about the Chinese calendar, its contents and Schall’s function, mostly within the Society of Jesus, touched on matters comparable to the Rites Controversy, e. g. to what extent any adaptation to Chinese customs was possible and what “superstition” meant in the context of Christian Europe and of the Chinese mission. The issue, however, also evoked strong human emotions, such as jealousy, anxiety, animosity, and last but not least psychotic traumata.²⁴ The case concerning Schall covered a period of sixteen years, namely from 1648 until 1664 (April 4), shortly before the dangerous and more famous Calendar Case of Schall started. About fifteen Jesuits were involved with their writings in the case, besides Schall himself and his disciple and successor as president of the *Qintianjian* Ferdinand Verbiest.²⁵ They were: Manuel Dias,²⁶ Simão da Cunha,²⁷ Francisco Furtado,²⁸ Michel Trigault,²⁹ Ludovico Buglio,³⁰ Francesco

24 The controversy was discussed by several authors, the first being Alfons Vāth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592-1666*, Köln, Bachem, 1933; Nettetel, Steyler Verlag, 1991², pp. 267-292. Irène Pih did the same in *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães. Un jésuite portugais en Chine au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Centro Cultural Português, 1979, pp. 61-100, and described the controversy about the calendar (pp. 101-110). Finally Antonella Romano in her article “Observer, vénérer, servir”, pp. 729-756 treated some aspects of the case.

25 Fernand Verbiest, * 9.X.1623 Pittem, S.J. 29.IX.1641 Malines, + 28.I.1688 Beijing (DHCJ IV, pp. 3928-3929).

26 Manuel Dias, * January 1559 Faro, S.J. 21.XII.1576 Evora, + 28.XI.1639 Macao (DHCJ II, pp. 1112-1113).

27 Simão da Cunha, * 1589 Coimbra, S.J. 13.I.1606, + 4.IX.1660 Macao (Joseph DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 á 1800*, Roma-Paris, IHSI-Letouzey & Anè, 1973, p. 69).

28 Francisco Furtado, * 1589 Faial island (Azores), S.J. 1610 Coimbra, + 21.XI.1653 Macao (DHCJ II, p. 1544).

29 Nicolas Michel, * 3.III.1602 Douai, S.J. 9.I.1618 Portugal, + 30.IX.1667 Canton (Guangzhou) (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 273).

30 Ludovico Buglio, * 26.I.1606 Mineo (Sicily), S.J. 28.XI.1622 Palermo, + 7.X.1682 Beijing (DHCJ I, p. 568).

Brancati,³¹ Nikolaus Smogulecki,³² Gabriel de Magalhães,³³ Jacques Le Faure,³⁴ Martino Martini,³⁵ Jean Valat,³⁶ and Johannes Grueber.³⁷

Besides these there were the Dominican Vittorio Ricci (1621–1685) in the Philippines, the Jesuit superiors general Vincenzo Carafa,³⁸ Francesco Piccolomini,³⁹ and especially Goswin Nickel,⁴⁰ the censor in Rome. Popes Innocent X (1644–1655) and Alexander VII (1655–1667) issued prohibitions and permissions. Two factions emerged, one pro-Schall and one *contra* Schall. The most interesting texts are the two treatises written by Gabriel de Magalhães dated 6 September 1649,⁴¹ and later in expanded form dated 1652.⁴² Brancati wrote the *Calendarii Sinici Defensio 1650, alias Calendarium Sinicum explicatum a P. Francisco Brancato. 1650. Approbantibus PP. Gravina et Smogulecki*.⁴³ Johann Adam Schall von Bell authored the *Apologia pro Novo / Calendario Sinico / scripta / a P. Adamo Schall So.*

31 Francesco Brancati, * 1607 Palermo, S.J. 14.VIII. Naples, † 25.IV.1671 Canton (Guangzhou) (DHCJ I, pp. 521-522).

32 Nikolaus Smogulecki, * 1610 Krakow, S.J. 14.XII.1636 Krakow, † 17.IX.1656 Zhaoqing (Guangdong) (DHCJ IV, pp. 3592-3593).

33 Gabriel de Magalhães, * 1610 Pedrógão Grande (Portugal), S.J. 1625 Coimbra, † 6.V.1677 Beijing (DHCJ, III, p. 2468).

34 Jacques Le Faure, * 20.III.1613, S.J. 8.I.1630 Paris, † 28.I.1675 Shangai (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 147-148).

35 Martino Martini, * 20.IX.1614 Trento, S.J. 8.X.1632 Rome, † 6.VI.1661 Hangzhou (Zhejiang) (DHCJ, III, p. 2528).

36 Jean Valat, * 16.IX.1614 Le Puy, S.J. 22.IV.1632, † 07.X.1696 Jinan (DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, pp. 278-279).

37 Johannes Grueber, * 28.X.1623 Linz, S.J. 13.X.1641 Wien, † 30.IX.1680 Sárospatak (Hungary) (DHCJ II, p. 1827).

38 Vincenzo Carafa, * 09.V.1585 Andria, S.J. 4.X.1604 Naples, † 8.VI.1649 Rome (DHCJ II, pp. 1627-1629).

39 Francesco Piccolomini, * 12.X.1582 Siena, S.J. 26.I.1600 Rome, † 17. VI.1651 Rome (DHCJ II, pp. 1629-1630).

40 Goswin Nickel, * 1.III.1584 Koslar (Germany), S.J. 3.IV.1604 Treves (Trier), † 31.VII.1664 (DHCJ II, pp. 1631-1633).

41 Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth ARSI), *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 50r-71r.

42 Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (henceforth BNC), *Fondo Gesuitico* 1305.

43 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 48-88r; 89r-92r (*Censura ad tractatum quem P. Franciscus Brancatus scriptis...by Francisco Furtado*).

*Jesu / ad / Adm. Rdum Patrem Nostrum / P. Franciscum Picolominium / Praepositum Generalem / Soc. Jesu / 1652 (7 March).*⁴⁴ Last in the line is Ferdinand Verbiest's *Apologia P. Ferdinandi Verbiest / pro Calendario et Officio P. Joannis Adami Schall / Allata Romam a P. Joanne Grueber / in febr.o 1664.*⁴⁵

The discussion touched on two main topics, concerning a particularly of the Jesuit order and the questions of superstition. In the so-called "small vows" Jesuits promise not to aspire to or to accept any offices and positions with political power, jurisdiction or dignity outside the order (however, they could become professors or rectors within universities) without being ordered *expressis verbis*.⁴⁶ The second problem concerned the general prohibition by the Catholic Church concerning superstition, which, however, was a question of definition and tradition.⁴⁷

When he was appointed director of the Bureau of Astronomy by the Manchu regent Dorgon in 1644 Schall would have normally to ask a superior before accepting. However, there were very few Jesuits in China, and Schall should have asked the Jesuit superior general in Rome. The vice-provincial for southern China at that time was Giulio Aleni (1641–1649),⁴⁸ whereas Francisco Furtado was visitor and vice-provincial of Northern China (1646–1653). Schall was ordered to accept because of the benefits for the mission, as his superior Furtado was afraid that if Schall refused the Manchus would think that he was an adherent of the Ming dynasty.⁴⁹ Schall for his part did not feel sure whether he really should continue to work

44 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 96r-147v.

45 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 161-180v. Printed in Henry JOSSON, Léopold WILLAERT (eds.), *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623–1688) Directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin*, Bruxelles, Palais des académies, 1938, nr. VII, pp. 11-103.

46 In 1632 Urban VIII had forbidden the taking of such worldly offices, which have juridical power.

47 Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theologiae* II-II, 92-96) distinguished between wrong objects and wrong practice, which is also possible in respect to the true God. He lists four groups: 1. wrong veneration of the true God (*superstitio*); 2. idololatriy, i.e. veneration of limited powers (*idololatria*); 3. divination with pseudo-religious practice (*superstitio divinatoria*); 4. magical practice (*superstitiones observantiarum*). *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 1, Freiburg-Basel-Wien, Herder, 1986, cols. 43f.

48 Giulio Aleni, * 1582 Brescia, S.J. 1.XI.1600 Novellara, † 10.VI.1649 Yaping (Fujian) (DHCJ I, pp. 72-73).

49 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 159.

for the calendar, or merely only as a missionary. However, when Peking was burnt down in 1644, everything near the mission house was destroyed by the fire; only the astronomical wooden printing tables survived, which Schall considered as an omen sent from heaven to continue his astronomical work.⁵⁰ Dorgon appointed him as president of the Astronomical Bureau at the end of 1644 which was confirmed by the Shunzhi emperor in 1645. Whereas Furtado agreed, Giulio Aleni in Southern China still had problems. They would have been solved if Gabriel de Magalhães had not arrived in Peking. He started the discussion anew and succeeded in winning over several Jesuits to his side, namely Lodovico Buglio, Michel Trigault, Niccolò Longobardo, Giovanni Francesco de Ferrariis,⁵¹ Etienne Le Faure and Inácio da Costa.⁵² Magalhães' behavior is only understandable in the context of previous events.

Magalhães and Buglio in Sichuan

For a better understanding of the case, the adventures of the two Jesuits Magalhães and Buglio, who worked in the province of Sichuan from August 1642 until 1647, must be described.⁵³ A short time after they arrived in Sichuan rebellions occurred in the China of the declining Ming; the Manchus moved forward, whereas the last Ming emperor committed suicide. During these turbulent times the rebel Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠 (1601–1647) tried to found a new dynasty and seemed able to do so. For some time he was successful. However, he was evidently both deranged and cruel. In his opinion Heaven had sent him to Sichuan to punish people. He exercised his "mandate" with terror and killed 140,000 soldiers in Sichuan, the whole educated elite and the Buddhist clergy and nearly exterminated the 60,000 inhabitants of Chengdu.

Buglio and Magalhães were captured by him. At first he treated them in a very friendly way, for, given their knowledge, he wanted them to become his astronomers; evidently he also wanted to have a calendar for his new rule. They had to surrender him a copy of the Chongzhen lishu 崇禎曆書, and they received the title

50 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 145.

51 Giovanni Francesco De Ferrariis, * 1609/1610 Cuneo, S.J. 22.X.1624 Genoa, † 1671 Anqing (DHCJ II, p. 1055).

52 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, pp. 257-259.

53 Erik ZÜRCHER, "In the Yellow Tiger's Den: Buglio and Magalhães at the Court of Zhang Xianzhong, 1644-1647", *Monumenta Serica* L (2002), pp. 355-374.

Tianxue guoshi 天學國師, "Imperial astronomers", and cast new instruments for him without really engaging in astronomy. Zhang, influenced by Daoism, felt a divine mission but was convinced that most Chinese were just wicked people. He was even interested in Christianity, but he was convinced that Christianity should stay in Europe. Several times the two missionaries were in the greatest danger of being tortured or killed. When he retreated to Shaanxi in January 1647, Zhang was followed by the Manchu prince Haoge 豪格 (Prince Su 肅親王, 1609-48). Finally, on January 3, 1647, Zhang received the message that five men on horseback were approaching his camp. Zhang and some of his officers rode to meet them without noticing that they were Manchu scouts. When they came closer, one of the Manchus shot an arrow at Zhang hitting his heart and killing him on the spot.⁵⁴

The Manchus would perhaps also have killed the two Jesuits as highly placed servants of Zhang, but the commander, prince Haoge, knew Schall. Because of their appearance they were asked if they knew Schall. Yes, he was their older brother. Therefore their lives were spared, and they were treated well. Magalhães wrote in a letter to Schall: "O blessed calendar, I owe you my life".⁵⁵ Finally they were brought to Peking, where they arrived in February 1648.⁵⁶

During the following years Buglio and Magalhães had to stay under house arrest in Peking, partly due to the animosities between the regent Dorgon and Haoge, who both longed for the throne.⁵⁷ The two Jesuits were reproached with having served a rebel. There was no official accusation (which would have implied a capital crime) because of Schall's influence. Schall and the other Jesuits were advised by their Chinese and Manchu friends to keep their distance. Buglio and Magalhães, however, were convinced that Schall was the real reason for their imprisonment, and that he should therefore leave Peking. Their imprisonment lasted until 1651.⁵⁸ Rumors and intrigues were spread, and Magalhães managed to win over several Jesuits to his side. Finally, on 20 May 1649, a letter was written to Manuel Dias in Hangzhou, the vice-provincial, asking that Schall

54 ZÜRCHER, "In the Yellow Tiger's Den", pp. 357-359.

55 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 153: «O beatum calendarium, per te vivimus!».

56 ZÜRCHER, "In the Yellow Tiger's Den", pp. 362, 372.

57 Haoge was thrown into prison by his uncle, where he died in 1648.

58 DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, p. 39.

be dismissed from the Society of Jesus. It was signed by Furtado, superior of the North, and Longobardo, Buglio, and de Ferrariis. At the same time Magalhães wrote his long *Tractatus* against Schall.⁵⁹

Gabriel de Magalhães' and the *Tractatus*

Magalhães's purpose in writing his treatise *Tractatus de Mathematica Praefectura, quam jussu Regis Sinensis administrat P. Joannes Adamus Societatis JESV quatuor votorum professus* was mainly to get Schall to leave Peking; he blamed Schall for the fact that he and Buglio were being kept under house arrest by the Manchus. Magalhães seemed to have problems especially with the so-called "superstition". With many scholastic arguments he tried to persuade the superiors that Schall's office was bad and dangerous, and officially demanded that Schall should leave it. The *Tractatus* was signed by Furtado and ten professed Jesuits in September 1649. It appeared in expanded form in 1652.⁶⁰

The treatise is subdivided into four chapters: 1. General principles; 2. What kind of prefecture and office is it?; 3. Ten reasons why Schall should not accept the office; 4. Answers to several doubts expressed by a father on the mission (in defence of the prefecture).

The first chapter on general principles starts with article 1: about superstition and the different kinds of divination. Magalhães defined divination as an invalid, vain and unnecessary kind of religion lacking the worship of God and the cult, or rejecting it. In the first kind of divination God receives the necessary honor and worship, which is not the problem here; in the second, however, this worship is rejected and instead given to created things. Also this kind of superstition is divided into two kinds: in the first kind veneration is given to created things, which is idolatry, in the second superstition tries to get knowledge about things that are to happen, knowledge which belongs to God alone.

Magalhães's description of the two kinds of astrology is based on the official definition given by the Catholic Church of his day, as mentioned in the preface to the book *Index librorum prohibitorum*.⁶¹ One is natural astrology concerning agriculture, medicine, navigation, and the other known as "judiciaria" (judging) where

59 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, pp. 257-259.

60 ARSL, *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 50r-71r (6 September 1649), expanded version BNC, Fondo Gesuitico 1305 (22 February 1652).

61 There are several editions of this book (1620, 1634, etc.), but also in the Index edited by Alexander VII in 1665, the general categories are always mentioned in the preface.

stars, planets and star constellations have influence on human beings. By observing and interpreting them one can see the outcome of things. This is done by the knowledge of hour and day of the birth, the conditions and changes. This was condemned by papal law, and also by pagan authors, as mentioned in the book of Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1470–1533).⁶²

The Doctor of the Church, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), mentioned different kinds of divination: from the observation of the signs of the elements, from dreams, from the form of the human body, its disposition and composition. Magalhães mentions several themes in this context: 1. Geomancy; 2. Aenomancy, i. e. the reading of full wine glasses; 3. Pyromancy, the interpretation of sparks in the air; 4. Aeromancy, motions of the air. These kinds are condemned by the pope. 5. Chiromancy, reading hands to find out about about luck, wealth, and the opposite; 6. Metoposcopia (Physiognomics), reading from wrinkles on the face to find out about a man's future;⁶³ 7. Astrological Physiognomy, certain parts of the body are linked with certain planets (nose, forehead, hands, feet, ears); 8. Oniromancy, which connects everything dreamt by people and uses it to predict the future. All these arts are forbidden by papal law because they have no natural explanation. Two texts from the Old Testament, Leviticus 19:31, and Ecclesiasticus 34:1–8 clearly oppose divination, interpretation of dreams and signs, while Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola opposed chiromancy, geomancy, auguries, auspices and omens, the interpretation of earthquakes, dreams and other things.

The Church and superstition

The Church had its own definitions of astrology and divination. The definition concerned especially the question whether astrology was connected with heresy or not. Several popes were opposed to astrological books, e. g. Pope John XXII (1316–1334) excommunicated people who owned such works, whereas Clement VIII (1423–1429) published an index, requiring that bishops should admonish Christians to avoid such subjects. The Council

62 *De rerum praenotione libri novem pro veritate religionis contra superstitiosas vanitates* (1506), book 5. See <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00017930/images/index.html?id=00017930&ffip=eayayztsewqeyayssdasyztsqrseayaxs&no=2&seite=4> chapter 12 (5 December 2013).

63 This art was invented by the physician and mathematician Girolamo (or Gerónimo) Cardano (1501–1576) and described in his book *Metoposcopia* (1658).

of Trent (1545–1563) did the same.⁶⁴ If one owned such books, one was excommunicated *ipso facto*. This was expressed by Sixtus V (1585–1590), who condemned astrologers, mathematicians and all those who performed “astrologia iudicaria”, whereas astrology concerning agriculture, navigation and medicine was permitted by the Catholic Church.⁶⁵ Sixtus V also published an index condemning treatises and books on astrology. It was forbidden for Christians to own or to read them. All kinds of divination, superstition and mixing of poisons (*venificia*), geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, oenomancy (divination from the name), chiromancy, necromancy, the casting of lots to obtain something, *auguria*, *auspicia* and magic were considered bad, vain, pernicious, and deceitful.⁶⁶

The nature of Schall's office

Since it was an important part of his accusation concerning Schall's office, Magalhães not only proved to be well acquainted with the subject of “superstition”, but also with Chinese bureaucracy. His description of the offices dealing with the Chinese calendar is still helpful.

The office or Bureau *Qintianjian*, 欽天監 often called “Tribunal” by the Jesuits was only a part of the elaborate Chinese administration. Magalhães provides in his treaty a very exact description and even a diagram.⁶⁷ In Schall's day, there were six ministries, called tribunals by the Jesuits *Liu Bu* 六部,⁶⁸ all dependent on the emperor, entitled Huangdi 皇帝: *Libu* 吏部 Ministry of Personnel, *Hubu* 戶部, Ministry

64 S.a. *Constitutio...Sixti papae quinti contra exercentes Astrologiae Iudicariae artem & alia quaecunque divinationum genera librosque de eis legentes ac tenentes* (Roma 1586).

65 P. J. S. WHITMORE, *A Seventeenth-Century Exposure of Superstition: Select Texts of Claude Pithoys (1587–1676)*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1972, p. 245f.

66 We can assume that Magalhães is quoting here such an Index. In the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum Cum regulis confectis per Patres à Trident. Synodo delectos...* (Romae 1634) one reads under rule 9: «Libri omnes, & scripta, Geomantiae, Hydromantiae, Aeromantiae, Pyromantiae, Onomantiae, Chyromantiae, Necromantiae, siue in quibus continentur sortilegia, veneficia, auguria, auspicial, incantationes, artis magicæ, prorsus reijciuntur. – Episcopo vero diligenter prouidenant, ne Astrologiæ iudicariæ libri, tractatus, indices legantur, vel habeantur, qui de futuris contingentibus, successibus, fortuitisue casibus, aut ijs pendent, certò aliquid euenturum affirmare audent. – Permittuntur autem iudicia, & naturales obseruationes, quæ nauigationis, agriculturæ, sive medicæ artis iuuandæ gratia, conscripta sunt». Other edition 1644.

67 The diagram was deciphered and transcribed in an organigram by Catherine Jami in: ROMANO, “Observer, vénérer, servir”, p. 746 resp. on the following pages.

68 Charles O. HUCKER, *A Dictionary of official titles in imperial China*, Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 1985, introduction.

of Revenue, *Bingbu* 兵部 Ministry of Defense, *Xingbu* 刑部 Ministry of Justice, *Gongbu* 工部 Ministry of Public Works, and *Libu* 禮部 Ministry of Rites. The most important of the six was the Ministry of Rites, the *Libu*. It had four departments, the *Yizhisi* (Bureau of ceremonies), the *Cijisi* 祠祭司 (Bureau of sacrifices), the *Zhukesi* 主客司 (Bureau of receptions), and the *Jingshansi* 精膳司 (Bureau of provisions). The *Cijisi* was subdivided into the *Taichangsi* 太常寺博士, Court of Imperial sacrifices, and the *Qintianjian*, Direction or Bureau of Astronomy. This last was again subdivided into four so-called “schools”, the *Like* 曆科, the Section of the calendar, the *Tianwenke* 天文科, the Section of the Stars, the *Loukeke* 漏刻科, the Section of Clepsydras, and the School of the Muslims, the *Huihuike* 回回科. The *Like* had three departments or “gymnasia”, the *Tuisuan* 推筭, which observed the paths of the seven planets, the eclipses of moon and sun, the twelve signs of the zodiac, sunrise and sunset. These observations belonged to mathematics and were therefore permitted in Magalhães’s eyes. The name of the second school was *Zhubu* (also “Pú chú”) 主簿, responsible for predicting lucky and unlucky days in general. The third school called *Xuanze Jieqi* 選擇節氣 was responsible for determining whether days were lucky or unlucky for special events, such as sacrifice, building a house, taking a wife, etc. Happiness and unhappiness depend on the right choice of such days.⁶⁹

There were also the departments for the calculation, for the registrations, and for the choice of the periods – all subordinated to the *Like*. The *Guanhou tianxiang* 觀侯天象 observed heavenly phenomena, and the corresponding parts on earth. The department *Loukeke* was responsible for the observation of the clepsydra. It had two sections or “gymnasia”, the *Xiang si fanggui* 詳四方 to measure and observe all parts of the earth. The professors of this school were called “yn yam” (Yin Yang), or “Ti li” (Dilijia 地理家 = performers of geomancy). Magalhães considered them as bad people. They determined whether a place was good or bad for building a house on, and where the door had to be. If it was done in the right way then luck would enter the house. They also determined the burial place of the king, the magnates and the people. If a person was buried in the right place, namely on the head of the dragon, it meant luck for the descendants with high office, wealth and honor. The Chinese were convinced that a dragon was lying in spirals beneath the earth. His

69 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, f. 70, and end of BNC, *Fondo Gesuitico* 1305; cf. ROMANO, “Observer, vénérer, servir”, pp. 744-746, organigram Jami.

pendant was the tiger (Baihu 白虎). A building was best built with foundations partly on the dragon and partly on the tiger, whereas a grave had to be between them.

The second gymnasium of the *Loukeke*, the *Xuanze jieqi* 選擇節氣, was responsible for the selection of days with good or bad luck. Magalhães admitted that some of these sections and schools were useful, such as the *Like*, which observed the planets, eclipses and the 12 signs of the zodiac, sunrise and sunset, and so on. However, if the knowledge is applied to selecting and determining certain days for sacrifice, building houses, burying the dead, and so on, then it is bad because thereby one would seek to influence fate.⁷⁰

The three first schools *Like* 曆科, *Tianwenke* 天文科, and *Loukeke* 漏刻科 published the calendar each year. Schall as the director of the *Qintianjian* was responsible for three different calendars, namely the *Zhongli* 中曆 (*mixtum calendarium*, mixed calendar), which included the two others, the *Qizhengli* 七政曆 (*Septem Planetarum Calendarium*, calendar of the seven planets), which concerned sunrise and sunset, and the *Minli* 民曆 (*populi calendarium*, people's calendar), also called *Huangli* 黃曆, the yellow calendar, because it was wrapped in yellow paper.⁷¹

Schall as the director had to approve these three calendars. Copies were made of each: three for the king, three for the high officers and royal assistants, and three for the Libu, whereas Schall in the *Qintianjian* kept three. The king, the officers and the Libu approved the calendars; then they were printed. The printed copies were given to the ruler, to the court of the nine offices, and to the people.

It constituted no problem for Magalhães if the Jesuits and Chinese Christians received copies of these calendars because they were needed for the Christian feasts. Pagans and Christians, however, who were not firm in their faith should not get them, for it was a sin to use the calendar in a superstitious way. Magalhães thought it sufficient to order the printer of the calendar to be excommunicated, but he had to admit that many things in these calendars were necessary, useful and therefore permitted, because there existed a natural and scientific astrology, for example for agriculture, navigation, medicine. However, the name *Qintianjian* meant that the emperor was convinced that the fortune of the empire depended on the right observation and veneration of the heavens. For example eclipses (duration, kind, time, and other things) were used to calculate any

70 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, f. 56v. Cf. ROMANO, "Observer, vénérer, servir", p. 748f.

71 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, f. 51v.

bad luck that might occur. This is wrong and forbidden.⁷² It was meant that the office as such was indifferent, but its use was wrong.

Magalhães also described the ten heavenly stems *tiangan* 天干 and the twelve earthly branches *dizhi* 地支, which were used to determine hours and years. They were combined with the five elements 五行 (*wuxing*) in combination with five planets (Venus, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Saturn). After 60 years a new cycle started. By the combination of these things the right date to do something was calculated, for example building houses. For the calculation a “capsula”, i.e. a geomantic compass (Luopan 罗盘), was used with a needle and 22 characters, in combination with the directions, taken from the *Yijing*, the Book of Chances, which had a very bad reputation in the eyes of most missionaries because it was used for divination. The Chinese thought that everywhere there exist special spirits whose place had to be found. Magalhães refuted Schall’s attitude towards these spirits and ghosts, because he denied their reality, considering them only as symbols for virtues or natural appearances. Magalhães considered them more as gods and divinities than as ghosts because they received veneration. In this respect they could be compared with the Latin gods, who were elevated to divine status by the Roman senate. Therefore Schall committed a great sin according to Magalhães if he did not enlighten the Chinese people about the nature of these false ghosts, because the people considered them to be real. If Schall himself thought that they were real, then he committed idolatry, and it seemed that he did. These ghosts were venerated on certain days with sacrifices, therefore they were idols and not comparable to Christian angels or heavenly intelligences.

The most important among these ghosts of the year was Taisui 太歲, who changed each year through the whole cycle of 60 years, i.e. each year had its special Taisui. He was a kind of fictive Anti-Jupiter running against the course of the real planet Jupiter *suixing* 歲星. He was an invisible star, also called Taiyin, and was the shadow

72 Juan Azor, *Institutiones morales in quibus universae quaestiones ad conscientiam recte aut prave factorum pertinentes, breviter tractantur*, t. 1-3, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1602-1612, lib.2 c.2, § primo, 56. – Juan Azor (* 1536 Lorca (Spain), S.J. 18.III.1559 Alcalá de Henares, † 19.II.1603, *DHCJ* I, p. 316) a Moralist, belonged to the editorial committee for the *Ratio Studiorum*, he was advisor of the superior general in questions of the canon. His *Institutiones Morales* in 3 vols. were a classic handbook: <http://www.bsb-muenchen-digital.de/~web/web1049/bsb10496691/images/index.html?digID=bsb10496691&> (5 December 2013).

of Jupiter.⁷³ Taisui was the prefect of the Ministry of the year with 120 members who ruled the year, the months, the days and time as such. Taisui was shown with the appearance of a young man, but bones and skulls are hanging down from his neck. That means that he was very cruel and could decapitate all human beings.⁷⁴ In principle Taisui kept a special place in the year, but he was wandering around in different directions and places on certain days. When he occupied such days, no other ghost will go there. These days had therefore certain rules, and certain things could be done or avoided. Especially dangerous were the directions in which Taisui does not go, because Taisui was dangerous and easily felt offended. Therefore by means of diagrams one should find out his place and protect oneself with talismans.⁷⁵

Another important place in the calendar has the diagram “Nien xin fam guei chi tu” = Nianshen fangwei tu 年神方位圖 = Positions of the good year, figure of the places and seats, where the years’ ghosts have their position.⁷⁶ This table contains names of more than 20 spirits, some of them good, some bad. Most of them were famous men with special abilities in war, virtue or cruelty during their lifetimes. After their death they became ghosts, because they were venerated by people. They all appear on the second page of the calendar. This is a very important part of the calendar, because some places in the country with certain spirits are lucky, others unlucky. For Magalhães these ghosts, called shen 神, were comparable to the gods of the Romans; they are more gods or idols than spirits, whose veneration started after their death. Some ghosts change each day, some belong to special parts of the human body.

73 Joseph NEEDHAM, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 3: Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1959, p. 402.

74 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 5-16; NEEDHAM, *Science*, p. 402.

75 Edward Theodore Chalmers WERNER, *Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, New York, The Julian Press, 1961, pp. 482-484. In the legend Taisui was the son of emperor Dixon 帝辛 (1075–1046 BC) of the Shang-Dynasty, his mother was Jiang. After his birth he was exposed because he resembled a piece of meat. It was opened and the child was found. Since the Ming dynasty Taisui was offered sacrifices in the open air.

76 Magalhães, *Tractatus...* end of BNC, *Fondo Gesuitico* 1305; s.a. Jean-Claude MARTZLOFF, “Calendriers”, in: Marc KALINOSWIKI, *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale: étude des manuscrits de Dunhuang de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France et de la British Library*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003, 106f; Richard SMITH, “Note on Qing Dynasty Calendars”, *Late Imperial China* 9 (1988), 126f.

Forms taken by superstition: watching the ethers

One of Magalhães's main objections to Schall was the recommendation of certain superstitious practices, as, for example, *Houqi* 候氣 watching the ethers, where ether means *qi* 氣 as a combination of yin 陰 and yang 陽. When the feast *Liqun* 立春 was celebrated in China to mark the beginning of spring, a special officer from the Mathematical school was sent to the Shuntian prefecture 順天府, where the prefect of the city resided. Together with the officer the prefect went to the bank of the river near the city, where they found two professors of the Yin-Yang art (i.e. Fengshui masters), who had prepared a pit containing a jar with burning incense sticks. When springtime was approaching the sticks were burnt and attention was given to which direction the ashes were driven by the wind.⁷⁷ With the help of this method the seasons were calculated. However, at the beginning of the Qing dynasty the performance of this ceremony was nearly forgotten. Therefore Schall as the director of the *Qintianjian* reinstated the practice of watching the ethers during the fortnight period *Liqun* by sending officers from the *Like* and *Loukeke* (Clepsydra office) to perform the ceremony *Houqi*. As they saw no ethers and did not really know how to perform the *Houqi* ceremony, the professors wrote a faked report that the *qi* had manifested itself.⁷⁸ This was another reason why Magalhães reproached Schall with performing such superstitious nonsense.

The above mentioned department *Guanhou tianxiang* of the Mathematical School *Tianwenke* observed celestial phenomena such as the seven planets (including the sun and the moon), rain, wind, breeze, meteors. Days and nights were subdivided into four parts and then the signs in the heavens were observed, black and red clouds, armed warriors, dragons; their position in the heavens, determined in this way, was important because these omens meant good or bad luck. These observations formed part of the duties of the school. At the end of August, 1648, a fire was seen at nightfall with an exhalation. Following the method of aeromancy Schall was to decide if this was a lucky or unlucky omen. In his interpretation it meant a rebellion of the people living to the west of the Court. Schall submitted his interpretation to the king. Two months later there were rumors that the Western Tatars (Mongols) had attacked China in great number.

77 Qing dynasty. Derk BODDE, "The Chinese Cosmic Magic Known as Watching for the Ethers", in: Søren EGEROD, Else GLAHN (eds.), *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1959, 15f.

78 Huang YILONG, Chang CHIH-CH'ENG, "The Evolution and Decline of the Chinese Practice of Watching for the Ethers", *Chinese Science* 13 (1996), 90f.

However, in reality it was a military leader called “Kiam siam” (= Jiang Xiang 姜瓖, died 1649), who had earlier caused a rebellion after he himself had fought the rebel Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606–1644) in Peking.⁷⁹ In Magalhães’s eyes this meant that the whole system was based on evil, vanity and superstition.

Examples of Schall’s superstition

Magalhães’s main criticism of Schall was that he gave, on his own initiative, superstitious answers and advice by compiling horoscopes, and genethliaca, by performing palmistry, chiromancy, and interpreting dreams. Therefore in Magalhães’s opinion the Christians and the Muslims were scandalized by his behavior, and Schall was even paid with presents and money by his clients.

Schall was of course involved in practices which are nowadays called Fengshui 風水, geomancy, and are quite fashionable in East and West. Magalhães mentions several examples of Schall’s judgment in this respect; others are mentioned elsewhere. In our context here three interesting oracles given by Schall are important. The first concerns the regent Dorgon (Amawang) who had evidently the ambition to become ruler himself, taking the emperor prisoner. For this purpose he planned to build a new palace with a new capital at another place. The fact that he raised taxes for his enterprise could easily drive the Chinese people to rebellion. Schall saw no other way of stopping Dorgon’s plans than to make a petition to Dorgon dated June 14, 1649. He declared the new territory to be amphibological, because a dragon was living there whose residence would be disturbed:

The construction of a palace is an affair with consequences, the Imperial pulse has to be in harmony with the elements [...]. The place is not at all suitable. Your servant has meditated about the observations reported to him before: the halo of the moon, the vapors of the mist, the wind [...], all these predictions indicate that it is not convenient to build the palace. That is what Heaven deigns to manifest. If one does otherwise, it is to be feared that the predictions will not come true. The consequences would be very serious and are not to be taken lightly. I cannot be silent about this.⁸⁰

79 Arthur W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* (henceforth ECCP), Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1943, p.138.

80 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, f.57r-v, Chinese original Appendix, f. 71r-v; Yilong HUANG, “L’attitude des missionnaires jésuites face à l’astrologie et à la divination chinoises”, in: Catherine JAMI et Hubert DELAHAYE (eds.), *L’Europe en Chine*.

Schall was called into Dorgon's presence and succeeded in convincing him that the construction of a new palace would be disadvantageous for the whole dynasty. People were sent to investigate the ground and found that Schall was right. So Dorgon stopped his plans.⁸¹ Magalhães, however, found this behavior to be unworthy of a missionary and reproached Schall with not having convinced Dorgon with rational arguments. He also wondered about what kind of dragon it was and why the palace had to be in relation to the position of the stars. Was it a real dragon or a spiritual dragon? Was it connected to the dragon of the Apocalypse? Was it the devil, the old snake? And why could nobody see him?⁸²

In 1652 the Dalai Lama paid a visit to Peking. Because the Jesuits hated the Buddhists and especially lamas Schall at once prepared an oracle to prevent the meeting between the Shunzhi emperor and the Dalai Lama: the Jesuit reported sun spots which he interpreted as maculae of the Imperial radiation which was obscured by the lama bonzes. Later he observed that Jupiter fought with the sun for clarity and that wandering stars had penetrated into the residence of the heavenly Emperor, an attitude which was encouraged and confirmed by the Great Secretaries Hong Chengchou 洪承疇 (1593–1665) and Chen Zhilin 陳之遴 (1605–1666) who as Confucian scholars also opposed Buddhism. Schall presented this as Heaven's volition, and in fact the emperor did not dare to meet the Dalai Lama himself. When the visit was over Schall even mentioned that the epidemics of smallpox and the recent military defeats were the punishment sent by Heaven because the population had shown too much respect for the Dalai Lama. The whole story proves Schall's hostility towards Buddhism.⁸³

Another example is presented by the Franciscan Sinologist Antonio Sisto Rosso. In this case also Schall used his office to admonish the young emperor Shunzhi, who had fallen in love with one of the ladies of his serail and wanted to make her empress. Therefore he wanted to depose the true empress in October 1653.

Interactions scientifiques, religieuses et culturelles aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque de la Fondation Hugot (14-17 octobre 1991), (Mémoires de l'Institut des Hautes Études chinoises vol. XXXIV), Paris, Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1993, pp. 87-108, see p. 101.

81 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, pp. 165, 273; ПИИ, *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães*, 107f; HUANG, "L'attitude", p.101.

82 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 57v-58r.

83 HUANG, "L'attitude", p.101.

Schall, who felt obliged to warn and reprimand him, could not do so directly because of the eunuchs; it would have been dangerous. So he drafted a purely fictional divination based on a parhelion phenomenon of the sun. Beneath the words of the divination he placed his reprimand and warning. The divination in fact reached the emperor. «On the 13th of the Eleventh Month, 10th year of Shunzhi [January 1, 1654] between 7 and 9 a.m., I observed that the sun gave forth a fake sun (parhelion) on the right. The oracle says: 'The sun has a fake sun and the Lord of men has happiness'».

And again it says: «'The sun's fake sun has wind. The sun has a fake sun and the Ruler has a secret harem affair with a mistress. The sun courts the fake sun, and the Master of the Country indulges in excessive pleasures. They are unbecoming.' Beware of this woman. Otherwise, there will be sorrow. Your servant Tang Ruowang».⁸⁴

The play of words, namely *er* 珥, meaning earring, but also parhelion and imperial consort, whereas *feng* 風, wind, meaning in this context influence, seduction, frivolity, would have been understood by the emperor. The hidden message, however, did not achieve its purpose. On July 29, 1654 the Emperor elevated his mistress, a great niece of his mother, the dowager empress, to the rank of an empress and married her two days later, after downgrading his former empress Borjigit, entitled Xiaohuizhang 世祖廢后, to the rank of concubine.⁸⁵

Summary of Magalhães's Treatise

In chapter 3 Magalhães gives ten reasons why Schall should not exercise the office of Director of the Bureau of Astronomy:

1. The directorate of the Astronomical Bureau does not fit well with

84 Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century*, South Pasadena, P.D. and Jone Perkins, 1948, 117f. Cf. the translation by Tiziana LIPPIELLO on the same subject: "The Guanxiang wanzhan says: 'When the sun gives forth a parhelion, it means that the ruler will have happiness.' It also says: 'If there is a parhelion there will be wind, and if the parhelion is in the sun, it means that the ruler honours the secret things of the ladies of the palace. If the sun in the morning has a parhelion, [it means] that the lord of the country is hindered by excessive pleasures. He may not indulge women. Let him be warned of that. Otherwise there will be sorrow.'" Tiziana LIPPIELLO, "Astronomy and Astrology: Johann Adam Schall von Bell", in: Roman MALEK (ed.), "Western Learning" and Christianity in China. The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666), Sankt Augustin, China-Zentrum and Monumenta Serica Institute, 1998, 424f (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series Vol. XXXV/1-2).

85 Rosso, *Apostolic Legations*, pp.116-118.

the Christian faith, because the calendar contains superstition and divination.

2. By exercising this office Schall puts himself in conflict with the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Church Fathers.

3. There is a danger that he will be accused before the Inquisition.

4. If Schall does not resign he will be excommunicated.

5. The vows of the professed forbid accepting the office of a director.

6. The office is a cause of scandal for others.

7. Schall risks his life if he makes any wrong reports.

8. Schall damages the good reputation of the Jesuits.

9. Schall is bringing on the Jesuit order the accusation of favoring divination.⁸⁶

Schall's defense: the great *Apologia*

Schall, however, also had defenders, namely the three consultors of the Vice-Provincial who were convinced of Schall's innocence, namely Francesco Brancati, Girolamo Gravina,⁸⁷ and Nikolai Smogulecki.⁸⁸ They defended Schall in a memorandum dated May 1650,⁸⁹ and with letters to the Jesuit generals Carafa and Piccolomini and to the Portuguese assistant.⁹⁰ Also Martino Martini, whom Schall had driven from Peking as competitor for the Astronomical Bureau, spoke and wrote in his favor.⁹¹ Schall defended himself with several letters and other documents, including one to the consultors of the Vice-Province, dated 4 November 1649.⁹² The main adversary, however, remained Magalhães, whom 10 professed Jesuits supported.⁹³ Finally the dossier was sent to Rome, and

86 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 276f.

87 Girolamo Gravina, * 1603 Caltanissetta (Italy), SJ 3.XI.1618 Palermo, † 4.IX.1662 Changshu (Jangshu) (DHCJ II, p. 1807).

88 Nikolai Smogulecki, * 1610 Krakow, SJ 14.XII.1636 Krakow, † 17.IX.1656 Zhaoqing (Guangdong) (DHCJ IV, pp. 3592-3593).

89 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, f. 120; VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, pp. 253-259.

90 *Notula circa Calendarium Sinense. A P. Joane Nicolao [Smogulecki] scriptae.* 31. Juli 1650, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 92-95v; underwritten by Brancati and Gravina, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 48-88r; Brancati, 1650, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 133r-134v.

91 For example in his letters dated 13 September 1649, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 84r-85v, and 15 January 1651. ff. 160r-163v.

92 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 108r-111v.

93 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 278.

Schall wrote his great *Apologia* dated 7 March 1652,⁹⁴ followed by his defense to the Jesuits general and to Fr. Francisco Colin⁹⁵ in the Philippines, who forwarded the documents to Rome.⁹⁶ Schall's own defense was entitled *Apologia pro Novo / Calendario Sinico / scripta / a P. Adamo Schall So. Jesu / ad / Adm. Rdum Patrem Nostrum / P. Franciscum Piccolomini / Praepositum Generalem / Soc. Jesu / 1652*.⁹⁷

Schall's *Apologia* starts with several subtitles:

1. Whether and under what conditions is it permitted to foretell the future from the stars.
2. Whether the things the Jesuits added to the Chinese calendar or what they reformed contain things which are not permitted.
3. Whether it is permitted to publish this new calendar, &c.
4. Whether it is permitted to admonish people in their offices by interpreting aerial images and other phenomena.
5. Whether it is permitted to exercise the office of the Mathematical prefecture.
6. Solution to the argument concerning the calendar and the exercise of the above mentioned prefecture.

First of all the office of astronomy and the calendar contain no superstition or divination, and secondly if there were, then Schall was not responsible and did not have to resign from his office. In Schall's day, horoscopes were quite usual everywhere in Europe. The main argument against them on the part of the Church was freedom of the will and of decisions; everything else was unimportant. In former times also theology spoke about a great influence of the stars in the fixed heaven on the character and the fate of human beings. Thomas Aquinas had already made a distinction between bad and good astrology. For a long time theology had believed that the stars were guided by angels, and with their help God provides everything on earth. The stars at the time of people's birth effect the corporal disposition, which influences the character. At the

94 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 96r-147r. One copy was sent via India to Europe in 1652, a compendium via Manila and America. Three years later another copy of the "Apologia" reached the German assistant in Rome.

95 Francisco Colin, * 15.VII.1592 Ripoll (Girona), SJ 14.II.1607, + 16.V.1660 Makati (Manila) (DHCJ I, pp. 855-856)

96 Schall, 5 May 1652; "Solvit dubia circa Kalendarium", ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 164r-167v (copy ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 40v-45v), and 12 June 1652, both ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, f. 178rv, copy ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 25v-28r. Cf. VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 357.

97 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 96r-147v.

moment of birth the influence is very strong, and the horoscope gives some glimpses into the direction of the human life. People, for example, born under the influence of Mars become warriors or aggressive men, Saturn causes the temperament produced by a black gall bladder. Besides, human beings have their free will and can dominate the influence of stars. *Sapiens dominator astris* – the wise man is the ruler of the stars. These ideas were widespread in Schall's time among educated people in Europe, even among astronomers such as Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, Tycho Brahe, Gerolamo Cardano (1501–1576), and later Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716).⁹⁸

In his book *Astrologia Sacra: Hoc est Orationes et quæstiones quinque, quibus explicatur, an et qua ratione fas sit homini Christiano, de rebus occultis, præsertim futuris, ex astris iudicium ferre* (Ingolstadt 1615) the Jesuit Adam Tanner,⁹⁹ who can be considered as a typical representative of the Catholic Church, mentions four different kinds of prognostication based on the observation of the stars:

1. prognostication of occurrences and operations depending on free will: this is condemnable;
2. prognostication of situations which are not dependent on free will, such as weather and fertility of the fields; this is neither illicit nor forbidden, but uncertain, and often delusive, because our knowledge based on experience is quite limited;
3. prognostication of the time and other circumstances which are under the influence of the stars as the best time for bloodletting, sowing etc. If it is made with the necessary experience then it is permitted;
4. prognostication of astronomical events arising out of their natural origins is permitted, such as eclipses, the course of planets etc.¹⁰⁰

In Schall's opinion also in the second and third case the choice of days was permitted. However, man should be aware of the real meaning and not depend too much on the influence of stars, because they predict events only with a certain probability. In his opinion there is no "astronomia divinatrix or iudicaria" in the Chinese calendar.

Another point raised by the defense was the belief in ghosts in the Chinese calendar who dominate certain days, and influence them. Originally, Schall wrote that they had to be considered not

98 Вятт, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, pp. 279-281.

99 Adam Tanner, * 14.IV.1572 Innsbruck, SJ 6.X.1590 Landsberg, † 25.V.1632 Salzburg (DHCJ IV, pp. 3699-3700).

100 Вятт, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, 281f.

according to the literal meaning, but that spirit or ghost meant the power of the star or of the corporal elements; they were only a picture. Later, simple folk forgot about that and took the image for the truth. Also the spirits inhabiting the body mean natural forces. People in ancient times used mysterious names for the natural powers as an enigma and to attract attention. Also the Greek gods were taken as the powers of the stars in Europe. Also the word sacrifice (*sacrificium*) in the calendar had to be taken as a symbol; it meant acting with circumspection and examining oneself. This is especially required of the one who performs the sacrifice and means preparation for one's own perfection.

Schall continued his defense by mentioning that he had removed the worst sentences from the Chinese calendar. The astrological calendar was drawn up by the lesser magistrates and not by himself. His signature only meant that the old statements had been written exactly; however, he was not responsible for the contents.

Another point in the defense was that when Catholic dignitaries mentioned the place and time of Jewish or Protestant liturgy it did not mean that they approved of it. Cities also regulated the time and place for prostitution, without approving of it. Schall wanted to correct the calendar gradually and adapt it to the Christian one. If he were to leave his office, the emperor would be no longer interested in the presence of the missionaries in Peking. Schall also used extraordinary portents to admonish the emperor because he thought that God wanted to warn him, which was quite in accordance with the intention of the Chinese Mandate of Heaven.¹⁰¹

Schall compared the year ghost Taisui 太歲 with the European star Jupiter, which also took his name from a pagan god. Taisui is the name of the year and he travels through the 12 star houses. His name is also Great Marshal, son of king Shou and he later became a demon or at least a ghost. Taiyin, on the other hand, is connected the moon and had been the wife of Taisui from remote antiquity.¹⁰²

Ferdinand Verbiest's Defense

The Flemish Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest¹⁰³ played an eminent role as defender of Schall. He arrived in Peking in June 1660 to help Schall at the Calendar Office and to become his successor. In the persecution

101 Вятт, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 281.

102 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 105v-106r.

103 Ferdinand Verbiest, * 29.X.1623 Pittem, SJ 29.IX.1641 Mechelen, † 28.I.1688 Beijing (DHCJ IV, pp. 3928-3929).

that followed, during the Calendar Case, he assisted Schall at the law-court. Later, he managed to become Schall's successor in the Calendar Office and to rehabilitate Schall.

In his *Apologia P. Ferdinandi Verbiest / pro Calendario et Officio P. Joannis Adami Schall / Allata Romam a P. Joanne Grueber / in febr.o 1664*,¹⁰⁴ Verbiest followed more or less Schall's own argumentation. When in olden times the calendar was introduced into China, the Chinese did not believe in any ghosts or spirits, so the ghosts in the calendar cannot be taken in a literal sense. Originally there was monotheism in China and only Shangdi (上帝 Lord-on-High) was venerated. In this respect Verbiest followed the line of the other Jesuits who considered Buddhism as the source of superstition in China. However, the pure faith in God survived much longer in China than anywhere else.¹⁰⁵ For Verbiest the Chinese only followed the model of their ancestors out of piety. The indications in the calendar are like relics which are venerated. The people want to have regulations for daily life in the family and in trade. The influence of the stars is not really important because after 60 days, the whole is repeated. The word "ghost" cannot be taken in a literal sense, it is neither an angel nor a bad spirit nor a demon, but means the sublime part of a deed or an action, which is clearly proved in Confucius' book *Zhongyong*. "Sacrificare" (to sacrifice) therefore means living in a cautious and careful way and making investigations. Things have to happen and to be done in harmony with the natural order.¹⁰⁶

Many Jesuits were convinced that most Chinese were atheists, i.e. their faith was insufficient or they did not believe in any numen; Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault¹⁰⁷ say so in their famous book *De*

104 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 161-179; printed in: JOSSEON, WILLAERT (eds.), *Correspondance*, VII, pp. 11-103.

105 This was one of the points of the Rites Controversy, when several sentences of Louis Le Comte's book *Nouveaux Mémoires sur la Chine* were condemned by the theological faculty of the Sorbonne in 1700. Among others he had written that the purity of believe in China could serve as a model for Christians. Claudia von COLLANI, "Salvation or Condemnation" Vincentius Mascarell's "Apologia" in the Chinese Rites Controversy 1701", *International Journal of Sino-Western Studies* 3 (2012), pp. 91-116.

106 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 105v-106r.

107 Nicolas Trigault, * 3.III.1577 Douai, SJ 9.XI.1594 Tournai, † 14.XI.1628 Hangzhou (Zhejiang) (DHCJ IV, pp. 3838-3839).

expeditione Christiana apud Sinas suscepta.¹⁰⁸ In his book *Tchou tche kiun tcheng* (Zhuzhi qunzheng 主制群徵) Schall followed the line of argumentation of Leonard Lessius¹⁰⁹ book on divine providence *De providentia Numinis et animi immortalitate libri duo adversus Atheos et Politicos*, where Lessius deals with the problems of predestination and the freedom of the human will.¹¹⁰ In Lessius's definition superstition was a depraved cult of true and false numina. In Schall's treatise most Chinese acknowledged neither true nor false numina, therefore the items in the Calendar do not contain superstition.

For ordinary people in China at times it was even forbidden to work, according to the calendar. The calendar was needed to standardize everyday life in China; the architecture of houses and whole cities followed a certain standard; in the same way also actions had to be done on certain days. Even in Europe they have standardized buildings and offices. However, Verbiest did not exclude the possibility that there might be some superstition in the calendar. When Schall accepted the office 17 years earlier, he made a petition to the king clearly stating that he did not want to work with prognostications, which was accepted by the *Libu*.¹¹¹

For Verbiest divination was not superstitious, because it served public welfare. This welfare is more readily accepted by people if it is given in the form of superstition. Private superstition, however, is something else. Its importance lay in tradition, it is handed on by the ancestors. Verbiest compared the description of the rites, customs and sacrifices with the books written by Christian authors and with reports about the pagan sacrifices and rites of the Romans, which constitutes a kind of history. Fixing certain days for certain actions by the *Libu* only fixed the best possible date for something. The intention as such was good, only the pagans were superstitious.

108 *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu*, Augsburg, 1615, book 1, f. 10.

109 Leonard Lessius, * 1.X.1554 Brecht, SJ 23.VI.1572 Leuven, † 15.I.1623 Leuven (DHCJ III, pp. 2336-2337).

110 Leonard Lessius, *De providentia Numinis et animi immortalitate libri duo adversus Atheos et Politicos*, Antwerp, 1613), liber 1, ch. 10. Lessius was convinced that the non-Christian people had polytheism, but also atheism.

111 "Se non acquiescere rebus illis quae singulis diebus in calendario praecribuntur, utpote non solidae doctrinae. Quapropter se paratum habere aliud opus solidae doctrinae europeae, id est prognosticationes illas naturales ad agriculturam, medicinam nauticamque spectantes, more nostro europaeo, atque hand doctrinam substitui pose et succedere in secundam illam partem calendarii, antiquis illis regulis omissis". ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 143, ff. 167v-168.

Schall only certified the calendar with his seal, and there is no scandal involving collaborators.

Other arguments were taken from Sebastian de Maya, who wrote that Christians can build pagan temples and images of idols to earn their living. It was well known in China that Schall professed another religion and that he did not approve of the illicit things in the calendar. It was well known that the attached superstitions were not Schall's doctrine and that he did not approve of them. Many years earlier Schall had published a booklet *Sinli hiaohuo* (新曆小或 *Xinli xiaohuo* = Solution of the doubts concerning the new method), in which he wrote that the Europeans mostly did not follow the old doctrine of the calendar, but that it was not his task to correct it. The calculation of the calendar as such is indifferent and permitted; only abuse led to sin. At the moment it was not possible to stop superstition among the Chinese, so Verbiest considered it best if Schall kept his office. Besides, Verbiest (and this was surely in the intention of the Societas Jesu) fought Chinese superstition with several books, which he published against Yang Guangxian in 1669: *Wangtuijixiong bian* 妄推吉凶辯 (About the nonsense of prognostication), *Wangzhan bian* 妄占辯 (About the nonsense of astrology), and *Wangzebian* 妄擇辯 (About the nonsense concerning special lucky days).¹¹²

In 1653 finally the main struggle in China was ended, whereas in Europe it continued.¹¹³

The Solution from Rome

The letters from the different parties were collected, and the Jesuits' general superior instituted a commission consisting of five Jesuit professors of the Collegio Romano, who also worked as censors, revisors for the writing of these five were other Jesuits, such as, for example, Athanasius Kircher¹¹⁴ and his books *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Rome 1652-1654) or his *Iter exstaticum coeleste* (appeared later in

112 Chu PINGYI, "Against Prognostication: Ferdinand Verbiest's (1623-1688) Criticism to Chinese Mantic Arts", s. http://phps.snu.ac.kr/gnuboard/data/file/templeton_events/2469271780_8laIdN5h_Chu_Pingyi_-_VerbiestE28099s_Criticisms_to_Chinese_Mantic_Arts_282012-10-042C_Seoul29.pdf (5 December 2013).

113 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 262.

114 Athanasius Kircher, * 2.III.1601 Hesse (Germany), SJ 2.X.1618 Paderborn, † 27.XI.1680 Rome (*DHCJ* III, pp. 2196-2198).

Würzburg in 1671). François Duneau,¹¹⁵ François Le Roy,¹¹⁶ Paolo Casati,¹¹⁷ Giovan Battista Rossi¹¹⁸ and Celidonio Arbicio¹¹⁹ (August 3, 1655). The purpose of censorship was to maintain the uniformity and orthodoxy of the Jesuit theological and philosophical doctrine and to ensure scholarly quality.¹²⁰ As consultants of the general superior they answered the following questions: are there objections against the Chinese calendar, which constitutes the task of Schall? Are there superstitious parts in the calendar so that it might be considered as a prohibited book? The commission thought so, at least concerning the choice of good days for sacrifices, if the Chinese people understand it in the real meaning.

If the calendar contains superstitious parts is Schall permitted to take the directorship of the Astronomical Office? No, for he has to order the officers of his bureau to work with the superstitious parts, i.e. it is positive collaboration.

Is a member of the Society of Jesus permitted to take the office outside the Society of Jesus as long as the prohibition of Urban VIII is valid? The commission decided that in principle it is forbidden to accept such an office because it is connected with some jurisdiction. However, if there are great advantages for the Church and the mission in China if Schall accepts the position and great disadvantages if he does not, then it is not the intention of

115 François Duneau, * 1599 Châtillon-sur-Seine, SJ 9.X.1616 Nancy, + 26.VII.1684 Rome (DHCJ I, pp.1166-1167).

116 François Le Roy, * 16.XII.1592 Lille, SJ 10.X.1611, + 2.VIII.1679 Rome (Sommervogel VII, cc. 255-258).

117 Paolo Casati, * 23.XI.1617 Piacenza, SJ 19.X.1634 Novellara, + 22.XII.1707 Parma (DHCJ I, pp. 688-689).

118 Giovan Battista Rossi, * 1576 Mondovì, SJ 1593, + 6(16?).VI.1656 Rome (Sommervogel III, cc. 171-173).

119 Celidonio Arbicio (or Arbizio), * 22(20?).II.1614 Valencia, SJ 31.XI.1626 Tarragona, + 14.I.1695 Valencia, ARSI, *Schedario unificato Lamalle, sub nomine*.

120 Daniel STOLZENBERG, "Oedipus Censored: Censurae of Athanasius Kircher's Works in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 73 (2004) pp. 3-52 (with names of censors and their judgment). PIH, *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães*, p. 109. Harald SIEBERT, *Die große kosmologische Kontroverse. Rekonstruktionsversuche anhand des Itinerarium exstaticum von Athanasius Kircher SJ (1602-1680)*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, pp. 23-30. S.a. Harald SIEBERT, "Kircher and His Critics: Censorial Practice and Pragmatic Disregard in the Society of Jesus", in: Paula FINDLEN (ed.), *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who knew everything*, New York-London, Routledge, 2004, pp. 79-104. In the appendix the list of Kircher's censors, p. 101.

the Church to maintain this prohibition and the vow has not to be invoked.¹²¹

This favorable decision of the Roman commission arrived in China in 1659, together with several Jesuits, some of them new to the mission, others returning to it; among them was Martino Martini. The official Jesuit visitor Simão da Cunha had been ordered by the Jesuit General to promulgate the decision reached by the Roman experts.¹²² Schall's office was comparable to academic honors without power.¹²³ Da Cunha sent a circular letter declaring that the choice of the right day for sacrifice was not an invitation to participate in it, but it was only to note the practice of former times. On 16 December 1655 the Jesuit general expressed his thanks to Schall for having accepted the office.¹²⁴ The controversy, however, continued because some Jesuits had the impression that the commission was not sufficiently instructed about the superstitious character of the office.¹²⁵

A second judgement was reached in Rome on January 31, 1664. In this case the revisers were Michael Bassanus,¹²⁶ Martinus Leytanus,¹²⁷ François Le Roy, and Martinus de Esparza Artieda.¹²⁸ They used the information given by Simão da Cunha and by Johann Adam Schall von Bell, assuming that neither Schall nor his disciples contributed in a positive way to superstition. The calendar, drawn up under Schall's supervision and with a contribution from him, merely noted the astronomical dates and observations, even if they contained superstitious facts. Concerning certain days which were considered good for performing particular actions because of popular superstition, Schall is merely permissive. Therefore there seemed to be no objections against Schall's office, for he

121 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 287f; ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 196-197.

122 Letter dated 12 January 1660, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, ff. 205-206.

123 ПИИ, *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães*, 109f.

124 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, 288f.

125 ПИИ, *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães*, 109f.

126 Michael Bassanus (or Bossani), * 19.II.1610 Fraine (Chieti, Italy), SJ 20.X.1624, † 18.II.1697 Palermo (*Sommervogel* VIII, c. 1774).

127 Martinus Leytanus (Leitão), * 1604 São Martinho de Mouros, SJ 1619 (ARSI, *Rom.* 60 f. 145; *Lus.* 45 f. 369), † 17.VII.1669 Lisbon (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 48, f. 121v).

128 Martinus de Esparza Artieda, * 5.III.1606, SJ 2.IV.1621 (ARSI, *Rom.* 60, f. 11v), † 21.IV.1689 Rome (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 49, f. 188v).

could contribute much to the dignity, promotion and spread of Christianity.¹²⁹

We have read and examined the documents concerning the Chinese calendar, which were sent by Fr. Simão da Cunha and Fr. Johann Adam Schall, Director of the Astronomical Office in Peking. They prove that the Fr. Director does not collaborate in a positive way concerning the superstitious thing in the calendar, neither he himself with his signature or sealing nor by means of his students, who are working independently with their parts. Moreover, the preparation of the calendar done by the Father because of his office has a purpose, i. e. the spread of astronomical observations. The seemingly superstitious attachments are marginal and only give neutral knowledge, namely on which days which things can be done following old customs, or on which days the conditions are right, thereby making them fortunate days in popular superstition. The Father, who has a good reason for distributing the calendar, is merely passive as regards any abuse which perhaps may arise. Therefore we judge that there is no difficulty if the Father continues to work as he has until now and administers an office which is so important for the prestige, the protection and the spread of Christianity in this empire.¹³⁰

On the 3rd of April 1664 the case was submitted to Pope Alexander VII. Some Fathers wanted to know if the directorate of the *Tianwenke* (astronomy) was compatible with the Jesuits' vows, because it was a dignity conferred outside the Society of Jesus. The pope decided. He was convinced that the office could be accepted, because it brought great advantages for the spread of the Gospel among the pagans. He gave the necessary dispensations and ordered Schall to accept the office.¹³¹ In future nobody asked any more about superstition or otherwise. Until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 there was always a Jesuit as head of the *Qintianjian*.

129 VĀTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, 290f.

130 Revisors, 31 January 1664, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, f. 226 (Original in Latin, translation mine).

131 *Alexandri VII indultum in viv. vocis oraculo quod nostri in Sinis exercere valeant officium et dignitatem mandarini et mathematici regii, licet sint professi; occasione huius muneris collati in Ioannem Adamum Schall. Teste epist. Ioannis Pauli Olivae Vic. Gen. S. I. diei sequentis 4 Apr. 1664*, Louis DELPLACE, *Synopsis Actorum S. Sedis in causa Societatis Iesu 1605-1773*, Lovanii, typ. J. B. Istas, 1895, p. 381. Cf. VĀTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, 291f.

The end of Schall's Case

The case concerning Schall was not without ironical features, which became evident during the so-called Calendar Case, and the anxieties of Magalhães that the Schall's position concerning superstition and especially Fengshui was dangerous became real. Only a short time after the Roman solution and as from 15 September 1664 Schall was several times accused by the scholar Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597–1669), who was concerned that such an important office in China was in the hands of a foreigner. His accusations took place during the minority of the young Kangxi 康熙 emperor (1662–1723), when four Manchu princes reigned for the young emperor. The accusation concerned the Christian religion, but also a point already mentioned by Magalhães in his treatise concerning the danger of giving dates for Fengshui, namely that Schall had given a wrong date for the burial of a little son of the Shunzhi emperor. This had caused, according to the accusation, the early deaths of Shunzhi emperor's and the empress's.¹³² Another point of accusation was the *Houqi*. Instead of the old Chinese ritual Schall wanted to introduce new methods of calculating the different annual feasts because nobody was able to perform the old rites, but this met not only with opposition from more traditional Chinese, but especially from Yang Guangxian. He attacked Schall for having abolished the traditional methods and therefore for having violated the old laws of China. Schall defended himself, but when it became apparent that he had failed to set up the pitch-pipes and in a way neglected the old Chinese customs, he was severely reprimanded.¹³³

Schall, who had suffered a stroke and could not defend himself, was defended by Verbiest. Several Christian members of the Office were condemned to death and executed. In this situation Schall together with Verbiest, Buglio and Magalhães were the only Jesuits in Peking, all of them accused and imprisoned. However, they were not really concerned about death: their death would make them martyrs, that being one of the aims of every missionary. However, they were saved because several omens occurred which were in everybody's opinion evidently sent by Heaven as a warning to the dynasty: an eclipse, an earthquake in Peking, fire in the Palace, a meteor and so on. Finally in May 1665 Schall and the others were

132 CHU PINGYI, "Scientific Dispute in the Imperial Court: The 1664 Calendar Case", *Chinese Science* 14 (1997), pp. 7-34.

133 HUANG, "L'attitude", pp.92-94.

released and Schall died in the Jesuit residence on August 15, 1666.¹³⁴

So Schall on the one hand was reprimanded for having done Fengshui, on the other for having done bad Fengshui. In the end he was rescued by “supernatural” omens, which were interpreted by all concerned as the intervention of Heaven.

The Aftermath: Superstition and Mission

From 1665 until 1668 Yang Guangxian acted as the director of the Astronomical Bureau in succession to Schall. He prepared the annual calendar together with Wu Mingxuan 吳明炫 from the Muslim section of the office.¹³⁵ However, he met the same problem as Schall; he was unable to work with the pitch-pipes and to perform the *Houqi*, whose proper use had been long forgotten. When Ferdinand Verbiest had the occasion to defend Schall and western astronomy he criticized the old method as unscientific because it was based on the belief that the qi of the earth varied from place to place. In the end he could prove that the European approach was much more efficient in calculating the calendar, and Yang Guangxian was sent into exile.¹³⁶

In 1668 Kangxi assumed power himself by getting rid of the last and most dangerous Manchu regent Oboi 鼐拜 (1610–1669). He confirmed his rule by proclaiming a new calendar which was made by Verbiest, who could prove in this way the superiority of European astronomy to the classical Chinese and Muslim astronomy. This helped Verbiest to get Schall rehabilitated. Schall's burial took place on 29 August 1666, and was attended by only 500 Christians. Thanks to the efforts of Verbiest and to a petition from 傑書 Giyësu, first Prince 康 Kang (1645–97) on 16 August 1669, Schall was posthumously rehabilitated and granted funeral honors corresponding to his high official rank. An official was sent to read the funeral ode and to pay respects and perform the sacrifice; the text of the funeral ode was compiled by the Inner Court.¹³⁷ The funeral cost was 525 taels corresponding to Schall's

134 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, p. 308.

135 STANDAERT, *Handbook*, p. 717f.

136 HUANG, “L'attitude”, pp. 95–98.

137 Nicolas STANDAERT, *The Interweaving of Rituals. Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe*, Seattle WA, University of Washington Press, 2008, p.190f. The quotation is Standaert's translation from a memorial written by the Ministry of Rites.

rank as ‘Grand Master for Splendid Happiness’ (*Guanglu dafu* 光祿大夫). The eulogy by Kangxi was dated 8 December 1669.¹³⁸

The discussion about superstition, and official positions occupied by the Jesuits had at that time not been solved. Magalhães continued to speak against the acceptance of such an office by any Jesuit. Luís da Gama, visitor of East Asia from 1664 until 1672, therefore forbade Verbiest to accept the position even if the emperor would order him to do so. The situation was saved when the letters with permission arrived from Rome, and Verbiest could become the successor of Schall in the office *Qintianjian*.¹³⁹

Ferdinand Verbiest on his part attacked the traditional Chinese astrology and divination and tried to replace them with the kind of astrology which was tolerated by the Church, although he could not eliminate the Chinese “superstition”, but only change it. His successors had evidently no problems in working with the Office.¹⁴⁰

We should not forget that at the end of the 17th century the Chinese Rites Controversy started anew (1693) with discussions about the “superstitious” rites for ancestors. The Jesuits of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century in China were well-known for their use of modern European science to spread the faith. However, they were children of their time. Science was not an end in itself; it was used for missionary purposes. They had special ideas about how science had to be and how it should be used. The right interpretation of heavenly phenomena, such as eclipses, comets, meteors, was often used in Europe as warnings sent by God to change the way of life. In China they used correct prediction and interpretation as ordeals in the fight against paganism – the Christian astronomy was the better and more rational one. All missionaries also used exorcism in China to banish demons (in this respect also Christianity was superior to paganism).¹⁴¹

138 STANDAERT, *The Interweaving of Rituals*, p. 191; CLAUDIA VON COLLANI, “From the Earthly Court to the Heavenly Court: the Death and Funeral of Tomás Pereira”, in: Artur K. WARDEGA, António VASCONCELOS DE SALDANHA (eds.), *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645–1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, pp. 122–124.

139 ARSLI, *Jap. Sin.* 142, f. 235; PIH, *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães*, p. 110.

140 HUANG, “L’attitude”, p. 102.

141 CLAUDIA VON COLLANI, “Miracles, Death and Devil: Natural and Supernatural Events between the Worlds as described in der Neue Welt-Bott”, in: Dirk VAN OVERMEIRE, Pieter ACKERMAN (eds.), *About Books, Maps, Songs and Steles: the*

The admittance of the Calendar Bureau *Qintianjian* into the overall accommodation method of the Jesuits started a fierce “clash of cultures”. Prohibitions and Church laws which were so important in Christian Europe could only be used to a certain extent in non-European cultures. Magalhães used these prohibitions to attack Schall. His treatise was written for several reasons. Evidently Magalhães was not among those Jesuits who used probabilism as a help in daily life, but more to the party of tutorism, i.e. to those who wanted to be sure. However, it seems that his personal reasons for the attack were even more decisive. Magalhães was heavily traumatized from his experiences in Sichuan, and he was jealous of Schall’s position and success. How was it possible that Schall could use such pagan ideas to gain honor and importance and why did he himself fail with those ideas? He also was fanatically opposed to superstition, divination and ghosts, which he denounced in his treatise by means of theological books and papal prohibitions. But he also felt quite strongly attracted by these ideas which he refused, and he described them very exactly. However, the strange fact is that “astrologia judicaria” was a subject which was taught in Jesuit colleges in Portugal at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries.¹⁴²

As for Schall and Verbiest, they wanted to change Chinese superstitious ideas in the calendar gradually and replace them with more Christian ideas. In a comparable way the question of the Chinese rites Controversy could have been solved, by changing the meaning of the Rites by giving them a Christian interpretation. In this respect it is to be noted that even Magalhães did not care what the pagans found in the calendar; he was only interested in what Chinese and European Christians believed.

Johann Adam Schall von Bell and his successor Ferdinand Verbiest wanted to use their office to lead the Chinese people to a more rational understanding of and way of dealing with things. He also wanted to educate the Shunzhi emperor to lead a more moral life in the Christian understanding, sometimes admonishing him in direct talks to avoid Buddhism and not to commit adultery before his marriage or to have sexual intercourse with the ladies

Wording and Teaching of the Christian Faith in China (Leuven Chinese Studies XXI), Leuven, Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2011, pp. 200-227.

142 Henrique LEITÃO, “Entering Dangerous Ground: Jesuits Teaching Astrology and Chiromancy in Lisbon”, in: John O’MALLEY (ed.), *The Jesuits II. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2006, pp. 371-389.

of his serail – in vain.¹⁴³ The young emperor excused himself, but would have had to be a young saint not to give into the temptation caused by the many beautiful ladies who surrounded him. It is very interesting that Schall should have used the most modern discoveries of his Jesuit brethren in Europe for a purpose which seems to be superstitious. Therefore he used something which was attractive in China, namely “modern” European science and discoveries to educate the emperor. Schall was, of course, in contact with his brethren at home and was exchanging information with them.¹⁴⁴ He used “modern” European science and knowledge acquired and described by his fellow Jesuit, the astronomer Christoph Scheiner (sun spots, parhelia) in a superstitious way to give moral guidance to the emperor, but not always successfully.¹⁴⁵

For the Chinese the European definition of superstition was not helpful. Ghosts and spirits belonged to daily life and it was best to be sure at every turn; one could never do enough to protect oneself. The Kangxi emperor seemed especially enlightened in his role as the ruler of China, because he also tried to standardize and to control the traditional Chinese techniques of Fengshui, etc., by ordering the compilation of a manual of hemerology which should

143 VÄTH, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.*, pp. 185, 194-196 (about the damnation of lewdness and polygamy).

144 Addressees were Christopher Clavius, Christopher Grienberger (* 1564 Hall (Austria), SJ 6.VIII.1580 Brno, † 11.III.1636 Rome, *DHCJ* II, pp. 1814-1815), Christoph Scheiner (* 25.VII.1575 Wald (Germany), SJ 26.X.1595 Landsberg, † 18.VII.1650 Nysa (Opole, Poland), *DHCJ* IV, pp. 3517-3518) and Athanasius Kircher; missionary correspondents were Diego Pantoja (* 1571 Valdemoro (Madrid), SJ 6.IV.1589 Villarejo de Fuentes (Cuenca), † 9.VII.1618 Macao, *DHCJ* III, pp. 2966-2967), Johannes Schreck (Terrenz), Giulio Aleni, Johann Uremann (* 6.IV.1583 Split, SJ 1.II.1600 Rome, † April 1621 Nanchang, *DEHERGNE, Repertoire*, p. 277), Martino Martini (* 20.IX.1614 Trent, SJ 8.X.1632 Rome, † 6.VI.1661 Hangzhou, *DHCJ* III, p. 2528). Athanasius KIRCHER, *Magnes siue de Arte Magnetica Opus*, Rome, 1641, pp. 431-433.

145 The parheliion phenomenon, slowly falling ice crystals, was documented in China since ancient times (NEEDHAM, *Science*, pp. 474-477), but with Scheiner's newest observations and his description of 1630 it belonged to modern science. See http://www.meteoros.de/halo_so/halo_his.htm (5 December 2013), and Franz DAXECKER, “Über das Fernrohr“ und Mitschriften von Vorlesungen des Astronomen Christoph Scheiner“, http://www.landmuseum.at/pdf_frei_remote/BERI_88_0361-0372.pdf (5 December 2013) – The sun spots had been discovered by Galileo Galilei and by Christoph Scheiner in 1611/1612. He published his observations in *Apelles post tabulam observans maculas in sole sine veste* (1684; 1720) and *De maculis solaribus et stellis circa louem errantibus, accuratio disquisitio...* (Augustae Vindelicorum 1612).

be reconciled with the official perpetual calendar as a standard. This was the *Qinding xuanze lishu* 欽定選擇曆書 (1685) completed by Li Guangdi 李光地 (1642–1718) in 1715, a new version with additions from the *Yuding xingli kaoyuan* 御定星歷考原. Kangxi himself was very skeptical about divination; his successors were much less so. The Qianlong emperor published a book on standardizing called the *Qinding xieji bian fangshu* 欽定協紀辨方書.¹⁴⁶

The Jesuits were sometimes reproached with being an order with a lax approach to morality. Jesuit probabilism was a tool in use in confession invented by Dominicans. In the case of Schall and the use of the calendar office and the treatment of divination and astrology it also proved to be effective – the higher aim was the spread of Christianity and the salvation of souls. For that purpose other things had to stay in the background.

Summary

Johann Adam Schall von Bell SJ (1592–1666) was the most important German missionary in China during early modern times. Educated and trained at the Collegio Romano as an astronomer he was selected for the China mission by Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628) together with Johannes Schreck (1578–1630). In China he soon became involved with the reform of the Chinese calendar initiated in 1629 by the Chinese scholar and statesman Paul Xu Guangqi (1562–1633). After the death of Schreck and Xu Guangqi, Schall became the European head of the project, which was implemented by with a team of Chinese and European experts. The new calendar, sign of the legal power of the Chinese emperor, only became valid after the change to the new Qing dynasty in 1644. Schall now became the head of the new office of the Qingtianjian belonging to the Libu (Rites Ministry). As such he was responsible for the official calendar, which, however, had in the eyes of Europeans a touch of superstition (election of good and bad days, observations, interpretations of heavenly phenomena concerning the dynasty, “fengshui”). Therefore Schall was accused by several confreres of having accepted an official state office (which was forbidden for Jesuits) and of promoting superstition which was forbidden by canon law. The quarrel between Schall’s adversaries (Lodovico Buglio, Gabriel de Magalhães and others) and his adherents lasted for more than fifteen years and was finally solved in Rome in favor

146 Yi-long HUANG, “Court Divination and Christianity in the K’ang-shi Era”, *Chinese Science* 10 (1991) 1-20. 16f.

of Schall and his successors at the Astronomical Office (Verbiest, Stumpf, Kögler): the position could be accepted because of its benefits for the mission.

Zusammenfassung

Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) war der wichtigste und bekannteste deutsche Jesuit der frühneuzeitlichen Mission in China. Schall hatte seine Ausbildung als Jesuit und Astronom am Collegio Romano erhalten und wurde von Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628) zusammen mit Johannes Schreck (1578–1630) für die Chinamission ausgewählt. In China sollte er an der Reform des chinesischen Kalenders mitarbeiten, die vom chinesischen Gelehrten und Staatsmann Paul Xu Guangqi (1562–1633) initiiert werden konnte. Beginn war 1629. Nach dem Tod von Schreck und Xu Guangqi wurde Schall der europäische Leiter des Projekts, das mit einem Team von chinesischen und europäischen Experten durchgeführt wurde. Der neue Kalender, Zeichen der legitimen Macht des chinesischen Kaisers, trat jedoch erst mit der neuen Qing-Dynastie 1644 in Kraft. Schall wurde nun europäischer Direktor des neuen Amtes Qingtianjian, das zum Libu (Ritenministerium) gehörte. Als solcher war er für den offiziellen Kalender zuständig, der jedoch in den Augen mancher Europäer den Aberglauben förderte (Wahl von guten und schlechten Tagen, Beobachtung und Interpretation himmlischer Phänomene bezüglich der Dynastie, „fengshui“). Daher wurde Schall von einigen seiner Mitbrüder angeklagt, ein offizielles Staatsamt angenommen zu haben (für Jesuiten verboten) und aktiv den Aberglauben zu unterstützen, was vom Kirchenrecht verboten war. Der Streit zwischen Schalls Gegnern (Lodovico Buglio, Gabriel de Magalhães und andere) und seinen Anhängern zog sich über fünfzehn Jahre hin und wurde am Ende in Rom zugunsten von Schall und seinen Nachfolgern im Astronomischen Amt (Verbiest, Grimaldi, Castner, Stumpf, Kögler) entschieden: die Position konnte angenommen werden, weil sie der Mission in China nützte.

Mobilità e formazione dei Gesuiti della Confederazione polacco-lituana. Analisi statistico-prosopografica del personale dei collegi di Nieśwież e Słuck (1724-1773)

Andrea Mariani*

La Compagnia di Gesù costituisce uno degli Ordini di chierici regolari più approfonditamente analizzati dagli studiosi di diverse discipline. Sviluppando la loro attività nella Confederazione polacco-lituana nell'arco di poco più di due secoli (1564-1773), i Gesuiti offrono un importante contributo allo sviluppo delle culture dei gruppi etnici che popolavano questo vasto stato dell'Europa centro-orientale. Inoltre, attraverso una capillare rete di istituzioni educative i padri della Compagnia svolsero un ruolo di primo piano nella formazione delle *élites*, che – sia nel Regno di Polonia, sia nel Granducato di Lituania – coincidevano con gli strati medi e superiori della nobiltà.

Lasciatisi alle spalle le polemiche sul nesso fra Compagnia e declino politico ed economico della Confederazione, dagli anni Trenta del XX secolo la storiografia di lingua polacca ha posto l'accento sulle questioni culturali, sottolineando l'adattamento dei Gesuiti al contesto locale e la mediazione rispetto alle novità culturali provenienti dai Paesi dell'Europa occidentale. In secondo piano sono rimaste invece le questioni politico-sociali e i rapporti fra i Gesuiti e le *élites*. Tale affermazione vale soprattutto per quanto riguarda il cosiddetto periodo sassone (1697-1763), che soltanto negli ultimi vent'anni è divenuto oggetto del crescente interesse da parte degli studiosi.¹

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1 In questo periodo re di Polonia furono Augusto II il Forte (1697-1733) e suo figlio Augusto III (1733-1763), contemporaneamente elettori di Sassonia. Cfr. Stanisław ACHREMCIŹYK, Krystyna STASIEWICZ (eds.), *Między barokiem a oświeceniem: nowe spojrzenie na czasy saskie*, Olsztyn, Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego, 1996.

In questa luce appare necessario un approccio più ampio alla storia della Compagnia, che completi le prospettive sinora proposte e faccia luce al di fuori degli ambiti già indagati. Sia pur nel suo carattere esplorativo, il presente articolo va inteso come contributo innovativo dal punto di vista sia contenutistico che metodologico. Infatti, configurandosi come un'analisi prosopografica realizzata mediante strumenti di calcolo statistico, esso mira a tratteggiare un modello di analisi applicabile anche ad altri contesti.

L'approccio tentato nel presente articolo non è privo di precedenti. Diverse sono state, infatti, le analisi statistiche dei cataloghi del personale conservati nell'Archivio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù. Tali studi hanno di solito per oggetto intere province, raramente invece singoli collegi. Fra i contributi pionieristici vanno ricordati quelli dedicati alla provincia d'Aquitania negli anni Sessanta del XVI secolo,² a quella di Lione fra Cinque e Seicento³ e infine a quella d'Austria alla vigilia dello scioglimento della Compagnia.⁴ Inoltre, in una prospettiva più ampia è stata tentata un'analisi fondata sui cataloghi generali dell'Ordine.⁵ I contributi menzionati sono andati nella direzione dello studio delle associazioni più ricorrenti fra diverse funzioni registrate nei cataloghi annuali, nonché delle attività svolte e della formazione culturale dei religiosi. Non è stato invece preso in considerazione da alcuno dei ricercatori il fenomeno della permanenza più o meno prolungata presso il medesimo domicilio, che in questo studio ci si propone di analizzare per mezzo di una sia pur ristretta base documentaria. Tale aspetto ha una notevole rilevanza qualora si sia interessati alle modalità con cui i Gesuiti entravano in rapporto con il mondo esterno e in particolare con le *élites* locali.

L'oggetto del presente articolo è costituito dal personale di tre case

2 Dionigi FERNÁNDEZ ZAPICO, "La Province d'Aquitaine de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après son plus ancien catalogue (1566)", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (d'ora in avanti *AHSI*) V (1936), pp. 268-290.

3 Bernard DOMPNIER, "L'activité missionnaire des Jésuites de la Province de Lyon dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle. Essai d'analyse des 'Catalogi'", *Melanges de l'Ecole Française à Rome* 97 (1985), pp. 941-955; Adrien DEMOUSTIER, "Les Catalogues du Personel de la Province de Lyon en 1587, 1606 et 1636", *AHSI* XLII/83 (1973), pp. 3-105; XLIII/85 (1974), pp. 3-84.

4 László SZÍLAS, "Die österreichische Jesuitenprovinz im J. 1773. Eine historisch-statistische Untersuchung", *AHSI* XLVII/93 (1978), pp. 97-158; XLVII/94 (1978), pp. 297-349.

5 Edmond LAMALLE, "Les catalogues des provinces et des domiciles de la Compagnie de Jésus. Note de bibliographie et de statistique", *AHSI* XIII (1944), pp. 77-101.

dell'Ordine situate nei territori dell'attuale Bielorussia, le cui vicende sono state tratteggiate ormai più di un secolo fa da Stanisław Załęski⁶ nella monumentale opera *Jezuici w Polsce*.⁷ Si tratta del collegio di Śluck,⁸ di quello di Nieśwież presso la chiesa parrocchiale del *Corpus Domini*⁹ e della casa della terza probazione presso il santuario di S. Michele, situato in cima al cosiddetto Monte Angelico nelle vicinanze della città appena menzionata.¹⁰ I risultati raggiunti dallo storico polacco della Compagnia sono stati recentemente completati da Jerzy Paszenda,¹¹ che si è concentrato soprattutto sugli aspetti architettonici e artistici della costruzione dei domicili.¹²

Vale la pena di presentare le ragioni della scelta delle tre case dell'Ordine e del periodo esaminato. Per quanto riguarda il primo aspetto, ha avuto un'influenza decisiva il fatto che si tratta di domicili di medie dimensioni, geograficamente vicini ed immersi in un contesto sociale e culturale relativamente omogeneo: tutti e tre, infatti, si trovavano nel voivodato di Nowogródek, allora facente parte del Granducato di Lituania. Dal punto di vista della suddivisione geografico-amministrativa della Compagnia di Gesù, fino al 1759 le case di Nieśwież e di Śluck appartennero alla Provincia lituana, per entrare a far parte, in seguito alla sua divisione e all'istituzione di una circoscrizione autonoma, di quella masoviana.¹³

Dal punto di vista cronologico, si è scelto di concentrare l'attenzione sul periodo compreso fra la metà degli anni Venti del

6 Stanisław Załęski, * 5.IX.1843 Cracovia (Polonia), S.J. 15.XI.1857 Baumgartenberg (Austria), † 23.VIII.1908 Nowy Sącz (Polonia) (Ludwik GRZEBIEŃ (ed.), *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy* (d'ora in avanti EWJ), Kraków, Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum/Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004, p. 780).

7 Stanisław ZAŁĘSKI, *Jezuici w Polsce, I: Walka z różnowierstwem 1555-1608*, Lwów, Drukarnia Ludowa, 1900; *II: Praca nad spotęgowaniem ducha wiary i pobożności: 1608-1648*, Lwów, Drukarnia Ludowa, 1901; *III: Prace misyjne nad ludem 1648-1773*, Lwów, Drukarnia Ludowa, 1902; *IV: Dzieje 153 kolegiów i domów jezuitów w Polsce*, Kraków, Drukarnia Anczyca, 1904-1905.

8 ZAŁĘSKI, *Jezuici w Polsce*, IV, pp. 1611-22.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 425-459.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 1600-1602.

11 Jerzy Paszenda, * 28.IX.1932 Tychy (Polonia), S.J. 20.VIII.1955 Kalisz (Polonia), † 12.VI.2012 Cracovia (Polonia) (EWJ, p. 492).

12 Jerzy PASZENDA, *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce XVI-XVIII w., I*, Kraków, Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum/Wydawnictwo WAM, 1999, pp. 279-320, 321-356.

13 "Prowincja zakonna", in: EWJ, p. 541.

XVIII secolo e lo scioglimento della Compagnia. Hanno avuto un peso decisivo non tanto il buono stato di conservazione delle fonti, quanto il fatto che in quegli anni i padri polacchi e lituani colmarono il divario culturale e organizzativo nei confronti dei loro confratelli occidentali, formatosi per effetto delle invasioni e delle epidemie che colpirono la Confederazione nella seconda metà del Seicento e durante la Grande Guerra del Nord (1700-1721). In particolare, la Compagnia mise in atto una profonda riforma del sistema scolastico, sia in risposta alle esigenze della nobiltà, interessata a una formazione pratica in vista di una più efficiente amministrazione delle proprietà terriere, sia per reazione alla concorrenza di altri ordini religiosi come i Teatini e gli Scolopi. Tale processo si manifestò fra l'altro nell'introduzione di nuove materie di studio come le lingue straniere, la storia, la geografia e le discipline fisico-matematiche, nonché nell'apertura di collegi nobiliari ispirati ad analoghe istituzioni funzionanti nei Paesi dell'Europa occidentale.¹⁴

Meritano una breve considerazione i rapporti fra i Gesuiti e la società locale. Nieśwież e Stuck erano città private e capoluoghi di principati autonomi nel quadro della Confederazione polacco-lituana. In ragione della funzione amministrativa ed economica svolta, entrambe le città ospitavano guarnigioni e un notevole numero di acattolici, fra i quali si annoveravano soprattutto ebrei, ortodossi e protestanti. Se intorno alla metà del secolo XVIII entrambe le città risultavano essere di proprietà del ramo cattolico della famiglia Radziwiłł, tradizionalmente impegnato nella diffusione della Riforma cattolica, le vicende precedenti delle due città differivano profondamente. In conseguenza di ciò, diversa era la composizione delle comunità strutturate intorno ai due centri urbani. Ciò influenzava l'attività svolta localmente dai Gesuiti, il che trovava un puntuale riflesso nella composizione del personale dei collegi.

A Nieśwież i padri della Compagnia costituivano una realtà profondamente radicata: vi giunsero negli anni Ottanta del XVI secolo. Dovevano la loro presenza al proprietario della città, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549-1616), il quale, abbandonato il protestantesimo, sviluppò un'intensa attività a sostegno della Chiesa cattolica nel Granducato. Inoltre, Nieśwież era centro amministrativo del maggiorascato istituito nel 1586, il cui possesso fu assicurato da

14 Kazimierz PUCHOWSKI, *Jezuickie kolegia szlacheckie Rzeczypospolitej obojga Narodów. Studium z dziejów edukacji elit*, Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2007.

Sierotka ai propri diretti discendenti o, in caso di estinzione della linea, a quelli dei fratelli (anch'essi neoconvertiti).¹⁵ Si escludeva in tal modo la possibilità che a ereditare il maggiorascato fossero i membri dell'altro ramo della famiglia Radziwiłł, saldamente perseverante nel calvinismo. Per effetto della situazione giuridica descritta, che permise ai Gesuiti di sviluppare una duratura attività di rinnovamento della Chiesa a livello locale, nel XVIII secolo Nieśwież e il suo contado presentavano una netta predominanza dell'elemento cattolico di rito latino oppure orientale (uniate). Per completezza vale la pena di ricordare anche la pluralità di significati simbolici di cui il santuario cittadino era carico. Situato, infatti, sulla via che univa la piazza del mercato al castello, si configurava idealmente come elemento unificatore fra corte magnatizia e centro abitato. Oltre alla funzione di edificio di culto destinato agli studenti del collegio svolgeva anche quella di chiesa parrocchiale.¹⁶ Infine, i Radziwiłł svilupparono qui anche un complesso programma sepolcrale, che fece della chiesa dei Gesuiti il luogo in cui erano sepolti i possessori del maggiorasco e le più influenti personalità della loro corte.

L'influsso pastorale dei Gesuiti nel contado di Nieśwież fu ulteriormente rafforzato dall'apertura della casa della terza probazione. Tale domicilio sorse presso il santuario suburbano di S. Michele, costruito a cavallo fra Cinque e Seicento con il sostegno di Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł e di Jan Karol Chodkiewicz e sin da allora affidato alla cura dei padri del collegio urbano. Fondatori della terza probazione furono i nobili Tobiasz ed Elżbieta Grochowski nel 1686. Dopo la loro morte, avvenuta senza lasciare eredi, la curatela sulla casa fu assunta dai titolari del maggiorascato, che figuravano quali maggiori benefattori.¹⁷

Le vicende di Stuck sono profondamente diverse. Questa città, già residenza dei kniaź Olelkowicz, all'inizio del XVII secolo passò al ramo calvinista della famiglia Radziwiłł.¹⁸ Il sostegno dei

15 A proposito dell'attività politica e sociale di Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka cfr. Tadeusz BERNATOWICZ, *Miles christianus et peregrinus. Fundacje Mikołaja Radziwiłła „Sierotki” w ordynacji nieświeskiej*, Warszawa, Neriton, 1998; Tomasz KEMPA, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549-1616). Wojewoda wileński*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo DiG, 2000.

16 I Gesuiti disponevano – nella persona del rettore – del diritto di collazione. Cfr. “Nieśwież (*Nesvisium*) kolegium”, in: EWJ, p. 457.

17 ZAŁĘSKI, *Jezuici w Polsce*, IV, p. 1601.

18 Sui rapporti fra i Gesuiti e gli ultimi Olelkowicz cfr. Jan KRAJCAR, “The last princes of Stuck and the West”, *Journal of Byelorussian Studies* 3 (1975), pp. 269-287.

nuovi proprietari assicurò alla Riforma protestante un influsso duraturo, sia pur in uno spirito di armonica convivenza con la locale popolazione greco-ortodossa. Dopo la morte di Bogusław Radziwiłł, ultimo esponente di sesso maschile del ramo protestante della famiglia (1669), nel 1687 il principato di Stuck passò sotto il controllo di Carlo Filippo Wittelsbach, duca di Neuburg e futuro conte palatino del Reno, per effetto del matrimonio con l'unica erede della linea calvinista dei Radziwiłł, Ludovica Carolina. Di fatto, il governo di Stuck rimase affidato, sia pur tra alterne vicende, ad amministratori in parte provenienti dalla nobiltà locale. Tale situazione perdurò fino all'inizio degli anni Trenta del XVIII secolo, quando i Radziwiłł del ramo cattolico, al termine di una lunga lotta con altre famiglie aristocratiche del Granducato, riuscirono ad entrare in possesso di questa ingente eredità.¹⁹ Vale la pena di sottolineare che i Gesuiti s'inserirono stabilmente nella realtà di Stuck soltanto negli anni Novanta del XVII secolo, e che soltanto grazie ai lasciti ottenuti fra il 1704 e il 1715 poterono costruire la chiesa lignea del Santo Spirito e trasformare la residenza in collegio. Sul piano educativo i Gesuiti concorrevano con un ginnasio protestante che vantava una ormai secolare tradizione d'insegnamento. Di fatto, nonostante la benevolenza di Carlo Filippo, l'assenza di un governo locale che sostenesse l'attività degli Ordini religiosi e la precedente codificazione dei privilegi della nobiltà protestante frenarono la crescita dell'influenza dei Gesuiti.

Un'ulteriore ragione della scelta dei domicili di Nieśwież e di Stuck consiste nel loro significato ai fini del processo di formazione dei religiosi. Se a Stuck si teneva il corso di retorica rivolto ai chierici gesuiti che avevano appena concluso il noviziato, a Nieśwież i giovani religiosi seguivano il corso triennale di filosofia. Infine, una volta ricevuta la formazione teologica in uno dei collegi della provincia lituana dove questa disciplina era insegnata,²⁰ i chierici completavano la loro formazione soggiornando per un anno presso la casa della terza probazione di S. Michele.²¹

19 Jerzy LESIŃSKI, "Spory o dobra neuburskie", *Miscellanea historico-archivistica* VI (1996), pp. 95-132.

20 Nella provincia lituana i corsi quadriennali di teologia si tenevano a Vilna (1606-1773), Braniewo (1641-1670, 1675-1704 e 1721-1773), Varsavia (1679-1773), Pińsk (1703-1773) e Połock (1737-1773). Cfr. "Teologia", in: *EWJ*, p. 692.

21 L'altra casa della terza probazione della provincia lituana fu aperta nel 1730 a Vilna presso la chiesa di S. Raffaele. Cfr. "Wilno, Dom Trzeciej Probacji", in: *EWJ*, pp. 745-746.

Materiali e metodi

Fino al 1758 le informazioni relative al personale dei collegi studiati sono contenute nei cataloghi della provincia lituana. Tale situazione si modificò dopo la costituzione della provincia masoviana. In conseguenza di tale avvenimento, fra il 1759 e il 1773 i religiosi dimoranti a Nieśwież e a Słuck furono annoverati nei cataloghi della nuova unità amministrativa. Tali cataloghi si dividevano in due tipologie: annuali, detti anche *catalogi breves*, e triennali.

I primi erano compilati verso la fine dell'anno solare ed elencavano i religiosi ascritti a un dato domicilio per l'anno scolastico in corso.²² I cataloghi annuali contenevano in particolare due tipi d'informazioni: nominativo e competenze di ciascun gesuita. Per la preparazione della base di dati ci si è serviti dei cataloghi annuali editi nel periodo 1724-1772. Fra questi risultano mancanti gli anni 1755, 1758, 1761, 1765, 1766 e 1769.²³

Ai fini dell'analisi dei compiti affidati ai Gesuiti si è deciso di ripartire gli incarichi in quattordici categorie, che rispecchiano gli ambiti nei quali i membri della Compagnia erano attivi:

- 1) Della direzione del collegio e delle scuole si occupavano il rettore e il suo vice, detto ministro (*minister*), nonché i prefetti delle scuole superiori, destinate ai chierici, ed inferiori, frequentate dai laici.
- 2) L'attività didattica era concretamente affidata a due categorie di docenti: i professori, in genere professi con alle spalle alcuni anni di carriera, e i maestri (*magistri*), chierici ancora privi di ordinazione sacerdotale e pertanto in corso di formazione. I primi si dedicavano perlopiù all'insegnamento della filosofia e della teologia ai giovani gesuiti. I secondi erano invece impiegati nelle classi inferiori, frequentate da allievi laici. Inoltre, contestualmente al rinnovamento del programma di studio, comparivano docenti di greco, di tedesco, di francese e di matematica. Particolari figure educative si trovavano nei domicili deputati esclusivamente alla formazione dei chierici, come le case della terza probazione (istruttore – *instructor tertiae probationis*) e i noviziati (maestro – *magister novitiorum*).
- 3) Se l'attività didattica era indirizzata alla gioventù, quella dei predicatori si rivolgeva ad una più ampia cerchia sociale. Nei cataloghi annuali erano indicati il predicatore domenicale e quello festivo.

22 Nel presente articolo ci si riferisce al catalogo indicandone l'anno d'inizio. Per esempio, il catalogo dell'anno scolastico 1756-1757 è indicato con il numero 1756.

23 Roma, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (d'ora in avanti ARSI), *Lit.* 58 e 60; Cracovia, Biblioteka Książat Czartoryskich, 393-III; Cracovia, Archiwum Prowincji Polski Południowej Towarzystwa Jezusowego (d'ora in avanti ATJKr.), 1758-II.

4) Accanto ai predicatori si annoveravano i missionari, che normalmente erano divisi in due categorie. Da un lato vi erano quelli assegnati stabilmente ad una data masseria del collegio; dall'altro quelli qualificati come *excurrentes*, che, abitando presso la casa dell'Ordine, svolgevano la cura d'anime come sacerdoti itineranti.

5) Particolari forme di attività pastorale e didattica si svolgevano inoltre presso le corti dell'alta nobiltà, che nel contesto polacco-lituano deteneva una profonda influenza politica ed economica. I rappresentanti di tale strato sociale erano detti magnati (*magnaci*). Ai Gesuiti attivi in questa ristretta cerchia erano affidati perlopiù i compiti di cappellano e di confessore, nel qual caso erano indicati con il termine di *missionarius aulicus*. Accanto a questi comparivano anche educatori dei figli o dei giovani su cui il magnate esercitava la tutela, detti *institutores*.

6) Legata all'attività didattica e alla predicazione nell'ambito del domicilio era la direzione delle confraternite: oltre alle congregazioni mariane degli studenti, erano attive anche altre associazioni, alle quali erano ammessi gli adulti laici. A Nieśwież si trattava della confraternita del *Corpus Domini*, a Stuck di quella della *Divina Provvidenza*.

7) Sempre nell'ambito del domicilio aveva luogo la cura d'anime nei riguardi dei confratelli. Svolgevano incarichi appartenenti a questa categoria il padre spirituale (*praefectus spiritus*), colui che intona i canti e le preghiere (*monitor*) e il cosiddetto ammonitore domestico (*exhortator domesticus*), i confessori, il catechista dei coadiutori laici e le persone addette alla direzione degli esercizi spirituali e alla soluzione dei casi di coscienza (*resolutor casuum*).

8) Un ulteriore insieme di compiti era legato alla supervisione del complesso architettonico e patrimoniale del collegio. Rientravano in questa categoria il procuratore del domicilio, che si occupava delle cause giudiziarie e sorvegliava la gestione economica, nonché i prefetti della fabbrica, del santuario, dell'orto, della borsa musicale o del coro, della salute e dell'archivio del collegio.

9) Una categoria distinta, benché sempre impiegata nell'amministrazione dei beni del collegio, era rappresentata dai procuratori delle tenute insieme con i loro aiutanti. Mentre questi ultimi di solito erano laici, i primi erano spesso coadiutori spirituali. È dunque probabile che in quanto sacerdoti assicurassero ai contadini la cura d'anime, esercitando fra l'altro un certo controllo sociale. Impegnate nella gestione materiale erano altre figure specializzate, come il responsabile degli stagni artificiali (*praefectus piscationis*) e il supervisore del trasporto delle merci destinate alla vendita nelle metro-

poli baltiche come il legname o il grano (*praefectus deflutationis*).

10) Se le funzioni appena ricordate erano affidate sia a religiosi, sia a laici, i compiti pratici legati alla conduzione materiale del domicilio spettavano perlopiù a persone di condizione secolare che avessero professato i tre voti inferiori. Si segnalano quelle di farmacista (*apothecarius*), infermiere (*infirmarius*), cuoco (*praefectus culinae*), dispensiere (*cellarius*), cassiere (*dispensarius*), guardarobiere (*vestiarius*), addetto alle stoviglie (*credentiarius*), custode del santuario (*aedituus*), sorvegliante della servitù (*praefectus familiae*) e di portiere (*ianitor*). Fra i coadiutori si sceglievano anche gli accompagnatori dei religiosi che uscivano dal collegio per svolgere commissioni (*socius exeuntium*). Infine comparivano persone dedite a forme di artigianato specializzato, come pittori (*magister artis pictoricae*), tessitori (*magister artis textoriae*) e calzolai (*sutor*).

11) Scarsamente rappresentati dal punto di vista numerico, ma importanti per l'alto livello di qualificazione erano gli incarichi legati alla direzione della provincia e all'attività editoriale. Al primo di questi due gruppi appartenevano il prefetto dell'archivio della provincia e i consiglieri del padre provinciale (*consultores provinciae*), nominati dal generale fra rettori dei più importanti collegi della provincia. Tali funzioni sono segnalate soltanto a partire dagli anni Sessanta nel collegio e nel noviziato di Nieśwież.²⁴ Ciò va posto in relazione con la nascita della provincia masoviana, nell'ambito della quale Nieśwież venne ad assumere la funzione di centro amministrativo, in virtù della solidità patrimoniale dei collegi e della posizione geograficamente centrale.

12) Le mansioni di carattere editoriale erano affidate anzitutto al prefetto della tipografia. Questa funzione compare soltanto a Nieśwież, dove nel 1751 Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł *Rybeńko* mise a disposizione dei Gesuiti la stamperia privata aperta l'anno precedente.²⁵ Carattere episodico aveva anche la funzione di redattore di opere religiose (*scriptor librorum*).

24 Finché la città privata bielorusa fece parte della provincia Lituana, consiglieri del provinciale erano nominati soltanto i superiori della casa di Vilna.

25 Cfr. Alodia KAWECKA-GRYCZOWA, Krystyna KOROTAJOWA, Wojciech KRAJEWSKI (eds.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, 5: *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, Wrocław-Kraków, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1959, pp. 214-220; Barbara JUDKOWIAK, "Z dziejów drukarni nieświeskiej w XVIII w.", *Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia* 6 (1994), pp. 121-130; Teresa SAPIEHA, "Działalność drukarni Radziwiłłów w Nieświeżu", in: Teresa KOSTKIEWICZOWA, Agata Roćko (eds.), *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo DiG, 2005, pp. 173-184.

13) Una categoria a parte, non assimilabile a nessuna delle sfere d'attività sinora menzionate, era rappresentata dagli scolastici che in un dato momento frequentavano i corsi di studio previsti dal *curriculum* religioso. A Nieśwież e Słuck essi erano piuttosto numerosi, dedicandosi rispettivamente ai corsi di filosofia e di retorica.

14) Pochi erano in genere gli infermi che, non essendo in grado di svolgere alcuna funzione, necessitavano di cure continue. Tali soggetti erano indicati con il termine di *valetudinarius*.

I cataloghi triennali soltanto teoricamente erano compilati nell'arco di tempo previsto dalla normativa dell'Ordine. Si verificavano, infatti, anche intervalli più lunghi tra l'invio di un catalogo e l'altro alla Curia romana. Relativamente al periodo studiato disponiamo dei cataloghi triennali della provincia lituana del 1723, 1730, 1737, 1743, 1746, 1749, 1754 e 1757, e della provincia masoviana del 1766.²⁶ I cataloghi triennali si componevano di tre parti ed offrivano un più ampio ventaglio d'informazioni rispetto a quelli annuali. Nel cosiddetto *catalogus primus*, oltre ai nomi e ai cognomi dei religiosi di ciascun domicilio, erano segnalate data di nascita e origine geografica, stato di salute, data d'ingresso nella Compagnia, scuole frequentate da laico e studi conclusi da religioso, eventuali titoli accademici (*gradus in litteris*), voti religiosi professati (*gradus in Societate*), conoscenze linguistiche, mansioni svolte in passato e competenze al momento della redazione del catalogo. Inoltre, spesso si trovano informazioni sulle capacità di lettura e scrittura e sulle abilità professionali, di grande interesse per quanto riguarda i coadiutori laici. Oggetto di analisi nel presente lavoro sono state tutte le voci contenute nella prima parte dei cataloghi triennali, con l'eccezione dello stato di salute.

In considerazione del differente grado di appartenenza alla Compagnia si è deciso di dividere la popolazione dei cataloghi triennali in cinque categorie. La prima era formata da persone in corso di formazione, come i novizi, gli allievi dei corsi di filosofia e di teologia (*scholastici*), nonché i giovani chierici impiegati come docenti nelle classi del corso umanistico-retorico frequentato dagli allievi laici. Il secondo gruppo era formato da Gesuiti che avevano già ricevuto l'ordinazione sacerdotale e concluso il percorso di formazione teologica, ma che ancora attendevano di professare solennemente i voti religiosi. Per questo tali membri erano qualificati con l'espressione *nondum est in gradus*. Di fatto svolgevano funzioni ausiliarie come quelle di predicatori, missionari rurali o professori

26 ARSI, *Lit.* 23-30, 32a.

di retorica o approfondivano la conoscenza del diritto canonico e della spiritualità ignaziana mediante il soggiorno annuale in una casa di terza probazione.²⁷ Una volta professati i voti, i padri si suddividevano in professi dei quattro voti e coadiutori spirituali. Ai primi, che dovevano aver necessariamente completato studi quadriennali di teologica scolastica, erano affidati gli incarichi di maggior responsabilità, come quelli di rettore e provinciale. I secondi invece disponevano di solito di una formazione teologica più modesta, conseguita nell'ambito del corso biennale di teologia morale: erano loro affidate mansioni di minor prestigio, come quelle di catechista e di missionario rurale. Si è deciso di aggregare alla categoria dei coadiutori spirituali anche i professi dei tre voti, registrati occasionalmente nei primi anni del periodo studiato. Caratteristica del funzionamento di diversi ordini religiosi era la presenza di coadiutori laici. Non essendo loro impartita una formazione filosofico-umanistica nell'ambito della Compagnia, restavano esclusi dallo svolgimento di funzioni pastorali e didattiche. Si dedicavano pertanto a mansioni pratiche, come quelle della conduzione della casa e dei patrimoni del collegio.

Occupandosi degli studi, è sufficiente considerare sinteticamente il punto d'arrivo prima dell'ingresso nella Compagnia ed il massimo grado conseguito nell'Ordine. Infatti, gli studi erano strutturati secondo una rigida successione: soltanto chi aveva concluso le classi umanistiche era considerato pronto per ricevere una formazione filosofica. Parimenti, solo chi padroneggiava la logica, la fisica e la metafisica aristotelica poteva intraprendere lo studio della teologia scolastica.

Infine occorre accennare agli strumenti informatici impiegati. Nella prima fase sono stati preparati due fogli Excel, uno per i cataloghi annuali e l'altro per quelli triennali. Per l'analisi statistica si è utilizzato il software SAS nella versione 9.2. A seconda della caratteristica studiata nella popolazione, è possibile considerare autonomamente i dati dei cataloghi annuali e quelli dei cataloghi triennali. Data la stabilità cronica dei valori che emerge da un primo sguardo ai dati, è ragionevole intraprendere un'analisi comparativa fra singoli collegi su tutto il periodo preso in esame, rinunciando a ulteriori suddivisioni interne.

27 "Probacja trzecia", in: *EWJ*, p. 539.

La consistenza numerica del personale

Il personale più numeroso si riscontra a Nieśwież: qui troviamo il 42,5% della popolazione complessiva. Seguivano Stuck con il 32,5% e la casa della terza probazione con il 24,9%. Il grafico 1 (p. 499) mostra le oscillazioni nella consistenza del personale dei domicili nell'arco di tempo studiato. Dal punto di vista numerico, il personale di ciascuna casa dell'Ordine si rivela relativamente stabile. Il collegio di Nieśwież ospitava circa 40 persone all'anno, quello di Stuck 35, la casa di terza probazione 20. Le variazioni più consistenti si registravano in relazione al mutamento di funzione del domicilio. Minime erano invece quelle dipendenti dagli eventi politico-militari.

Per quanto riguarda il primo aspetto, è possibile richiamare l'esempio dalla casa dell'Ordine presso la chiesa di S. Michele in seguito alla creazione della provincia di Masovia e alla trasformazione del domicilio da casa della terza probazione a noviziato nel 1759. Furono i chierici impegnati nel percorso di formazione a far quasi raddoppiare la popolazione della casa nei primi anni Sessanta. Infatti non vi si trovavano più i pochi padri della terza probazione, bensì una quarantina di novizi, fra scolastici e laici del primo e del secondo anno. In questa luce si spiega anche la flessione registrata nel 1759, in cui nel domicilio presso S. Michele si trovavano soltanto nove persone: ciò dipendeva dal fatto che, una volta disposta la trasformazione della casa della terza probazione in noviziato, nell'anno scolastico 1759-1760 non furono più ammessi padri della terza probazione, mentre i candidati alla condizione religiosa assegnati alla provincia di Masovia continuavano la loro formazione presso il noviziato di Vilna.

Per quanto riguarda gli eventi politico-militari, va rilevato che la popolazione complessiva subì una flessione di circa il 10% durante la guerra di successione polacca (1734-1736): al calo contribuirono i collegi di Stuck e soprattutto quello di Nieśwież, mentre il numero di religiosi della terza probazione rimase stabile. Il terreno perduto fu tuttavia recuperato già nel 1737, non appena fu conseguita la pacificazione del Paese. Le ragioni di tale ripresa vanno ricercate nel fatto che il passaggio delle truppe russe impegnate a sostegno del neoletto Augusto III di Sassonia si svolse senza grandi disordini e distruzioni. Minimi furono i riflessi dell'ultima vacanza del trono: alla fine del 1764 Nieśwież faceva registrare ben 50 persone, il numero più alto di tutto il periodo esaminato. Ciò avveniva nonostante il titolare del maggiorascato Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł *Panie Kochanku* avesse lasciato la Confederazione nel

luglio di quell'anno dopo aver tentato di contrastare le truppe russe giunte a sostegno della fazione rivale dei Czartoryski. Ciò portò all'occupazione della città privata, alla creazione di un collegio di amministratori fiduciari e all'imposizione di contribuzioni militari.²⁸ Nonostante tali condizioni decisamente sfavorevoli, il catalogo annuale successivo conservatosi, del 1767, mostrava un calo piuttosto lieve. Infatti, la popolazione tornava al valore usuale di una quarantina di soggetti, che si mantenne stabile fino allo scioglimento della Compagnia.

Chierici e coadiutori laici

Ai fini di un'analisi precisa è necessario trattare distintamente i coadiutori laici, che nel quadro degli Ordini di chierici regolari costituivano un gruppo relativamente numeroso deputato allo svolgimento di mansioni pratiche. Infatti, ad alcuni erano affidate le funzioni di procuratore dei beni o di supervisore della servitù o delle cucine. Altri continuavano a svolgere professioni già praticate prima dell'ingresso nell'Ordine, come quelle di farmacista, tessitore o pittore. Il numero dei laici rispetto alla popolazione complessiva era regolato dalle disposizioni delle autorità dell'Ordine, preoccupate a mantenere la superiorità numerica della componente religiosa. Non a caso nei collegi i coadiutori temporali non dovevano costituire più un terzo del personale, mentre nelle case professe tale limite non doveva superare un quarto dei membri presenti.²⁹ I dati dei domicili esaminati appaiono conformi alla normativa: il valore più basso è quello di Nieśwież, dove i laici rappresentavano il 24,2%. Stuck e la terza probazione erano invece caratterizzati da percentuali più alte, rispettivamente del 31,1% e del 34,3%.

Mobilità

La Compagnia di Gesù si caratterizzava per la notevole mobilità dei suoi membri. Ciò dipendeva dalla vocazione missionaria dell'Ordine religioso, il cui fine consisteva nella difesa e nella diffusione del cattolicesimo. Per quanto riguarda i Gesuiti, è possibile distinguere fra tre forme di mobilità. La prima, che potremmo definire orizzontale, consisteva nel trasferimento dei religiosi da una casa dell'Ordine all'altra per disposizione dei superiori. La seconda forma dipendeva dal passaggio da una funzione all'altra, secondo

28 Jerzy MICHAŁSKI, "Radziwiłł Karol Stanisław (1734-1790)", *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (d'ora in avanti *PSB*) XXX (1987), pp. 250-251.

29 "Koadiutor", in: *EWJ*, p. 286.

una gerarchia di cariche che andava da quelle di minore a quelle di maggiore prestigio. Era questo il caso delle carriere dei docenti, che insegnavano dapprima nelle classi inferiori frequentate dai laici, per poi passare alla formazione dei chierici come professori prima di filosofia e poi di teologia. L'ultima forma di mobilità può essere detta funzionale. Essa consisteva negli spostamenti necessari allo svolgimento di un dato incarico. Dal momento che per analizzare pienamente la mobilità verticale è necessario conoscere le informazioni relative al singolo religioso in tutti i domicili frequentati, occorre lasciare l'approfondita considerazione di questo aspetto a lavori incentrati su una più ampia base di dati. Va tralasciata anche la mobilità funzionale, dal momento che essa non era descritta nei cataloghi annuali, bensì in altre fonti quali i diari giornalieri dei collegi, che non si sono conservati per le case di Nieśwież e Śluck. In ragione di ciò è opportuno limitare l'analisi alla mobilità orizzontale e verticale, considerata come avvicendamento del personale nell'ambito dei collegi studiati.

Un indice della prima forma di mobilità va riconosciuto nel ricorrere dei nominativi all'interno dei cataloghi sia annuali che triennali. Nel caso di Nieśwież e Śluck, su un totale di 4364 occorrenze, poco meno dei due terzi (2805, 64,3%) compaiono in entrambi i tipi di cataloghi. Circa un terzo delle occorrenze (1489, 34,1%) è invece rintracciabile unicamente nei cataloghi annuali. Infine, un piccolo numero (63, 1,4%) compare soltanto in quelli triennali. Inoltre, se si prendono in considerazione i 733 soggetti rappresentati dalle 1489 occorrenze contenute nei soli cataloghi annuali, risulta che più della metà (369, 50,4%) compare una sola volta. Tale fenomeno va interpretato come un sintomo della mobilità dei religiosi, che, soggiornando presso il domicilio per un breve periodo, facevano in tempo a essere registrati in un catalogo annuale, ma non in uno triennale. Per completezza va registrato che un diverso livello di mobilità distingueva i coadiutori laici rispetto ai chierici. I primi costituivano la componente più stabile della popolazione. Ne è una testimonianza il fatto che nel caso dei nominativi contenuti nei cataloghi sia annuali, sia triennali, i laici rappresentavano ben il 34,9%. Invece, fra i nominativi presenti soltanto nei cataloghi annuali, la percentuale dei laici scendeva al 17,8%.

Benché sia possibile completare le lacune derivanti dalla mancanza nei cataloghi triennali di nominativi presenti in quelli annuali del medesimo collegio servendosi dei cataloghi triennali di altri domicili, non sono state intraprese ricerche in questa direzione. Infatti, si può ritenere che il significato di persone attive

per poco tempo in un dato domicilio fosse limitato e che pertanto influenzasse scarsamente la fisionomia complessiva del personale.

Nella tabella 1 (p. 494) sono rappresentati il numero e la percentuale di osservazioni in totale e per collegio contenute nei cataloghi annuali e il loro eventuale riscontro nei cataloghi triennali. Risulta evidente che la popolazione dei singoli collegi si differenziava dal punto di vista della ricorrenza dei medesimi soggetti. Assumendo il numero di osservazioni contenute nei soli cataloghi annuali come indicatore di mobilità orizzontale, risulta che un più rapido ricambio di personale caratterizzava la casa della terza probazione, mentre si attestava su valori analoghi per i due collegi.

L'analisi dei soli cataloghi annuali permette anche di caratterizzare la mobilità verticale del personale gesuitico. La tabella 2 (p. 494) mostra le funzioni registrate nei cataloghi annuali in termini di numero medio, minimo e massimo di occorrenze per il medesimo soggetto. Alla luce dei dati risulta che funzioni differenti erano esercitate dalla medesima persona per tempi diversi: molto breve era per esempio il mandato dei direttori delle confraternite e dei predicatori, che durava in media poco più di un anno. Fra le mansioni detenute per tempi più lunghi si segnalano quelle proprie dei coadiutori laici (funzioni pratiche e gestione dei beni) e quella di cappellano di corte. Nel primo caso si è indotti a ipotizzare che la lunga durata del mandato dipendesse dalla necessità di instaurare stretti legami personali con i contadini della masseria amministrata, nel secondo un rapporto duraturo di fiducia e collaborazione era alla base dell'interazione fra il sacerdote e la famiglia nobile.

La specializzazione dei domicili. Il caso dei cappellani di corte

Tradizionalmente i Gesuiti si dedicavano a vari settori d'attività, che spaziavano dalla direzione del domicilio, alla sua gestione pratica e patrimoniale, dall'attività didattica alla cura d'anime nei riguardi degli esterni e dei confratelli. In diverse case dell'Ordine i soggetti si dedicavano prevalentemente ad alcune funzioni rispetto ad altre. Ciò permette di ritenere che esistesse un relativo grado di specializzazione a livello di domicilio. La tabella 3 (p. 495) mostra le funzioni registrate nei cataloghi annuali, presentando il numero di occorrenze e la percentuale calcolata sul totale delle osservazioni per collegio. Le differenze riscontrate si possono spiegare alla luce della composizione della società locale e della situazione economica del domicilio.

Per esempio, rispetto a Nieśwież, a Słuck comparivano con maggior frequenza le funzioni legate alla predicazione, alla supervisione del collegio e alla gestione materiale dei beni. Per quanto riguarda la predicazione, la ragione dei valori superiori di Słuck va ricercata nel variegato tessuto confessionale, che richiedeva il dispiegamento di un'intensa attività pastorale in seno alla comunità cittadina.³⁰ A proposito della gestione dei beni, i valori più alti di Słuck si spiegano con la dispersione geografica del patrimonio fondiario del collegio, che comprendeva masserie situate non solo nel voivodato di Nowogródek, ma anche in quello di Mińsk e in Masovia.³¹ Ai fini di un'efficace amministrazione doveva essere designato un congruo numero di religiosi stabilmente residenti fuori dal collegio.

Rispetto ai loro confratelli di Słuck, i Gesuiti del collegio di Nieśwież erano maggiormente impegnati presso le corti nobiliari. Infatti, fornivano missionari di corte a numerose famiglie dell'*élite* locale. Dal collegio urbano dipendevano i missionari e gli educatori impegnati alle corti dello starosta di Starodub Jan Żaba (Ignacy Szaszkowski³² nel 1759-1760), e di Jerzy Abramowicz, starosta di Upita (Kazimierz Koszko³³ facente funzione di istitutore dei figli del nobile, nel 1768). Entrambe le famiglie intrattenevano rapporti clientelari con i proprietari della città di Nieśwież.³⁴ Un impegno di più lungo termine da parte dei Gesuiti si riscontrava presso i Radziwiłł. Si trattava anzitutto di Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł *nata* Sanguszek, presso la quale fu attivo Jan Poszakowski³⁵ negli

30 Si segnalava per esempio l'attività di un missionario itinerante urbano (*missionarius excurrent per urbem*), così come di predicatori domenicali e festivi nella chiesa parrocchiale.

31 Rumoki, Bogurzyn e Bogurzynek, situati nel voivodato di Płock, distavano ben 550 km dalla casa di Słuck. Tali beni facevano parte della dotazione assegnata al collegio dal suo fondatore Hieronim Kłokocki, già starosta di Rzeczyca, al momento del suo ingresso nella Compagnia. Cfr. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce IV*, p. 1614.

32 Ignacy Szaszkowski, * 24.VII.1726 Bielorussia, S.J. 10.VIII.1745 Vilna, + 1783 (EWJ, p. 658).

33 Kazimierz Koszko, * 7.III.1729 Bielorussia, S.J. 15.VIII.1755 Vilna, + 1778 Janów Podolski (Polonia) (EWJ, p. 309).

34 Cfr. Andrzej CIECHANOWIECKI, Andrzej RACHUBA, "Rys genealogiczny rodziny Abramowiczów na Wornianach", *Przegląd Wschodni* 2 (1992/1993), 3 (7), pp. 595-609.

35 Jan Poszakowski, * 14.II.1684 Szadów (Lituania), S.J. 21.VII.1700 Vilna, + 3.VI.1757 Nieśwież (Bielorussia) (EWJ, p. 532).

anni 1722-1733. Nella cerchia del figlio di lei, Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł *Rybeńko*, grand'etmano di Lituania e voivoda di Vilna, comparivano Feliks Wierzbicki³⁶ nel periodo 1730-1734 e Mikołaj Kuczewski³⁷ fra il 1750 e il 1762. Aveva un proprio teologo gesuita anche la seconda moglie dell'etmano, Anna Luiza z Mycielskich Radziwiłłowa: si trattava di Mikołaj Hryniewicki³⁸ nel 1757-1759 e di Józef Siesicki³⁹ a partire dall'anno successivo. Quest'ultimo seguì Anna Luiza in esilio a Dresda, per morirvi nel 1767. Altrettanto si può affermare per il figlio di primo letto dell'etmano, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł *Panie Kochanku*, al cui servizio si distinse dal 1754 per quasi vent'anni Michał Woronicz.⁴⁰ In virtù dell'anzianità di servizio meritano particolare attenzione le figure di Kuczewski, di Woronicz e di Siesicki, che già prima di assumere la funzione di cappellano intrattenevano stretti rapporti, generalmente di natura clientelare, talora perfino di parentela, con i loro protettori. Il primo, infatti, originario della piccola nobiltà di Podlachia, compì una svolta nella propria carriera nel 1742, divenendo educatore dei figli gemelli dell'etmano Janusz Tadeusz e Karol Stanisław. Lasciata tale mansione nel 1749, fu nominato cappellano di *Rybeńko*. Dopo la morte di questi passò al servizio del figlio, per divenire infine rettore del collegio di Słuck. Woronicz aveva svolto in precedenza la funzione di custode del sepolcro della famiglia Radziwiłł dal 1748 al 1753, per un tempo dunque sorprendentemente lungo, se si considera la relativa rapidità con cui i Gesuiti si succedevano a quest'incarico.⁴¹ Infine, Siesicki era parente di Marianna z Siesickich Radziwiłłowa, madre di Leon Michał Radziwiłł, primo marito di

36 Feliks Wierzbicki, * 14.I.1699 voivodato di Witebsk (Bielorussia), S.J. 28.VIII.1714 Vilna, † 24.IV.1761 Połock (Bielorussia) (EWJ, p. 735).

37 Mikołaj Kuczewski, * 1.XII.1713 Podlachia (Polonia), S.J. 13.VIII.1728 Vilna, † 12.III.1768 Słuck (Bielorussia) (EWJ, p. 341).

38 Mikołaj Hryniewicki, * 1.XII.1709 Podlachia (Polonia), S.J. 25.IV.1732 Vilna, † 15.VIII.1771 Mścislav (Bielorussia) (EWJ, p. 223).

39 Józef Siesicki, * 25.IX.1727 Lituania, S.J. 22.X.1741 Vilna, † 15.VI.1767 Dresda (Germania) (EWJ, p. 617).

40 Michał Woronicz, * 29.IX.1710 Bielorussia, S.J. 8.VIII.1728 Vilna, † 31.III.1774 Nieśwież (Bielorussia) (EWJ, p. 760).

41 Dalla seconda metà degli anni Cinquanta si avvicendarono Józef Bartoszewicz (1757), Michał Schultz (1759), Marcin Kuczewski (1760), Paweł Bartoszewicz (1764), Gabriel Lenkiewicz (1767), Torpes Leszczyński (1768) e Adam Szaniawski (1771).

Anna Luiza.⁴² I legami di alcuni religiosi, primi fra tutti Kuczewski e Woronicz, con i loro protetto ritrovano un puntuale riflesso nella ricca corrispondenza conservatasi fino ad oggi.⁴³ Gli esempi richiamati permettono di affermare che in considerazione dell'elevata posizione sociale dei Radziwiłł le autorità della Compagnia chiudevano un occhio relativamente alle norme con cui si cercava di limitare nel tempo lo svolgimento di funzioni presso le corti nobiliari, nel timore che ciò portasse ad un allentamento della disciplina religiosa.⁴⁴

Benché il numero complessivo di religiosi impiegati presso le corti magnatizie fosse complessivamente stabile, il collegio di Nieśwież presentava un picco alla fine degli anni Cinquanta (2 soggetti nel 1754, 4 nel 1757, 5 nel 1759 e di nuovo 4 nel 1760). Tale fenomeno era correlato allo sviluppo della corte di Nieśwież negli ultimi anni di vita di *Rybeńko*, quando questi conduceva una vita perlopiù stanziale in ragione delle ormai precarie condizioni di salute.⁴⁵ Le ragioni dell'impiego di tre cappellani gesuiti nella cerchia della medesima famiglia vanno pertanto individuate oltre che nell'approfondirsi della devozione religiosa dell'etmano, anche nell'autonomia delle corti della moglie e soprattutto del figlio, che risiedeva nei possedimenti di famiglia situati in Volinia e in Rutenia, nei territori dell'attuale Ucraina occidentale.

Per completezza va rilevato che l'impegno dei Gesuiti come cappellani di corte si manifestava anche a Stuck, sebbene in misura minore. Qui negli anni 1730-1737 era impegnato Jozafat Sokołowski,⁴⁶ attivo nell'*entourage* criptocalvinista di Bogusław Niezabitowski, starosta di Propojsk e castellano di Nowogródek.⁴⁷ Inoltre, i Gesuiti si distinguevano presso la corte di un altro magnate, educato nella fede cattolica, ma non particolarmente favorevole alla Compagnia. Si trattava di Hieronim Florian, fratello dell'etmano Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł,

42 Vilna, Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka, BF 3192, f. 33.

43 Varsavia, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (d'ora in avanti AGAD), *Archiwum Radziwiłłów* (d'ora in avanti AR) V, 7948 e 18027.

44 *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, I, Praga, Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae, 1757, pp. 572-573; II, Praga, Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae, pp. 259-262.

45 Krzysztof ZUBA, "Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł (1702-1762) – portret psychofizyczny", *Medycyna Nowożytna* 9 (2002) 1/2, pp. 53-84.

46 Questi aveva ricoperto fra il 1714 e il 1719 la medesima funzione presso Mikołaj Faustyn Radziwiłł, allora ensifero di Lituania (ARSI, *Lit.* 65, pp. 205-206). Jozafat Sokołowski, * 10.X.1676 Masovia (Polonia), S.J. 14.VIII.1692 Vilna, † 25.VIII.1752 Pińsk (Bielorussia) (EWJ, p. 631).

47 Alojzy SĄJKOWSKI, "Niezabitowski Bogusław (zm. 1739)", *PSB* XXIII (1978), p. 97.

che negli anni Trenta era divenuto proprietario del principato di Stuck. Svolsero la funzione di cappellano alla corte del magnate oltre al già ricordato Jan Poszakowski nel 1733-1735, anche Kazimierz Juraha⁴⁸ nel 1736-1738 e Stanisław Klonowski⁴⁹ nel 1738-1754.

Un profilo d'attività sostanzialmente diverso era proprio della terza probazione, che – come già affermato – fu trasformata in noviziato nel 1759. In primo luogo, in ragione della mancanza di scuole pubbliche, i Gesuiti non erano attivi in ambito didattico. Inoltre, a differenza dei loro confratelli dei collegi di Nieśwież e di Stuck, i padri di questo domicilio non si dedicavano all'attività pastorale presso le corti nobiliari. Nel periodo studiato non si impegnavano ufficialmente neppure nella direzione delle confraternite, benché nel 1704 fosse stata qui istituita la congregazione della Regina degli Angeli Custodi.⁵⁰ Alla luce dei cataloghi annuali è possibile affermare che la maggioranza dei soggetti presenti era dedicata alla direzione spirituale dei più giovani confratelli o all'approfondimento della spiritualità ignaziana. Ciò dipendeva della presenza di padri della terza probazione e, a partire dall'anno scolastico 1760-1761, dei novizi della provincia di Masovia. Il confronto dei cataloghi annuali con altre fonti, come le cronache del domicilio, induce comunque ad affermare che il modello di vita dei Gesuiti alla vigilia della professione dei voti superiori era ben lontano dalla clausura monastica. Si impegnavano, infatti, come missionari nelle masserie di proprietà del domicilio.⁵¹

Età media

Intraprendendo l'analisi dei cataloghi triennali, occorre anzitutto considerare l'età dei membri al momento dell'ingresso nella Compagnia e nelle varie fasi della carriera religiosa. Nel caso dei chierici l'età all'inizio del noviziato ammontava in media a 18 anni. Era invece decisamente più alta per i coadiutori laici, fra i quali si attestava su un valore di 27 anni e mezzo.

Evidenti differenze d'età si manifestavano anche fra ciascuna delle cinque categorie di membri. L'età media più bassa si riscontra per le persone in corso di formazione, con un valore di

48 Kazimierz Juraha, * 6.I.1700 Lituania, S.J. 6.VIII.1716 Vilna, + 17.IV.1757 Mińsk (Bielorussia) (EWJ, p. 255).

49 Stanisław Klonowski, * 8.V.1711 Lituania, S.J. 25.VIII.1726 Vilna, + 5.VIII.1788 Albrychtów (Bielorussia) (EWJ, p. 284).

50 ARSI, *Lit.* 44, ff. 362^v-363^v.

51 ARSI, *Lit.* 50, f. 36^r.

22 anni. In posizione intermedia si collocavano i chierici alla vigilia della professione dei voti definitivi, con un valore di 32,7 anni. Superavano in media la quarantina gli esponenti delle restanti categorie. Si trattava nell'ordine dei coadiutori laici e di quelli spirituali (rispettivamente con 43,8 e 46,7 anni) e dei professi di quattro voti (47,5).

Lungo era anche il percorso di formazione che portava i religiosi a divenire membri della Compagnia a pieno diritto. Tale affermazione riguarda in particolare la professione del quarto voto, che in media avveniva 16 anni e mezzo dopo l'ingresso nella Compagnia. Relativamente più rapido era il passaggio alla categoria di coadiutori spirituali formati, che aveva luogo in media a 11 anni e mezzo dall'ingresso nell'Ordine. I coadiutori laici, similmente a quelli spirituali, erano distinti tra *formati* e non. Il passaggio dall'una all'altra categoria avveniva di norma allo scadere dei dieci anni di servizio nella Compagnia.

Provenienza geografica

La tabella 4 (p. 496), costruita sulla base dei cataloghi triennali, mostra la provenienza geografica dei soggetti incontrati in termini di numero e percentuale di occorrenze in totale e per collegio. Anzitutto va osservato che più del 90% dei Gesuiti era originario del territorio compreso nella provincia lituana della Compagnia di Gesù. Il gruppo qualificato come *ruthenus* era il più numeroso, con poco meno del 30%. Si trattava di religiosi originari dei territori etnicamente slavi del Granducato di Lituania, coincidenti con l'attuale Bielorussia centrale e orientale.⁵² Nel contesto del voivodato di Nowogródek cui i domicili di Nieśwież e Słuck appartenevano, costoro possono essere considerati esponenti della società locale. Seguiva il gruppo indicato con l'aggettivo *lituanus*, con poco più di un quinto dei soggetti. A questo termine andavano ricondotti i religiosi nativi dei voivodati di Vilna e Troki (lituano *Trakai*). Il popolamento era qui misto, dal momento che nei territori meridionali e orientali di queste unità amministrative prevaleva la popolazione slava, mentre nei distretti settentrionali e occidentali erano numerosi i Lituani propriamente detti.⁵³ A una certa distanza

52 Era il caso dei voivodati di Nowogródek, Mińsk, Witebsk, Połock e Mścislav e di buona parte di quello di Brześć Litewski.

53 Per quanto riguarda il voivodato di Troki la prevalenza dell'elemento baltico si manifestava nei distretti di Upita e Kowno. In quello di Vilna si trattava dei distretti di Wilkomierz e Brasław.

da questi si posizionavano i membri provenienti dai territori dell'attuale Polonia allora compresi nei confini della provincia lituana: si trattava della Masovia,⁵⁴ con il 15% dei religiosi. Intorno al 10% si attestavano rispettivamente i soggetti originari della Podlachia, indicati con il termine *subsylvanus*, e quelli delle regioni di lingua tedesca come la Varmia e la Prussia reale. Al di sotto di questa soglia si collocava il numero di osservazioni qualificate con la parola *polonus*, impiegata per le persone provenienti dai territori del Regno di Polonia non compresi nei confini della provincia lituana della Compagnia. Meno del 5% rappresentavano le persone descritte con il termine *samogita*, provenienti dal Ducato di Samogizia, abitato prevalentemente da popolazione di lingua lituana. Infine, sotto al punto percentuale si collocavano sia gli stranieri propriamente detti, sia i Gesuiti oriundi della Livonia e della Curlandia, due regioni nordorientali della Confederazione.

Le percentuali sinora richiamate permettono di affermare che il reclutamento dei religiosi avveniva in gran parte a livello locale. Erano altresì lontani i tempi in cui una parte cospicua del personale dell'Ordine era inviata dall'Europa occidentale per svolgere incarichi direttivi nelle province di Polonia e di Lituania.⁵⁵ Gli stranieri presenti costituivano una piccolissima parte anche se si considerano unicamente i membri nati fuori dal territorio della provincia lituana. Infatti, tra questi prevalevano nettamente i soggetti originari del Regno di Polonia. Non comparivano altresì Italiani e Spagnoli, la cui presenza era caratteristica del periodo a cavallo fra XVI e XVII secolo. I gesuiti allogeni attivi nel Settecento presso i domicili studiati provenivano perlopiù dai territori contigui alla Confederazione polacco-lituana, come la Prussia Ducale, la Slesia, la Boemia e le regioni cattoliche del Sacro Romano Impero quali la Baviera. Non occupavano posti di responsabilità, dal momento che in quanto coadiutori laici la loro presenza era associata all'esercizio di attività artigianali all'interno dei domicili gesuitici. Se si confronta il personale di ciascuno dei tre domicili studiati non si riscontrano differenze tali da giustificare un'analisi separata della popolazione dei domicili.

54 La porzione della Masovia compresa nei confini della provincia lituana della Compagnia coincideva con il voivodato di Płock e la parte settentrionale di quello di Varsavia.

55 Era il caso della maggior parte dei primi provinciali di Polonia e di alcuni di Lituania. Cfr. "Prowincjałowie", in: *EWJ*, p. 545.

Le competenze linguistiche

I cataloghi triennali permettono anche di esaminare le conoscenze linguistiche del personale. I principali codici di comunicazione impiegati dai Gesuiti della provincia lituana erano il latino e il polacco. Nel primo idioma si svolgeva, oltre alla liturgia, anche la formazione dei religiosi e dei laici.⁵⁶ Il latino era inoltre impiegato nella comunicazione scritta fra religiosi, come testimoniano i flussi epistolari interni ed esterni alla provincia, nonché, perlomeno nelle intenzioni dei superiori, nella conversazione sia fra chierici, sia fra studenti.

Se il latino costituiva per tutti l'idioma imparato sui banchi di scuola, il polacco era la lingua madre di una parte cospicua dei religiosi. Nei territori orientali della Confederazione il peso di questa lingua crebbe in età moderna in conseguenza dell'adattamento da parte delle *élites* locali ai costumi culturali, sociali e religiosi propri della nobiltà del Regno di Polonia.⁵⁷ In tale contesto si inseriva l'adozione nel 1696 del volgare slavo occidentale come lingua ufficiale dei voivodati centrali e orientali del Granducato di Lituania, in sostituzione del ruteno.⁵⁸ Nel quadro di questo processo la lingua parlata dalla nobiltà continuava pur sempre a presentare un'inflessione caratteristica delle aree orientali della Confederazione, dette *kresy*.⁵⁹ Concentrando l'attenzione sul sistema scolastico gesuitico, occorre affermare che il polacco costituiva l'idioma della predicazione e della comunicazione sociale, utilizzata in particolare nei contatti fra i religiosi e la nobiltà. In tale lingua, infatti, non solo erano redatte le opere destinate al pubblico laico, ma anche si svolgevano in misura crescente le

56 Nel caso di questi ultimi era previsto che non appena allievi avessero conseguito una padronanza sufficiente del latino, le spiegazioni si svolgessero in questa lingua.

57 In questo processo svolse un ruolo non trascurabile proprio il sistema scolastico gesuitico. Cfr. Marzena LIEDKE, "System edukacji a przemiany językowe i kulturalne szlachty ruskiej Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w II połowie XVI wieku", *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne* 2 (1994), pp. 7-19.

58 Gintautas SLIESORIŪNAS, "Sejmiki nowogródzkie w okresie bezkrólewia 1696/97 r. a nadanie językowi polskiemu statusu urzędowego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim", in: Jacek STASZEWSKI, Karol MIKULSKI, Jerzy DUMANOWSKI (eds.), *Między Zachodem a Wschodem. Studia z dziejów Polski czasów nowożytnych*, Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2002, pp. 209-214.

59 Urszula SOKÓLSKA, *Siedemnastowieczna polszczyzna kresów północno-wschodnich. Słownotwórstwo, słownictwo, frazeologia*, Białystok, Trans Humana, 1999.

esercitazioni pubbliche di retorica e le rappresentazioni teatrali.⁶⁰ Le ragioni della scelta del volgare slavo nonostante i divieti espressi dalla normativa dell'Ordine va ricercata nel fatto che le iniziative menzionate servivano a educare i membri della nobiltà allo svolgimento della vita politica nell'ambito delle istituzioni rappresentative proprie della Confederazione, come la Dieta, le dietine e i tribunali.

I cataloghi non indicano, se non molto raramente, la conoscenza di altre lingue slave oltre al polacco. Si pone dunque il problema di come i religiosi comunicassero con i contadini loro sottoposti, che certamente non parlavano il polacco delle *élites*. È probabile che la comunicazione avvenisse in un dialetto locale non dissimile dall'attuale bielorusso. In ogni caso, la mancanza di dati induce a supporre che la barriera linguistica fra i religiosi e la popolazione rurale non fosse recepita come decisiva.

Per quanto riguarda il latino, occorre considerare separatamente religiosi e laici. Nel caso dei primi, l'idioma classico era conosciuto dalla totalità dei soggetti, se non altro per effetto degli studi e della pratica liturgica. Era invece conosciuto in misura minore fra i laici: a fronte di un 13,7% di dati mancanti, i coadiutori laici della terza probazione sapevano il latino a un livello buono o sufficiente nel 35,6% dei casi. Almeno la metà ignorava invece l'idioma classico. Percentuali analoghe si registrano a Nieśwież: a fronte del 7,2% di dati mancanti, i coadiutori laici si dividevano fra una minoranza (44,6%) che lo conosceva e una maggioranza (48,2%) che lo ignorava. Per Słuck disponiamo di dati completi, che confermano le considerazioni sinora formulate: conosceva il latino il 42,8% dei coadiutori laici. Va anche rilevato come nel giudizio dei superiori tali abilità linguistiche fossero considerate scarse quasi nella metà dei casi positivi.⁶¹

La tabella 6 (p. 498) mostra la conoscenza delle lingue contestualmente alla provenienza geografica dei soggetti, segnalando il numero di osservazioni e le percentuali calcolate sul totale delle occorrenze corrispondenti a ciascuna area geografica di origine. Un ruolo predominante era svolto dal polacco. Il suo carattere di

60 Władysław KOROTAJ (ed.), *Dramat staropolski od początków do powstania sceny narodowej*, 1: *Teksty dramatyczne drukiem wydane do r. 1765*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich/Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1965; 2: *Programy drukiem wydane do r. 1765*, p.te I: *Programy teatru jezuickiego*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich/Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1976.

61 I redattori dei cataloghi si servivano di avverbi per indicare l'imperfetta conoscenza di una lingua: *scit aliquantum* o *imperfecte*.

lingua non ufficiale della Compagnia nella Confederazione appare evidente se si considera che parlava polacco la totalità dei religiosi impiegati a Nieśwież e Śluck provenienti dai territori dall'attuale Bielorussia e Lituania, dalla Livonia e dalla Curlandia, nonché dalle regioni storiche dalla Podlachia e dalla Masovia. Soltanto i religiosi originari della Varmia e della Prussia reale dimostravano un livello inferiore di conoscenza dell'idioma slavo. Infatti i Gesuiti se ne servivano, in modo considerato dai superiori più che adeguato, soltanto nei due terzi dei casi osservati. Più di un quinto invece stentava a farsi comprendere nella lingua parlata dalla popolazione locale, mentre un piccolo numero la ignorava completamente.⁶²

Il tedesco costituiva la seconda lingua volgare più diffusa dopo il polacco. È registrato nel 13,2% delle occorrenze. Le ragioni del fatto che la lingua germanica fosse ampiamente distanziata dal volgare slavo vanno ricercate nella sua portata regionale: infatti, era utilizzato in una cerchia di parlanti provenienti dalle regioni baltiche, oltre che dallo sparuto gruppo di Tedeschi e Slesiani, annoverati nella presente tabella fra gli stranieri. Fra i soggetti provenienti da altre regioni il tedesco era conosciuto in rari casi: infatti, si registrano percentuali abbondantemente al di sotto del 10%.

Il lituano rappresentava la terza lingua volgare più diffusa fra il personale di Nieśwież e di Śluck dopo il tedesco. Era parlato nell'11% dei casi osservati. Tale percentuale può sembrare bassa se si considera che un quarto del personale dei collegi esaminati era qualificato come proveniente dalla Lituania o dalla Samogizia. A questo proposito è necessario formulare alcune riflessioni. Probabilmente ci troviamo di fronte a una certa sottostima del fenomeno. Se il tedesco rappresentava una lingua indispensabile nei contatti con la società locale, e in particolare con gli ufficiali della milizia privata dei Radziwiłł e gli altri elementi allogeni quali artigiani specializzati e medici al servizio della corte, il lituano non era affatto parlato nei territori dell'odierna Bielorussia meridionale. Pertanto l'invio di religiosi che conoscessero l'idioma baltico a Nieśwież e Śluck era finalizzato allo svolgimento non dell'attività pastorale in questa lingua, bensì di altre mansioni. Inoltre, se si considerano separatamente i soggetti provenienti dalla Samogizia e quelli dalla Lituania propriamente detta (*Aukštaitija*), emerge che i primi conoscevano il lituano in tre quarti dei casi, mentre fra i

62 Fra i 79 religiosi originari della Varmia, 52 (ovvero il 65,8%) dimostravano una buona conoscenza del volgare slavo. In 18 casi (22,8%) lo parlavano in qualche modo. Tre (3,8%) lo ignoravano completamente. Per sei occorrenze mancavano i dati.

secondi la percentuale scendeva al di sotto del 25%. Tale fenomeno va letto alla luce del forte peso specifico dell'elemento slavo nei distretti sudorientali dei voivodati di Vilna e Troki. Indicative erano in questo senso le frequenti oscillazioni fra l'indicazione *lituanus* e quella *ruthenus* per la stessa persona.

Le restanti lingue facevano la loro comparsa episodicamente. Fra i Gesuiti presenti a Nieśwież e a Słuck, il lettone era noto nell'1,6% dei casi. Si trattava anzitutto di soggetti originari della Livonia polacca, regione nella quale costituiva l'idioma della popolazione contadina e dove pertanto era necessario allo svolgimento dei compiti pastorali. Era noto anche ad un piccolo gruppo di Samogiti e di Lituani, il che va interpretato alla luce della contiguità geografica fra le due regioni e della debole barriera linguistica esistente fra i due idiomi baltici. La lingua parlata nella Livonia restava invece sconosciuta ai soggetti originari delle regioni di lingua slava o germanica della Confederazione. Similmente al lituano, non trovava applicazione nel contesto di Nieśwież e Słuck.

Delle lingue romanze come il francese e l'italiano si serviva uno sparuto gruppo di religiosi, indipendentemente dalla regione di provenienza. Infatti, si trattava di lingue perlopiù apprese nel corso della carriera religiosa, che quindi facevano tardivamente la loro comparsa nei cataloghi. La conoscenza del francese si manifestava in poco più del 5% dei casi. Essa va posta in relazione anzitutto con l'attività presso le corti magnatizie.⁶³ Occorre segnalare anche la presenza di religiosi d'origini allogene, nati nell'attuale Masovia, nella Varmia o nei territori del Regno di Polonia.⁶⁴ Si trattava di persone, talora d'origine francese, provenienti dagli strati superiori del ceto urbano o dalla nobiltà di recente insediamento, che aveva conseguito l'indigenato polacco grazie servizio militare.⁶⁵ Per costoro la conoscenza del francese era conseguenza dell'ambiente domestico o dei contatti commerciali con l'Europa occidentale intrattenuti dalla famiglia d'origine. Degno di nota è anche l'aumento della diffusione del francese anche fra soggetti dal cognome polacco. Interessati da

63 Impararono il francese nel periodo d'attività presso le corti dei Radziwiłł fra gli altri Józefat Sokołowski, Jan Poszakowski e Mikołaj Kuczewski.

64 Fra questi comparivano a Nieśwież Wojciech Riaucour e Ludwik Loupia. Conoscevano il francese anche Stefan Wulfers, originario del patriziato varsaviano e Józef Katenbring, proveniente dalla Varmia.

65 Cfr. Barbara TRELIŃSKA, *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV – XVIII saec. Herby nobilitacji i indygenantów XV – XVIII w.*, Lublin, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu im. Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2001.

questa tendenza erano soprattutto gli scolastici nei due decenni precedenti lo scioglimento della Compagnia. Tale fenomeno va posto in relazione con la riforma del sistema educativo gesuitico, che passò fra l'altro per l'introduzione del francese come materia d'insegnamento nelle scuole frequentate dai laici, di cui i chierici erano stati in precedenza allievi. Dal punto di vista numerico la portata di tali innovazioni restava comunque decisamente ridotta. Ancora più sporadica rispetto a quella del francese era la conoscenza dell'italiano, che si riscontrava nello 0,6% dei casi. Essa era connessa perlopiù ad un precedente soggiorno a Roma, durante il quale erano stati svolti studi teologici o incarichi di natura pastorale come quello di penitenziere presso la basilica di S. Pietro.⁶⁶

Infine va osservato il raro manifestarsi della conoscenza delle restanti lingue registrate nei cataloghi triennali: si trattava del greco antico e degli idiomi slavi orientali identificati come *lingua slavonica*, attestati rispettivamente nello 0,4% dei casi. La conoscenza del greco era legata, analogamente a quella del francese, alla riforma scolastica: si segnalava, infatti, fra alcuni scolastici dalla fine degli anni Sessanta. La conoscenza di altri idiomi slavi oltre al polacco va posta in relazione con la provenienza di alcuni religiosi dai territori situati nelle immediate vicinanze del confine orientale della Confederazione polacco-lituana.

Formazione e capacità tecniche

La carriera dei Gesuiti si caratterizzava per un lungo processo di formazione, che iniziava prima dell'ingresso nell'Ordine, per concludersi più di dieci anni dopo la professione dei voti semplici. Per quanto riguarda gli studi svolti, occorre distinguere fra laici e religiosi. Tale distinzione è dettata dal differente livello di dettaglio delle fonti: infatti, mentre nel caso dei religiosi disponiamo d'informazioni circostanziate sugli studi svolti sia prima, sia dopo l'ingresso nella Compagnia, per i coadiutori laici le notizie spesso mancano o sono lacunose. Ciò non deve stupire, dal momento che ai coadiutori temporali erano affidati compiti pratici che non richiedevano alcuna formazione di tipo umanistico, filosofico o teologico. L'accento era posto da parte dei redattori dei cataloghi su altri aspetti, come la capacità di lettura e scrittura e l'esercizio delle arti applicate.

⁶⁶ Era il caso di Władysław Kossowski, penitenziere a S. Pietro negli anni 1729-1734. Cfr. EWJ, p. 308. A proposito dei penitenzieri presso S. Pietro cfr.: Josef WICKI: "Le 'Memorie' dei penitenzieri gesuiti di S. Pietro", AHSI LVIII/114 (1989), pp. 263-313.

In generale si pone un problema interpretativo di non poco conto. Occorre decidere se trattare la mancanza di dati come un sintomo dell'assenza d'interesse da parte dei superiori per le competenze intellettuali dei confratelli laici, oppure come prova dell'effettiva mancanza di formazione. In considerazione del fatto che talora accanto alla dicitura *non studuit* erano comunque evidenziate capacità di scrittura e lettura, appare opportuno trattare l'assenza d'informazioni come voce autonoma dell'analisi statistica.

Per quanto riguarda i religiosi, disponiamo di dati pressoché completi sulla formazione ricevuta. La tabella 5 (p. 497) mostra gli studi completati dai sacerdoti prima e dopo l'ingresso nella Compagnia, in termini di numero e percentuali in totale e per collegio. Prima dell'adesione alla Compagnia la stragrande maggioranza si era dedicata a studi umanistici a partire dal decimo anno di età e perlopiù aveva completato la classe di retorica intorno al sedicesimo anno di vita. A ben vedere, se si considera l'età media dei chierici al momento dell'ingresso nell'Ordine, è evidente che l'ammissione avveniva subito dopo la conclusione del primo ciclo di studi. Una percentuale fra il 5 e il 12% risultava comunque aver perlomeno iniziato studi filosofici. Rare erano invece le figure che avessero alle spalle una formazione teologica come laici (sotto il 3%).

Relativamente ai coadiutori laici mancano informazioni in due terzi dei casi per la terza probazione e in quasi tutti i soggetti per Nieśwież e Śluck. Limitando l'analisi al primo domicilio, ci si accorge che il 13,7% non aveva studiato (il che non significa necessariamente che fosse alfabeto), mentre il 16,4% aveva svolto un'esperienza di studio in campo umanistico, fermandosi alle classi inferiori di grammatica o di sintassi. Se si considera che per i laici l'età media all'ingresso nella Compagnia era più alta, è ragionevole ipotizzare che alla condizione di coadiutore aspirassero soprattutto persone che, quand'anche avessero frequentato una scuola, l'avevano già lasciata da tempo per svolgere una professione. Era questo il caso dei membri provenienti da ceti urbani. È anche possibile che facesse il suo ingresso nella categoria dei coadiutori laici la nobiltà meno agiata, che, essendo priva di possibilità di carriera nella vita politica locale, si dedicava all'amministrazione dei beni degli esponenti più ricchi di questo ceto. A suffragio di questa tesi si può portare il fatto che le autorità della Compagnia vedevano nei coadiutori laici la componente più difficile da controllare e più suscettibile di

compromettere l'immagine sociale dell'Ordine nel suo insieme.⁶⁷

Per quanto riguarda gli studi completati all'interno dell'Ordine, sono stati esclusi dall'analisi i gruppi in corso di formazione come i novizi e gli scolastici. Va ricordato che l'usuale percorso di formazione dei religiosi all'interno dell'Ordine comprendeva il corso triennale di filosofia scolastica, secondo la divisione in logica, fisica e metafisica, e la teologia scolastica quadriennale. Dal punto di vista statistico la situazione appare nettamente polarizzata fra la mancanza di dati (17,6% per la terza probazione, 53,6% per Nieśwież e 45,4% per Stuck) e gli studi teologici (82,3% per la terza probazione, 42,7% per Nieśwież e 43,9% per Stuck). Raramente i religiosi avevano lasciato il corso quadriennale al termine del primo anno per svolgere il più breve e semplice corso di teologia morale. Si può dunque affermare che la stragrande maggioranza dei religiosi, indipendentemente dal fatto che fossero coadiutori spirituali o professi dei quattro voti, aveva alle spalle studi teologici completi. La crescita del peso dello studio dei dogmi, caratteristico della teologia scolastica, a scapito dell'impostazione pratica propria della casuistica, era un fenomeno diffuso all'interno della Compagnia nella seconda metà del Seicento e durante tutto il Settecento.⁶⁸ Il personale di Nieśwież e Stuck non costituiva pertanto un'eccezione in questo senso.

Nel complesso della popolazione esaminata le capacità di lettura e scrittura si attestavano intorno ai nove decimi dei soggetti, senza particolari differenze fra collegio e collegio. Ciò permette di affermare che sullo sfondo della società del tempo, in cui tali capacità erano proprie di una ristretta fascia di popolazione, la Compagnia si caratterizzava per una solida formazione di base dei propri membri. Nel caso dei religiosi la questione delle capacità di lettura e scrittura non si pone: infatti, grazie agli studi svolti, la totalità del gruppo disponeva di tali competenze.

Meritano una considerazione a parte i coadiutori laici, a proposito dei quali va preliminarmente ricordato che i dati mancanti sono stati completati laddove fossero indicati gli studi svolti. Nei casi della lettura e della scrittura la zona grigia dei dati mancanti era più ampia nei due collegi rispetto alla terza probazione. Anche

67 Numerose erano le disposizioni che richiavano i coadiutori laici a uno stile di vita cristiano. Ciò era tanto più importante, quanto più i coadiutori laici erano portati – in virtù delle loro mansioni – a porsi in relazione con il mondo esterno. Era il caso dell'istruzione allegata al *Liber consultationum residentiae duneburgensis Societatis Iesu 1713-1745*. Cfr. Vilniaus, Universiteto Biblioteka, F 4, A 4413, f. n.n.

68 László Lukács, "De graduum diversitate intra sacerdotes in Societate Iesu", *AHSI* XXXVII/74 (1968), pp. 237-295, in particolare tab. IX.

se s'interpretasse questo elemento come indice di analfabetismo, l'immagine che emerge della preparazione complessiva dei coadiutori laici fa comunque onore alla Compagnia. A fronte della mancanza di dati in un terzo dei casi, le capacità di lettura e scrittura si attestavano su livelli piuttosto alti: nella casa della terza probazione sapeva leggere quasi il 60% dei soggetti, mentre nel collegio urbano e in quello di Słuck tale quota sfiorava i tre quarti. Va sottolineato che si trattava di una quota superiore a quella di coloro che sapevano il latino, il che induce a ritenere che l'alfabetismo si manifestasse prevalentemente nel rapporto con i testi in volgare.

Per quanto riguarda le arti applicate, i numeri sono troppo scarsi perché un'analisi statistica costruita su percentuali appaia sensata. È pertanto opportuno limitarsi ad alcune considerazioni. Codificate nei cataloghi triennali troviamo le abilità musicali, mediche, tessili e artigianali nell'ambito della produzione di calzature e passamanerie. Alcune attività, come la produzione di galloni, drappi e fasce intessute con fili metallici, coesistevano con le manifatture promosse dai Radziwiłł.⁶⁹ Fra le attività che richiedevano competenze tecniche e artigianali, soltanto la pratica musicale era esercitata dai religiosi, che nel XVIII secolo disponevano ormai del monopolio della carica di prefetto delle borse musicali.⁷⁰ Tutte le altre rimanevano prerogativa dei coadiutori laici. Le arti menzionate erano esercitate in ciascuno dei domicili esaminati. L'unica eccezione era costituita dalla preparazione dei medicinali, non evidenziata dai cataloghi della terza probazione. Le ragioni di ciò vanno ricercate nella vicinanza del collegio urbano, dalla farmacia del quale era possibile far portare tutti i preparati necessari. Infine va registrato che nelle arti applicate, soprattutto tessili e mediche, eccelleivano i soggetti provenienti dalle aree economicamente più sviluppate (spesso di lingua tedesca) della Confederazione polacco-lituana.⁷¹

69 Elżbieta BULARZ-NEUGEBAUER, Ryszard SKOWRON, Nadieżda F. WYSOCKA, "Materiały źródłowe z lat 1757-1816 do dziejów radziwiłłowskiej fabryki pasów w Nieświeżu i Słucku", in: Magdalena Piwocka (ed.), *Tkaniny artystyczne z wieków XVIII i XIX. Materiały sesji naukowej w Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu, Kraków 21 marca 1991*, Kraków, Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 1997, pp. 37-88.

70 Jędrzej KITOWICZ, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, Roman POLLAK (ed.), Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1951, p. 113.

71 A Słuck, alla tessitura si dedicavano Andrzej Lepkie e i fratelli Franciszek e Jan Knobloch della Varmia. A Nieśwież, della produzione di cingoli si occupava il masoviano Piotr Rumocki. Nella farmacia locale erano attivi il masoviano Tomasz Grymski, Franciszek Zdański della Varmia e lo slesiano Józef Babsius.

Diplomi di laurea

Ai fini del conseguimento dello *status* di professi era necessaria la conclusione degli studi teologici, unitamente ad adeguate doti personali e di carattere. Il possesso di un diploma di laurea non costituiva pertanto una condizione né necessaria, né tantomeno sufficiente allo svolgimento dei doveri sacerdotali.⁷² Alla luce di tale considerazione non sorprende il fatto che le persone in possesso di un titolo accademico rappresentavano una ristretta minoranza fra i membri della Compagnia che si avvicendarono a Nieśwież e Stuck nel periodo esaminato. Il loro numero ammontava, infatti, a 28 unità, tutte appartenenti alla categoria dei chierici. Tra le lauree prevalevano nettamente quelle in filosofia e arti liberali, seguite da quelle in teologia. Rari erano fra i Gesuiti i titoli accademici d'ambito giuridico, perlopiù di diritto canonico e comunque associati alla teologia.⁷³ Le cause della scarsa frequenza dei diplomi e della preponderanza degli studi filosofico-teologici rispetto a quelli medici e giuridici vanno ricercate non soltanto nei divieti da parte delle autorità della Compagnia affinché i Gesuiti si dedicassero a queste ultime discipline, ma anche nella natura del sistema educativo polacco-lituano, caratterizzato dal modesto numero di istituzioni di rango universitario.

Se nel Regno di Polonia era possibile svolgere studi universitari presso l'Accademia di Cracovia e quella di Zamość, l'ingresso in queste istituzioni restava praticamente precluso ai Gesuiti, ai quali non si addiceva lo svolgimento di studi sotto una giurisdizione che non fosse quella dell'Ordine cui appartenevano.⁷⁴ Ciò dipendeva non solo da considerazioni di prestigio, ma anche da fattori sociali. In primo luogo, l'Accademia di Cracovia, attardata a schemi d'insegnamento medievali, appariva decisamente poco attraente agli occhi delle *élites* e pertanto era frequentata prevalentemente da un *milieu* sociale non nobiliare. Da non sottovalutare era inoltre la reciproca ostilità fra l'Ordine e l'Università, manifestatasi dapprima sul terreno della concorrenza per l'apertura di scuole pubbliche a Cracovia e poi cristallizzatasi all'inizio del Seicento nella difesa

72 Le condizioni per il conferimento di titoli di studio erano stabilite fra l'altro dalla *Ratio Studiorum*. Cfr. *Ratio atque insitutio studiorum SJ czyli Ustawa szkolna Towarzystwa Jezusowego* (1599), Kalina BARTNICKA, Tadeusz BIENKOWSKI (eds.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Ateneum, 2000, pp. 28-29.

73 Soltanto Franciszek Ogiński aveva conseguito una laurea in diritto canonico, mentre Ignacy Wilkinowicz era in possesso di un titolo sia in teologia, sia in diritto.

74 KIRWICZ, *Opis obyczajów*, p. 108.

da parte dell'*Alma Mater* del monopolio del conferimento dei titoli accademici nel Regno di Polonia.⁷⁵

Diversa era la situazione nel Granducato di Lituania, dove l'Università di Vilna, diretta dai Gesuiti, conferiva titoli sia agli allievi esterni, sia ai membri della Compagnia. L'Accademia comprendeva non soltanto le facoltà di filosofia e arti liberali e di teologia, ma dal 1644 anche quelle di medicina e di giurisprudenza. I corsi afferenti a queste ultime discipline erano affidati a docenti laici e frequentati da allievi esterni.⁷⁶ Per questo motivo le promozioni dei Gesuiti avvenivano pressoché solo in campo filosofico-teologico. Ciò non deve indurre a ritenere che la conoscenza del diritto fosse sottovalutata da parte dei religiosi. Specificamente indirizzati ai membri della Compagnia erano i corsi di diritto canonico tenuti non solo presso l'Università di Vilna, ma anche nei collegi che offrivano il percorso di studio completo per i chierici gesuiti.⁷⁷ Anche indipendentemente dalla frequentazione di tali corsi era possibile approfondire la conoscenza della giurisprudenza mediante la lettura dei trattati e dei codici conservati nelle biblioteche dei collegi.⁷⁸ A ben vedere, a decidere del carattere perlopiù informale della formazione giuridica nel contesto polacco-lituano era non tanto la posizione ufficiale della Compagnia, quanto la concezione nobiliare del diritto come pratica acquisita nell'esercizio quotidiano della vita politica.⁷⁹

Tornando al contesto di Nieśwież e Stuck, va osservato che il possesso di un titolo accademico contribuiva a determinare la carica detenuta dal religioso. Infatti, benché svolgessero ogni tipo di funzione, i laureati apparivano sovrarappresentati fra gli istruttori

75 Bronisław NATOŃSKI, "Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku, in: Stanisław NAWROCKI, *Studia z historii jezuitów*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 1983, pp. 173-245; ZALĘSKI, *Jezuici w Polsce*, II, pp. 199-346.

76 Ludwik PIECHNIK, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej, II: Rozkwit Akademii*, Rzym, Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1983, pp. 157-178, III: *Próby odnowy Akademii po klęskach potopu i okres kryzysu*, Rzym, Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1987, pp. 59-68.

77 Nella provincia lituana era il caso di Varsavia e Braniewo. Cfr. "Prawo kanoniczne", in: EWJ, p. 538.

78 La biblioteca del collegio di Stuck disponeva di una sezione di *libri juridici*, comprendente fra l'altro dei testi di Giusto Lipsio e di Samuel von Pufendorf. Cfr. AGAD, AR VIII, 519, ff. 33-85v.

79 Stanisław Milewski, "'Czerpać wiedzę jak pszczoły z kwiatów miód'. Przygotowanie zawodowe palestrantów w czasach staropolskich", *Palestra* 44 (2000), 7/8, pp. 131-139.

della terza probazione e i cappellani di corte. Ciò dipendeva dal prestigio di cui erano ammantate tali funzioni. La prima, infatti, costituiva un ambito punto di arrivo della carriera didattica. La seconda traeva lustro dall'impegno in un'esclusiva cerchia sociale.

Per un approccio statistico-prosopografico alla storia della Compagnia di Gesù

Nel presente articolo si è cercato di proporre un diverso approccio allo studio della Compagnia di Gesù, basato sull'impiego sistematico di serie archivistiche omogenee. Tale approccio non intende in alcun modo sostituire i metodi tradizionalmente impiegati dagli storici nella critica delle fonti, bensì mira a fornire nuovi strumenti di analisi, a porre l'accento su aspetti sinora ignorati dagli studiosi ed a verificare ipotesi concepite sulla base di casi ritenuti particolarmente rappresentativi ed esposti all'interno di un discorso narrativo.

L'analisi statistica del personale della Compagnia di Gesù può avere due scopi: il primo consiste nella descrizione del personale di singoli domicili, il secondo nello studio dei modelli di carriera religiosa. Per raggiungere il primo obiettivo sono sufficienti i dati relativi a una o più case dell'Ordine contenuti nei cataloghi annuali e triennali. Lo svolgimento di ricerche nella seconda direzione richiede invece una base documentaria decisamente più ampia, che comprenda i cataloghi del personale dell'intera provincia. Infatti, a causa dello spostamento dei religiosi da un domicilio all'altro è possibile seguire la carriera soltanto dopo aver raccolto i dati del personale di tutta la provincia, o almeno di una sua cospicua parte. Inoltre, apprestandosi a considerare il ricambio del personale favorito dall'uscita dei soggetti dal gruppo esaminato, risultano indispensabili i necrologi e gli elenchi delle persone dimesse dalla Compagnia.

Si è qui cercato di formulare un modello in grado di descrivere il personale di un collegio, che tenga conto dei meccanismi di formazione e di avvicinamento. Nel far ciò, si è rivolta l'attenzione anche ai coadiutori laici, perlopiù trascurati dai ricercatori a causa dell'inferiore qualità del materiale documentario che li riguarda. Essi costituivano una minoranza silenziosa in ragione della più debole formazione culturale, ma profondamente impegnata nella gestione materiale e nell'amministrazione delle masserie del collegio. Con il presente studio si vorrebbe portare al centro dell'attenzione un gruppo che, sebbene non fosse assimilabile all'identità fra santo e chierico dominante nella religiosità dei secoli passati, trovava posto

nel quadro della devozione tridentina grazie alla considerazione di alcuni dei rappresentanti dello strato superiore dell'Ordine.⁸⁰

A ricerche ulteriori, intraprese nel solco dell'analisi proposta su una base documentaria più ampia, compete di verificare se ed in quale misura le spiegazioni fornite nel presente contributo possano valere anche altrove. Altrettanto interessante può rivelarsi l'integrazione fra l'approccio statistico e lo studio della normativa dell'Ordine, volto a stabilire in quale misura la politica del personale perseguita a livello locale dai padri provinciali risultasse compatibile con le disposizioni generalizie.

L'obiettivo di lungo termine potrebbe consistere nella formulazione di un modello di funzionamento di una provincia dell'Ordine, nell'ambito del quale siano considerati i percorsi di formazione e di carriera, la mobilità e le caratteristiche del personale. Questo indirizzo di ricerca potrebbe costituire la base per l'indagine sinora prevalentemente svolta da parte dei ricercatori delle tracce documentarie lasciate da un ristretto gruppo di religiosi nel quadro della vita culturale e dei rapporti con le *élites*.

Sommario

Lo scopo del presente articolo consiste nell'analisi statistica del personale gesuitico impiegato nel secondo e nel terzo quarto del XVIII secolo nei collegi di Nieśwież e Słuck, appartenenti alla provincia lituana della Compagnia di Gesù. Servendosi dei dati contenuti nei cataloghi annuali e triennali, l'autore rivolge l'attenzione agli aspetti amministrativi della selezione e della gestione del personale religioso, distanziandosi dall'approccio tradizionale della storiografia polacca, intenta a sottolineare la valenza culturale dell'attività dei gesuiti. Nella prima parte, sulla base dei cataloghi annuali, l'autore considera l'evoluzione numerica del personale gesuitico presso i collegi studiati, ponendolo in relazione con la funzione svolta dai domicili nel quadro della formazione dei chierici e con gli avvenimenti politico-militari che interessavano la confederazione polacco-lituana. In seguito analizza la composizione del personale alla luce della distinzione fra religiosi e coadiutori laici. Sulla scorta di tali considerazioni ha luogo l'analisi della mobilità dei membri della Compagnia, fenomeno alla base del ricambio del personale gesuitico all'interno

80 Wojciech Wijuk KOJAŁOWICZ, *Pamiętkę krótką braciej koadiutorów Societatis Iesu świątobliwie zmarłych. Z różnych pisarzy zebraną*, Wilno, Drukarnia Akademicka S.J., 1673.

di un dato domicilio. Tratteggiate queste tendenze generali, l'autore esamina i compiti cui si dedicavano preferibilmente i soggetti in un dato domicilio, rilevando fra l'altro l'impiego dei sacerdoti iscritti al collegio di Nieśwież presso la corte della famiglia aristocratica Radziwiłł. Nella seconda parte, l'autore, servendosi dei cataloghi triennali, caratterizza l'età media dei soggetti attivi a Nieśwież e Śluck nelle varie fasi della carriera religiosa. Ne tratteggia quindi la provenienza geografica e le abilità linguistiche, nonché la formazione ricevuta. A quest'ultimo aspetto si legano nel caso dei coadiutori laici la ricorrenza di abilità tecnico-artigianali, in quello dei chierici il possesso di titoli accademici. Nelle conclusioni è tratteggiato un programma di più vaste ricerche statistico-prosopografiche, che coinvolgano una provincia nel suo complesso. Tale tentativo d'indagine può costituire un contributo significativo alla ricostruzione della storia sociale della Compagnia di Gesù.

Summary

The topic of this paper is the composition of the staff of the colleges in Nieśwież and Śluck in the five decades before the suppression of the Jesuit Order. The mentioned colleges belonged to the Lithuanian province of the Society of Jesus and therefore were described in the annual and triennial catalogues of this geographical unit of the Order. By focusing on the administrative issues of the management of staff, the author takes distance from the traditional approach of Polish historiography, which highlighted out mainly the cultural significance of the activity of the Jesuit Order. The first part of the article is based on the annual catalogues. The author considers the changes in the number of Jesuits working in Nieśwież and Śluck, which depended on the general political situation as well as on the role of a college within the training process of the clerics. The author then analyzes the composition of the Jesuit community from the point of view of the ratio of clerics and lay brothers. The mobility of the Jesuits was important, since it allowed turnover within a college. After examining these general phenomena, the author describes the tasks to which Jesuit fathers devoted themselves. The Jesuit priests in Nieśwież were employed at the courts of the local noblemen more than was the case in other colleges. The second part of the article is based on the triennial catalogues. The author describes the average age of the Jesuits working in Nieśwież and Śluck during the different stages of their religious career. The geographical origin of the fathers and brothers, their language skills as well as their education are then described. The latter issue is linked with

handcraft and technical skills in the case of the brothers on the one hand, and with academic degrees in the case of priests on the other. The conclusions outline a broader future program of statistical research, covering a whole province of the Order. Such an effort might represent an important contribution to the writing of a social history of the Society of Jesus.

Appendice: tabelle di riferimento e grafico

Tabella 1. Numero (N) e percentuale (%) di occorrenze in totale e per collegio contenute nei cataloghi annuali e loro eventuale riscontro nei cataloghi triennali.

Riscontro nei cataloghi triennali	Totale N	Terza probazione		Collegio Nieśwież		Collegio Słuck	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Presente	2805	603	56,4	1283	70,3	919	65,6
Assente	1489	466	43,6	542	29,7	481	34,4
Totale	4294	1069	--	1825	--	1400	--

Tabella 2. Funzioni registrate nei cataloghi annuali, in termini di numero medio, minimo e massimo di occorrenze per il medesimo oggetto

	Media	Minimo – Massimo
Direzione del collegio	2,3	1-11
Attività didattica	1,8	1-12
Predicazione	1,5	1-5
Attività missionaria	2,2	1-18
Attività presso le corti magnatizie	4,1	1-20
Cura d'anime dei confratelli	2,4	1-17
Direzione delle confraternite	1,3	1-4
Supervisione materiale del domicilio	2,1	1-15
Gestione dei beni del domicilio	4,3	1-24
Funzioni pratiche	3,2	1-30
Direzione della provincia	1,8	1-4
Editoria	2,0	1-13
In corso di formazione	1,9	1-5
Infermo	2,1	1-7

Tabella 3. Funzioni registrate nei cataloghi annuali; numero di occorrenze (N) e percentuale (%).

Funzioni	Terza probazione		Collegio di Nieśwież		Collegio di Stuck	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Direzione del collegio	86	8,0	153	8,4	134	9,6
Direzione della provincia	8	0,7	12	0,6	0	0
Direzione delle confraternite	0	0	65	3,6	54	3,8
Predicazione	1	0,1	73	4	82	5,8
Attività presso le corti magnatizie	2	0,2	72	3,9	28	2
Attività missionaria	28	2,6	123	6,7	72	5,1
Attività didattica	48	4,5	268	14,7	212	15,1
Supervisione materiale	102	9,5	190	10,4	193	13,8
Editoria	13	1,2	29	1,6	0	0
Funzioni pratiche	203	19,0	344	18,8	261	18,6
In corso di formazione	564	52,7	680	37,3	425	30,3
Cura d'anime	120	11,2	183	10,0	154	11
Gestione dei beni	163	15,2	184	10,1	232	16,6
Infermo	7	0,6	13	0,7	10	0,7

Tabella 4. Origine geografica: numero (N) e percentuale (%) di occorrenze in totale e per collegio

Origine	Totale		Terza probazione		Collegio di Nieśwież		Collegio di Słuck	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Ruthenus</i>	236	28,7	58	27,8	102	29,2	76	28,7
<i>Lituanus</i>	176	21,4	39	18,7	72	20,6	65	24,5
<i>Masovita</i>	136	16,5	42	20,2	53	15,2	41	15,5
<i>Subsylvanus</i>	85	10,3	22	10,6	46	13,2	17	6,4
<i>Prutheno-Varmiensis</i>	79	9,6	21	10	27	7,7	31	11,1
<i>Polonus</i>	64	7,8	13	6,3	29	8,3	22	8,3
<i>Samogita</i>	34	4,1	13	6,3	11	3,1	10	3,8
<i>Livo-Curlandus</i>	6	0,7	0	0	4	1,1	2	0,7
Straniero	6	0,7	0	0	5	1,4	1	0,4

Dati mancanti: 3 di 825

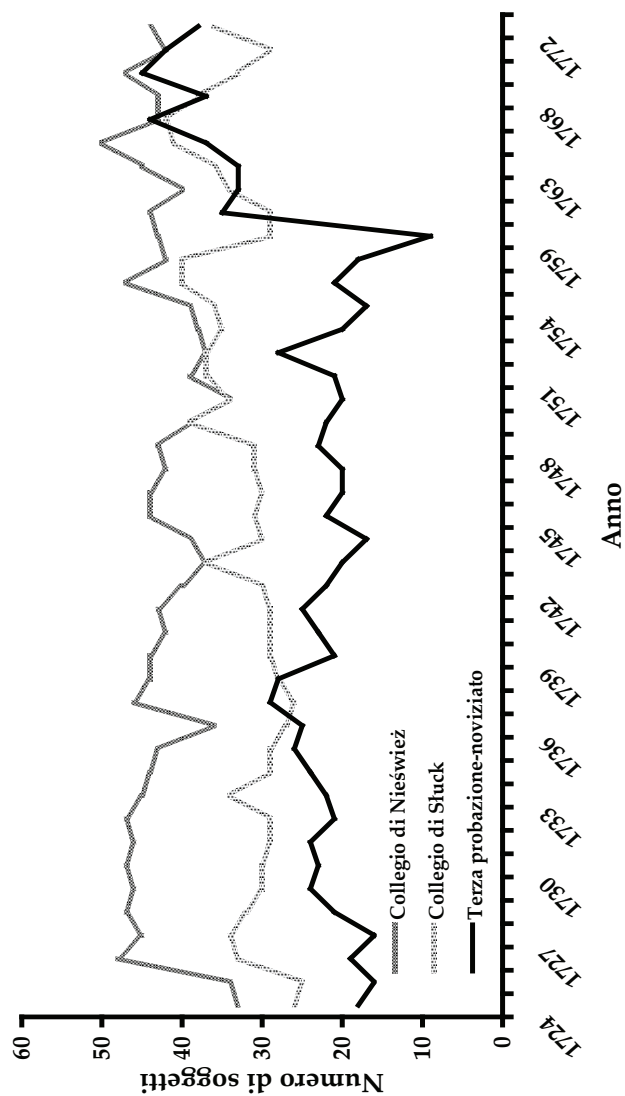
Tabella 5. Studi completati dai sacerdoti prima e dopo l'ingresso nella Compagnia; numero (N) e percentuale (%) di occorrenze in totale e per collegio

	Terza probazione				Collegio Nieśwież				Collegio Słuck				Totale (N)
Studi	Prima		Dopo		Prima		Dopo		Prima		Dopo		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Dati mancanti	0	0	24	17,6	0	0	143	53,6	1	0,5	89	45,4	
Umanistici	119	87,5	0	0	245	91,8	4	1,5	180	91,8	14	7,1	
Filosofici	16	11,8	0	0	15	5,62	6	2,25	15	7,65	7	3,2	
Teologici	1	0,74	112	82,3	7	2,6	114	42,7	0	0	86	43,9	
Totale (N)	136				257				196				599

Tabella 6. Conoscenze linguistiche: numero di occorrenze (N) e percentuale (%) calcolata sul totale delle osservazioni corrispondenti a ciascuna area geografica di origine

Origine	Polacco		Tedesco		Lituano		Francese		Lettone		Italiano		Greco		Altre slave	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Ruthenus</i> (236)	236	100	8	3,4	2	0,8	7	3	0	0	0	1	0,4	2	0,8	
<i>Lituanus</i> (176)	176	100	9	5,1	42	23,9	9	5,1	5	2,8	3	1,7	2	1,1	0	0
<i>Masovita</i> (136)	136	100	5	3,7	4	2,9	6	4,4	0	0	1	0,7	0	0	0	0
<i>Subsylvanus</i> (85)	85	100	3	3,5	6	7	6	7	0	0	1	1,2	0	0	0	0
<i>Prutheno-Varniensis</i> (79)	70	88,6	70	88,6	1	1,2	4	5,1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Polonus</i> (64)	64	100	6	9,3	4	6,2	7	10,9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Samogita</i> (34)	34	100	1	2,9	26	76,5	0	0	2	5,9	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Litvo-Curlandus</i> (6)	6	100	1	16,7	0	0	2	33,3	6	100	0	0	0	0	1	16,7
<i>Straniero</i> (6)	6	100	6	100	3	50	1	33,3	3	50	0	0	0	0	0	0

Grafico 1: Consistenza numerica del personale gesuitico



The emergence of molecular genetics in Portugal: the enterprise of Luís Archer S.J.

Francisco Malta Romeiras*

Luís Jorge Peixoto Archer was born in Oporto May 5, 1926, into a distinguished catholic family with noble origins.¹ From the age of 10 and up to 1945, he studied piano, one of his many interests, as he confessed in his last interview, on the eve of his death.² His musical talent was used within the Society of Jesus and he was responsible for numerous choral groups, namely at the colleges of the Society in Lisbon (1954-1956) and Santo-Tirso (1961-1963).³

His former colleagues, students, employees and fellow Jesuits recall him as a meticulous and humble scientist, an affable companion, and a cheerful and diplomatic priest who was always keen to discuss molecular genetics, history and philosophy of sciences, bioethics and theology with the same enthusiasm that he played the piano or listened to classical music. Having collaborated with some of the most distinguished Portuguese personalities, Luís Archer was frequently portrayed as a serene priest who had decided to commit himself to molecular genetics and bioethics.

After having obtained his degree in biology with honours in 1947, for which he was awarded the Rotary Club medal for best student, Luís Archer was admitted to the novitiate of the Society of Jesus on December 7, causing general surprise and consternation amongst

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- 1 Luís Jorge Peixoto Archer, * 5.V.1926 Oporto (Portugal), S.J. 7.XII.1947 Guimarães (Portugal), † 8.X.2011 Lisboa (Portugal) (Lisboa, Arquivo da Província Portuguesa da Companhia de Jesus, Archer's identification file)
- 2 Francisco MALTA ROMEIRAS, "A última conversa com o P. Luís Archer. Um concílio entre Fé e Ciência", *Brotéria* 173 (2011), pp. 239-245.
- 3 Lisboa, Arquivo da Província Portuguesa da Companhia de Jesus, *Luís Archer S.J., Curriculum Vitae*, 2008.

his former professors at the University of Oporto, who were expecting him to pursue a scientific career in biology. Following the novitiate he studied philosophy (Braga, 1951-1954) and theology (Frankfurt, 1956-1960) and was finally ordained on July 31, 1959.

Four years after obtaining his degree in theology, when he thought that he would stay in Portugal, he was sent to the United States to study molecular biology. It was a priority of the Portuguese Province of the Society of Jesus to make use of Archer's scientific talents, since there had been no Portuguese Jesuits devoted to scientific research since the late 1950s.⁴ On April 22, 1964 he arrived in Washington where he met Ernst Freese (1926-1990) with whom he was going to work at the National Institute of Health, Maryland. There was, however, a misunderstanding, and he only stayed in the laboratory for twelve days. Ernst Freese thought that Archer had already completed his doctorate, since the letters of reference from Portugal always mentioned the Jesuit priest as «Dr. Luís Archer». At that time, the NIH, Maryland, was not interested in providing the basic tools for the completion of Archer's doctoral work, and so he was told to return when he finished his doctorate.

Hence, on the eve of his 38th birthday, he was in Washington, with no laboratory to complete the research that the Portuguese Institute of High Culture had subsidized, granting him a doctoral scholarship. It was only in the fall of 1964 that Archer was finally accepted as a free student at Georgetown University where he studied biochemistry and molecular biology and started a research project on the effects of the anthrax toxin, publishing three scientific articles in 1966 and 1967.⁵ On May 4, 1966, exactly two years after being dismissed from the NIH, he presented his first scientific communication in Los Angeles.⁶ Moreover, his research on the anthrax toxin was acknowledged in Portugal, and he was granted the Prize of the Institute of High Culture in 1967 for the

4 António MARUJO, "Entrevista a Luís Archer. O padre que vestiu a bata de laboratório", *Público*, 8-X-2011. Available at: <http://www.publico.pt/sociedade/noticia/o-padre-que-vestiu-a-bata-de-laboratorio-1515566> (5 December 2013).

5 Irving GRAY, LUÍS ARCHER, "The effect of anthrax toxin on oxidative metabolism of lung tissue" *American Journal of Physiology* 210 (1966), pp. 1313-1315; LUÍS ARCHER, Irving GRAY, "Alterations in the activity of some oxidative enzymes by the action of anthrax toxin", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 35 (1966), pp. 169-177; Irving GRAY, LUÍS ARCHER, "Metabolic changes in nicotinamide adenine dinucleotide in response to anthrax toxin", *Journal of Bacteriology* 93 (1967), pp. 36-39.

6 Irving GRAY, LUÍS ARCHER, "Effect of anthrax toxin on oxidative metabolism of rat lung", *Bacteriological Proceedings* 67(1966), p. 52.

paper he had published in the *Journal of Bacteriology*. The scientific research on the anthrax toxin, as he later declared «had brought him back to life».⁷

Following the success of this research on the anthrax toxin, Otto Landman (1925-2004) approached him and proposed to become his supervisor, and after a multidisciplinary exam, Archer was accepted at Georgetown University as a doctoral student.⁸ When he returned to Portugal, however, he still had to translate his thesis and submit it for evaluation because his doctorate was not acknowledged at the University of Oporto.



Luís Archer S.J.

After presenting a paper of Walter Bodmer (1936-) on recombination and integration of DNA molecules on bacteria at a doctoral seminar, Archer decided to start his research on DNA-mediated transformation on *Bacillus subtilis*.⁹ Soon he found that his results contradicted Bodmer's model, and perceiving the importance of his research, he presented his work at three international meetings in the United States.¹⁰ His research was now internationally recognized by his peers, especially after the confirmation of his results by Bodmer himself.¹¹

When he returned to Oporto, in 1968, genetics - a novel and tready

7 LUÍS ARCHER, "Vinte e cinco anos de Genética Molecular", *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (Classe de Ciências)* XXX (1989), p. 136.

8 LUÍS ARCHER, *Transport of transforming DNA into the cell interior in thymine-starved Bacillus subtilis with chromosomes arrested at the terminus*, PhD Thesis, Washington DC, Georgetown University, 1967.

9 WALTER BODMER, "Recombination and integration in *Bacillus subtilis*: involvement of DNA synthesis", *Journal of Molecular Biology* 14 (1965), pp. 534-557.

10 LUÍS ARCHER, "Transformation in thymine-starved *B. Subtilis* cultures", conference presented at the *Meeting of the Washington Branch of the American Society of Microbiology*, Washington, March 1967; LUÍS ARCHER, "Transformation of unlinked loci in *B. Subtilis* cultures with chromosomes arrested at the origin" presented at the *Annual Meeting of the American Society of Microbiology*, New York, May 1967; LUÍS ARCHER, "Transformation in synchronized cultures of *B. Subtilis* cultures", presented at the *Annual Transformation Meeting*, Colorado, June 1967.

11 ARCHER, "Vinte e cinco anos de Genética Molecular", p. 137; CHARLES D. LAIRD, L. WANG, WALTER BODMER, "Recombination and DNA replication in *Bacillus subtilis* transformation", *Mutation Research* 6 (1968), pp. 205-209.

field - was still completely unfamiliar to the Portuguese biologists. Therefore, upon his arrival, there were already high expectations concerning the future of genetics in Portugal. Indeed, three years before his arrival, in 1965, Flávio Resende (1907-1967), one of the most distinguished Portuguese geneticists, was already eager for his return because there were no molecular geneticists in Portugal, stating that Archer's arrival in Oporto would be «a great opportunity».¹² However, it was impossible for Archer to continue with his research without laboratories properly equipped and highly qualified molecular biologists. Hence, his first priority was to prepare a group of Portuguese scientists for the molecular turn in biology and in 1968 he established the first courses of molecular biology at the University of Oporto, for which he was responsible until 1970.¹³

Following the success of these courses in Oporto, Archer was invited to establish the first Laboratory of Molecular Genetics at the Gulbenkian Science Institute in 1971, a private scientific institution of the notable Gulbenkian Foundation and one of the most relevant centres of scientific research in Portugal.¹⁴ It was the dawn of scientific research on molecular genetics in Portugal. His pedagogical and

12 Flávio Resende, Letter to Luís Archer, May 16, 1965, Lisboa, Arquivo Português da Companhia de Jesus.

13 Some of the most important works produced during this period were: Luís ARCHER, M.C. REZENDE PINTO, "Les membranes végétales d'après les réactions tannoferriques de Salazar, *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 23 (1954), pp. 129-141; Luís ARCHER, "Pressure effects on DNA replication", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 36 (1967), pp. 9-37; Luís ARCHER, Otto E. LANDMAN, "Development of competence in thymine-starved *Bacillus subtilis* with chromosomes arrested at the terminus, *Journal of Bacteriology* 97 (1969), pp. 166-173.

14 Some of the most important papers written in this period were: F. Gomes VIÑARAS, Luís ARCHER, "Termo-sensibilidade de *Bacillus subtilis* ao longo do ciclo celular", *Genética Ibérica* 24 (1972), pp. 251-261; Luís ARCHER, "Heat sensibility of competent and pre-competent cells of *Bacillus subtilis*" in: Luís ARCHER (ed.), *Bacterial Transformation*, Academic Press, 1973, pp. 45-63; M.L. HAMPTON, Luís ARCHER, "Binding of Exogenous DNA to Membrane Fractions from *Bacillus subtilis*", *Microbiology* (1976), pp. 101-104; Hermínia LENCASTRE, Luís ARCHER, "Transducing activity of Bacteriophage SPP1, *Biochemical & Biophysical Research Communications* 86 (1979), pp. 915-919; Hermínia LENCASTRE, Luís ARCHER, "Characterization of SPP1 Transducing Particles, *Journal of General Microbiology* 117 (1980), pp. 347-355; M. Cristina CARDOSO, Hermínia LENCASTRE, Rosa M. FERNANDES, M. Cândida LOPES, Luís ARCHER, "Restriction pattern analysis of the DNAs from temperate bacteriophages IG1, IG3 and IG4 of *Bacillus subtilis*", *Brotéria-Genética* 7 (1986), pp. 145-157; Graça VIEIRA, Hermínia LENCASTRE, Luís ARCHER, "Restriction analysis of PBS1-related phages", *Archives of Virology*, 106 (1989), pp. 121-126.

scientific efforts to establish molecular genetics in Portugal were highly praised by the Portuguese biologists. Aurélio Quintanilha (1892-1987), the dean of genetics in Portugal, at the age of 77, participated in one of his practical workshops on molecular genetics in 1969 at the Gulbenkian Science Institute and he was astonished at the molecular turn in biology and at the scientific and pedagogical skills of the Jesuit.¹⁵ When he returned to Mozambique, Quintanilha still performed some experiments using Archer's methods and scientific material, having encountered some difficulties due to the fact that his laboratory was not properly equipped.¹⁶

Despite being the first Portuguese molecular geneticist, Archer knew the importance of having scientific collaborations with other distinguished laboratories. Therefore, only one year after the foundation of the Laboratory of Genetics, in 1972, he organized the *First International Meeting on Bacterial Transformation*, thus beginning a network of scientific correspondence with the most prominent European molecular biologists that would benefit the development of molecular genetics in Portugal.

During the period that he directed the Laboratory of Molecular Genetics at the Gulbenkian Science Institute (1971-1991), he felt the need to continue his practical work in Portugal and abroad. Therefore, in 1973, from February to September, he worked with Maurice Sandord Fox (1924-) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and in 1976 he collaborated with Frank Young (1931-) at the Department of Microbiology of the University of Rochester, where he learned new experimental procedures concerning genetic engineering, which he then brought to Portugal. This was another landmark for Portuguese geneticists. Genetic engineering was providing state-of-the-art techniques that were crucial for the basic research on molecular biology that would later be commonly used in the Human Genome Project.

Throughout his scientific career, Luís Archer had a major pedagogical agenda concerning the teaching of biology, being responsible for the establishment of the first university courses of molecular genetics in Lisbon, Oporto, Coimbra and Braga from 1968 onwards. Besides establishing these courses, he wrote the first manual of molecular genetics in Portuguese in 1976, which became

15 LUÍS ARCHER, "Mestre Quintanilha faz-se aluno", *Brotéria-Genética* 14 (1993), pp. 29-32.

16 Aurélio Quintanilha, Letter to Luís Archer, January 20, 1970, Lisboa, Arquivo Português da Companhia de Jesus.

the reference for biologists in the following years.¹⁷ A typical case of appropriation and circulation of scientific knowledge, one of his main scientific contributions was the establishment of a school of research on molecular genetics.¹⁸ His career is also an example of the social construction of scientific knowledge in the European periphery, a story that should be integrated in a more sophisticated and broader history of science. Having supervised only five doctorates, his pedagogical influence can be noted by the scheme, that his former students offered him in 2009, which represents a plasmid - a single molecule of DNA of bacteria. Analysing this scheme, one can easily perceive that there were already four generations of molecular biologists (a total of 91 researchers) in Portugal in 2009 that can relate to Archer's work.

In the Portuguese historical context, his pioneering contributions in the development of bioethics were without parallel nowadays. Along with his pedagogical and scientific aims, and especially since 1977, Luís Archer committed himself to bioethics, becoming a member of national and international committees such as the *Group of Advisors to the European Commission on Ethical Implications of Biotechnology* (1993-1997) and the *Comissão Nacional de Ética para as Ciências da Vida* (1996-2001), over which he presided, publishing 6 books and more than 100 papers in this area.

Moreover, he founded the *Sociedade Portuguesa de Genética* (1974) and was also a member of numerous national scientific societies such as the *Sociedade Portuguesa de Genética Humana* (1998) and the *Sociedade Portuguesa de Microbiologia* (2003). The most prominent societies, which Archer had the honour of being a member of, were the prestigious *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (1985), the *New York Academy of Sciences* (1995) and the *European Academy of Sciences and Arts* (1993).

In 1979, he was appointed full professor at the New University of Lisbon where he had several academic responsibilities. His major contributions for the emergence of molecular genetics in Portugal were greatly recognized and Archer was granted two honorary doctorates in 2007 (Catholic University) and in 2009 (New University of Lisbon). Nonetheless, the most important honour that was granted to him was the *Great Cross of the Military Order of Saint James of the Sword* in 1991, the greatest award for artistic, scientific or literary achievements in Portugal.

17 LUÍS ARCHER, *Genética Molecular*, Lisboa, Editorial Brotéria, 1976.

18 James SECORD, "Knowledge in Transit", *Isis* 95 (2004), pp. 654-672.

Brotéria: The scientific journal of the Society of Jesus in Portugal

In addition to his pedagogical and scientific achievements, one of Luís Archer's main activities was the publication of the journal *Brotéria*, which he directed from 1962 to 2002.¹⁹ Established in Lourical do Campo by Joaquim da Silva Tavares, Cândido Azevedo Mendes and Carlos Zimmermann, teachers of the Jesuit college of São Fiel (Castelo Branco), in 1902, and comprising more than 1300 research papers, published during its existence, on zoology, botany, biochemistry and molecular genetics, this scientific journal was one of the most significant learned journals in Portugal in the 20th century.²⁰

In the 19th century, anticlericalism had reached a critical peak in Portugal, and quarrels between politicians and clergy were recurrent.²¹ In this tense anticlerical atmosphere, in the Portuguese Parliament sessions some of the most significant politicians were continuously demanding the closure of the Jesuit colleges, arguing that the Society of Jesus was the most responsible for the scientific backwardness in Portugal. This accusation was not completely new. It had been the major argument used by the Marquis of Pombal (1699-1782) in 1759, when he expelled the Jesuits from all the Portuguese territories. This line of reasoning, which associated Portuguese Jesuits with illiteracy

19 He was editor of *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* from 1962 to 1979 and then founded and directed the journal *Brotéria-Genética* from 1980 to 2002. He was also the editor of the cultural journal *Brotéria-Cultura e Informação* from 1972 to 1975 and from 1993 to 2000.

20 FRANCISCO MALTA ROMEIRAS, Henrique LEITÃO, "Jesuítas e Ciência em Portugal. IV - A revista *Brotéria - Sciencias Naturae* e a sua recepção nacional e internacional", *Brotéria* 174 (2012), pp. 323-333; FRANCISCO MALTA ROMEIRAS, "The Journal *Brotéria* (1902-2002): Jesuit Science in the 20th century", *HoST* 6 (2012), pp. 100-109. Joaquim da Silva Tavares, * 17.VIII.1866 Vila de Rei (Portugal), S.J. 13.XI.1880 Barro (Portugal), † 2.IX.1931 Paris (France) (*DHCJ* IV, p. 3706); Cândido Azevedo Mendes, * 17.I.1874 Torres Novas (Portugal), S.J. 7.IX.1888 Barro (Portugal), † 16.XII.1943 Ceará (Brazil) (*DHCJ* III, p. 2618); Carlos Zimmermann, * 28.V.1871 Elighen (Germany), S.J. 7.IX.1890 Lyon (France), † 21.X.1950 Salvador (Brazil) (FRANCISCO MALTA ROMEIRAS, Henrique LEITÃO, "Jesuítas e Ciência em Portugal. II - Carlos Zimmermann SJ e o ensino da Microscopia Vegetal", *Brotéria* 174 (2012), pp. 113-125; Doriedson Ferreira GOMES, Oberdan CALDAS, Eduardo Mendes da SILVA, Peter Andrew GELL, David M. WILLIAMS, "Father Zimmermann (1871-1950): the first Brazilian diatomist", *Diatom Research* 27 (2012), pp. 177-188.

21 Carlos Moreira AZEVEDO (ed.), *História religiosa de Portugal*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisboa, 2002; Artur VILARES, *As congregações religiosas em Portugal, 1901-1926*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, 2003; José Eduardo FRANCO, *O Mito dos Jesuítas. Em Portugal, Brasil e Oriente. (Séc. XVI a XX)*, Vol. 2, Lisboa, Gradiva, 2006, pp. 90-98.

and scientific backwardness, was perpetuated for more than two centuries and was only overcome recently.

Indeed, in the 20th century the accusations of illiteracy were still what motivated the suppression of the Society of Jesus in Portugal on October 8, 1910, only three days after the republican revolution.²² Nevertheless, the imprisonment and proscription of the Portuguese Jesuits was not the most adverse consequence of the republican revolution. With the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the colleges of Campolide (Lisbon, 1858-1910) and São Fiel (Castelo Branco, 1863-1910) were bombarded and looted by a violent mob, which destroyed the scientific instruments and invaluable manuscripts and books.²³ With this attack, the scientific and pedagogical legacy of Portuguese Jesuits was irremediably lost. These colleges were amongst the most significant pre-university institutions in Portugal from 1858 to 1910. In these establishments, the Jesuits promoted an experimental approach to the teaching of botany, zoology, physics, chemistry and astronomy, which represents a landmark in the Portuguese pedagogical context.

Besides teaching natural sciences, and especially since the early 20th century, Portuguese Jesuits were particularly concerned with the development of botany and zoology, their main domain of expertise, having described and classified more than 2200 new species in the journal *Brotéria*, from 1902 to 1979.²⁴ Furthermore, with the foundation of the journal *Brotéria*, they intended to reverse the positivistic discourses and to establish that there was no incompatibility between science and faith. There was also the intention to contradict the 18th century belief that claimed that it was impossible for the Jesuits to achieve relevant and novel scientific knowledge. Only with this particular endeavour could the Society of Jesus recover its scientific reputation, which had been completely shattered since the 18th century.²⁵

22 Decree of the Portuguese Republic, 8-X-1910.

23 FRANCISCO MALTA ROMEIRAS, Henrique LEITÃO, "Jesuítas e Ciência em Portugal. V - Os Colégios de Campolide e de São Fiel e a implantação da República", *Brotéria* 174 (2012), pp. 425-440.

24 *Índices Gerais da Brotéria Científica [1902-2002]*, Brotéria Genética, Braga, 2002. All the statistics concerning *Brotéria* are available on the website: http://webpages.fc.ul.pt/~fmromeiras/Broteria_/Estatisticas.html (5 December 2013).

25 José Eduardo FRANCO, "História da revista *Brotéria* (1902-2002)", in: Hermínio RICO, José Eduardo FRANCO (eds.), *Fé, Ciência, Cultura: Brotéria - 100 anos*, Lisboa, Gradiva, 2003, pp. 87-139.

Between 1902 and 1932, under the direction of Silva Tavares, the Jesuit naturalists were especially concerned with the identification and classification of novel species. However, beyond this scientific agenda, there was clearly one apostolic intention, evident since its establishment. In the first issue, and recovering the famous metaphor of the Two Books, the naturalists described that the main objective of this journal was the diffusion of their studies, an activity that should, at the same time, awaken the scientific research in Portugal and contribute to an improved understanding of God's mysteries.²⁶

Under the direction of Luís Archer, from 1962 to 1979, *Brotéria* published international papers on biochemistry featuring state-of-the-art scientific issues such as cellular metabolism, enzymatic activities and protein electrophoresis.²⁷ From the 1970s onward, *Brotéria* published the first papers on molecular genetics, the vast majority of which was written by foreign researchers, thus indicating the international influence of this scientific periodical of the Society of Jesus.²⁸ In addition, in 1980, subsequent to the exponential

26 For the metaphor of the *Two Books* check Olaf PEDERSEN, *The Two Books - Historical Notes on Some Interactions Between Natural Science and Theology*, Vatican City, Vatican Observatory Foundation, 2007.

27 William SULLIVAN, Adam J. Von KNOBELSDORFF, "The *in vitro* and *in vivo* effects of fluoride on succinic dehydrogenase activity", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 31 (1962), pp. 3-13; William SULLIVAN SJ, "The spectrophotometric determination of malic dehydrogenase and 'malic' enzyme in normal populations of *Tetrahymena pyriformis* GL.", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 33 (1964), pp. 143-158; Levi GUERRA, F. Edmund HUNTER, "Sucrose inhibition of gramicidin induced swelling of isolated rat liver mitochondria", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 34 (1965), pp. 227-246; Elinor O'BRIEN, William SULLIVAN SJ, "Electrophoretic patterns of proteins constituents in tissues of tumor-bearing and non-tumor bearing animals", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 43 (1974), pp. 3-14; Seikh Amjed ALI, A. Qayyum SIDDIQUI, A. HASNAIN "Electrophoretic characteristics of soluble eye lens proteins of *Ophrycephalus punctatus* (Bloch) in different concentrations of sodium chloride solution", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 44 (1975), pp. 9-15; Carlos AZEVEDO, "Nucléolo - estrutura, citoquímica e aspectos funcionais", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 48 (1978), pp. 3-52.

28 R. B. GOSH, "Karyomorphological studies of somatic chromosomes in *Ailanthus excelsa* Roxb. - an ornamental and a road-side plant", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 39 (1970), pp. 3-8; Syed Shafi ASHGAR, D.K KHAWAJA, A.K. JAFRI, "5'-Nucleotidase activity in the tissues of the cat-fish, *Heteropneustes fossilis* Bloch.", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 41 (1972), pp. 3-7; S. BAGCHI, R.M. DATTA, "On the nature of chromosome in meiotic mechanism of a natural tetraploid *Sebasniana benthamiana* Domin.", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 42 (1973), pp. 31-37; Asit Kumar BANERJEE, Archana SHARMA, "Chromosome studies on some indian members of Compositae. I. Tribe Inuloideae", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 43 (1974), pp. 15-

growth of several fields of molecular genetics, Archer modernized the journal and created the *Brotéria-Genética*, thus integrating the need for a scientific journal of genetics in Portugal with his scientific programme. Up to 2002, *Brotéria Genética* published more than 300 papers on issues such as bacterial genetics, plant and animal breeding, human genetics and bioethics.²⁹

Science and faith: the last interview of Luís Archer

From the 1970s, Luís Archer was especially interested in contradicting the popular believe that science and faith are irreconcilable, arguing that there were no contradictions in being a catholic priest and a molecular biologist, retrieving thus the conviction of the Portuguese Jesuits, in the early 20th century.

In his last interview, he reflected on the major events of his life, focusing on the two most important aspects: his scientific career and his apostolic mission as a Jesuit priest. Considering the beginning of his career, he recalled the main obstacles that he encountered in the United States. Despite being the most promising biologist from Oporto, in 1947, graduating with the highest mark from the entire University, he was utterly unprepared for the molecular studies on which he was embarking. However, after a successful adaptation to the novel molecular paradigm of biology and with special attention from the Portuguese scientific community, he recalled the organization of the first international meeting on *Bacterial Transformation* at the Gulbenkian Science Institute (Oeiras) in 1972. Moreover, he recalled this congress and the events that followed in the subsequent years, namely the sheer astonishment. The Portuguese biologists, who were completely unprepared for the molecular turn in Biology, avidly learning from the Jesuit priest that had just returned from the United States.³⁰

While thinking about the future of biology, he claimed that nowadays we live in a post-genomic delusion era. Following the

32; B.D. CHAURASIA, Vijay K. SHARMA, "Karyological studies in *Phaseolus mngo* Linn.", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 43 (1974), pp. 33-34; B.D. CHAURASIA, Vijay K. SHARMA, "Karyological studies in *Asphodelus tenuifolius* Cav.", *Brotéria-Ciências Naturais* 43 (1974), pp. 35-37.

29 *Índices Gerais da Brotéria Científica*, pp. 189-237.

30 LUÍS ARCHER, "Quintanilha: o velho mestre feito jovem aprendiz", *Brotéria-Genética* 9 (1988), p. 23; LUÍS ARCHER SJ, "Vinte anos de genética molecular em Portugal", *Brotéria-Genética* 10 (1989), pp. 19-48; LUÍS ARCHER, "Mestre Quintanilha faz-se aluno", *Brotéria-Genética* 14 (1993), pp. 29-32.

results of the Human Genome Project, as soon as it became evident that it did not suffice to know all the human genes to cure all the infirmities in the world but it was necessary to identify the proteins that are encoded and the molecular phenomena that regulate their molecular expression, the popularity of physics received new impetus. For him it was clear that only physics could now provide more suitable responses to the famous questions about mankind and the Universe, overthrowing the latest trends that had been canonizing the fashionable molecular biology since the 1950s. The future of biology, however, could never be detached from the great ethical questions that emerged in the 20th century. Thus, summing up all his contributions in bioethics, he emphasized that of greatest importance in all bioethical discussions is the issue of human dignity. Only then is it possible to reflect, act and legislate about these ethical matters, according to the molecular biologist.

In the vast majority of his interviews he was frequently asked about the apparent paradox of being a successful scientist and professor and a Jesuit priest.³¹ Based on his personal experience, he explained that he was never treated differently in all the laboratories where he had worked for being a priest nor had any colleague or student ever avoided to beseech him for spiritual support. For him, there was no contradiction in being both a pious catholic priest and a successful scientist. This apparent paradox, in his opinion, should have been overcome in the past, and was completely unreasonable nowadays. The main problem concerning the dialogue between science and faith is the scientists' refusal to accept that it is not possible scientifically to perceive and understand God. As advocates of two incommensurable paradigms, atheist and Christian scientists are unable to interact.³² Therefore, only taking into account the incommensurability and the metaphor of the Two Books, clearly stated in the opening statements of the journal *Brotéria*, is it possible then to establish a coherent dialogue between science and faith, and to fully understand the drive that led a Jesuit priest to be a molecular biologist, following the example of several remarkable scientists in our history, amongst whom we include Copernicus, Nicolas Steno and Gregor Mendel, to name only a few.

31 Lisboa, Arquivo da Província Portuguesa da Companhia de Jesus, *Luís Archer's personal documents and interviews*.

32 Thomas S. KUHN, *The structure of scientific revolutions*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Abstract

Luís Archer was one of the most prominent Portuguese scientists in the 20th century. With more than 250 published works, Archer was frequently recognized in Portugal for his contributions in molecular genetics, history and philosophy of sciences and bioethics. In this paper, I shall describe and analyse the scientific life of Luís Archer, the founder of molecular biology in Portugal and a Jesuit priest who always rejected the popular belief that science and faith are incompatible.

Resumen

Luís Archer fue uno de los científicos portugueses más destacados del siglo XX. Con más de 250 trabajos publicados, Luís Archer fue reconocido con frecuencia en Portugal por sus contribuciones en genética molecular, en historia y filosofía de las ciencias y en bioética. En este artículo describiré y analizaré la vida científica de Luís Archer, el fundador de la biología molecular en Portugal y un sacerdote jesuita que siempre rechazó la creencia popular de que ciencia y fe son incompatibles.

Book Reviews

Charlotte DE CASTELNAU-L'ESTOILE, Marie-Lucie COPETE, Aliocha MALDAVSKY et Ines G. ŽUPANOV (eds), *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs XVIe- XVIIIe siècle*, (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 120), Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2011, IX-522 pp., € 59, ISBN 978-84-96820-52-4.

Ce volume, fort bien édité et imprimé, réunit vingt chapitres classés en quatre parties. La majorité des textes est en français, six sont en espagnol, et deux en anglais.

L'introduction des quatre éditrices pose fermement le cadre de l'entreprise: il s'agit de considérer les missionnaires catholiques comme acteurs d'un réseau intellectuel aux dimensions du monde et de s'intéresser aux savoirs qu'ils ont mobilisés et accumulés. Ce qui concernerait les sciences de la nature ayant été écarté, l'ouvrage traite seulement des faits sociaux et culturels que ces hommes observaient, étudiaient, et faisaient connaître dans leurs écrits, rapports et lettres. Il est surtout question des missions lointaines, toutefois un chapitre se rapporte à la mission intérieure en Italie, deux autres à l'Espagne, et un autre chapitre concerne les «collèges anglais» où se préparait en Espagne un futur clergé destiné au royaume britannique.

Les textes, issus des lieux de mission, adressés aux institutions religieuses dont dépendaient les missionnaires, circulaient ensuite plus ou moins largement sous des formes adaptées par ces institutions à leurs objectifs et stratégies d'action, la rivalité entre les ordres religieux et le désir de construire une image publique de leurs accomplissements respectifs jouant un grand rôle. En outre, les puissances protestantes furent souvent avides de ces informations sur les mondes non européens, elles se saisirent subrepticement de textes envoyés en Europe pour les traduire ou les adapter en masquant leur origine. Il y eut donc une diversité de canaux de diffusion plus ou moins autorisés. L'un des mérites de ce volume est de montrer sur des exemples particuliers comment un écrit pouvait être transformé, abrégé, édulcoré ou embelli, et diversement mis en forme avant d'être publié. Quoi qu'il en soit, un bon nombre de ces écrits subsiste dans les fonds d'archives et les bibliothèques, leur analyse permet de mieux saisir la complexité des situations locales et la nature des conflits qui ont surgi à mesure que les sociétés coloniales se développaient.

Une première partie concerne différents lieux de savoir missionnaire. Giovanni Pizzorusso décrit le fonctionnement de la congrégation romaine De Propaganda Fide, fondée en 1622 avec juridiction ecclésiastique sur toute l'activité missionnaire de l'Église. Interrogée par les missionnaires sur la manière d'adapter aux convertis locaux la liturgie et l'accès aux sacrements, la congrégation accumule une immense information sur la variété des situations rencontrées et la multiplication des doutes soulevés. Ses archives sont organisées géographiquement, un effort de rationalisation cherche à classer les solutions données aux cas traités, une attention particulière est accordée à la connaissance des langues vernaculaires et à la production des caractères spéciaux nécessaires pour leur impression.

Aliocha Maldavsky (chapitre en espagnol) cherche à déterminer ce que les jésuites italiens au début du XVII^e siècle savaient des missions lointaines. Elle résume la culture imprimée alors disponible en italien et en latin, puis se tourne vers des sources manuscrites: en particulier les lettres *indipetae* envoyées entre 1603 et 1613 par de jeunes jésuites de la région de Milan; et un long traité manuscrit, conservé à Lima, *Mission a las Indias, con advertencias para los Religiosos de Europa* (1620), dû au jésuite Jerónimo Pallas (de la province de Naples), arrivé au Pérou en 1617. Pallas voulait dissiper l'ignorance des réalités et les illusions spirituelles qui accompagnaient le désir de l'envoi en mission, et ce contenu critique explique probablement que son ouvrage soit demeuré inédit.

Antonella Romano prend l'exemple de la culture humaniste proposée dans l'enseignement jésuite à Mexico vers la fin du XVI^e siècle pour éclairer la contribution des missionnaires à l'élaboration de la *Ratio studiorum* et l'ordre des disciplines mis en pratique dans une société coloniale. Elle souligne combien le projet culturel de la Compagnie était inséparable du projet politique de la puissance espagnole sur ses territoires de la Nouvelle-Espagne, et elle montre avec quel soin de Rome on s'occupait d'envoyer un bon professeur d'humanités à Mexico, l'Italien Vincenzo Le Noci arrivé en 1574. La correspondance conservée dit les demandes répétées de ce dernier pour obtenir les livres indispensables à cet enseignement et la difficulté de Rome pour y donner réponse. La solution trouvée sera l'impression à Mexico de certains ouvrages de référence déjà utilisés en Europe, comme l'*Introductio in dialecticam Aristotelis* de Francisco de Toledo en 1578. Plus tard, le collège de Mexico fera publier en 1604 deux manuels latins spécialement composés pour son enseignement des humanités.

Javier Burrieza Sánchez étudie (en espagnol) les «collèges anglais» ouverts après 1588 à Madrid, Valladolid et Séville grâce au jésuite anglais Robert Persons et confiés à la Compagnie pour former, parmi les Britanniques exilés, des missionnaires destinés à retourner dans leur pays pour restaurer le catholicisme. Ces étudiants parfois se rebellaient contre la tutelle des jésuites espagnols, certains ont fait défection pour rejoindre l'ordre bénédictin ou dominicain. Envoyés en Angleterre de manière clandestine après leur ordination, beaucoup ont affronté la torture et la mort. Faute de recrues, ces collèges devaient lentement décliner après 1650.

Une deuxième partie considère lectures, écritures et pratiques missionnaires. Bernadette Majorana (chapitre traduit de l'italien) décrit la prédication des jésuites dans les missions rurales d'Italie, qui prônaient l'oralité et l'improvisation des sermons préparés, nourris de la vie intérieure et de la mémoire des thèmes et des exemples lus dans la Bible et les livres de spiritualité, puis prononcés sans notes devant ces auditoires campagnards. Leur mise en scène physique jouait un certain rôle. Les lettres et relations envoyées aux supérieurs permettent de connaître ces façons de procéder, la spiritualité qui les inspirait et leur réception locale. Ces sources insistent sur l'humilité et la pauvreté que les prédicateurs devaient manifester pour être crédibles.

Federico Paloma analyse (en espagnol) la culture écrite des missionnaires de l'intérieur au Portugal et en Espagne au XVII^e siècle. Jésuites, franciscains, capucins, etc. impriment ou consignent en manuscrits des conseils, recommandent des lectures, font le récit de vies exemplaires. Des cahiers manuscrits de notes et lieux communs servent de «bibliothèques mobiles» emportées sur le terrain par les orateurs. Des copies de sermons circulent à titre de modèles. Ainsi, de façon diverse, une mise en mémoire des arguments avancés et des manières de procéder a été assurée.

Angela Barreto Xavier (chapitre traduit du portugais) voudrait reconstituer le contenu des bibliothèques franciscaines en Inde au XVII^e siècle à partir des rares inventaires disponibles et de quelques ouvrages rédigés localement. Un long traité manuscrit, dû à Paulo da Trindade, un Portugais né à Macau, narre la *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* afin de corriger le récit antérieur du jésuite Giovanni Pietro Maffei dans son histoire de cette évangélisation. Les références citées par le franciscain informent sur la «bibliothèque virtuelle» à laquelle il eut accès. Un autre ouvrage produit dans la région, mais paru à Barcelone en 1641, est l'œuvre de Miguel da Purificação, lui aussi formé à Goa; il loue la vie évangélique des missionnaires

franciscains à partir de sources bibliques et patristiques. La nature des citations insérées dans ces deux textes diffère en raison de leurs objectifs, le premier ayant une visée politique quand le second exalte un style d'apostolat.

Núria Sala i Vila étudie (en espagnol) l'écho que l'envoi de franciscains catalans au Pérou au XVIII^e a reçu dans les couvents de l'ordre en Catalogne. Ceux qui partaient pouvaient s'appuyer sur l'expérience des missions intérieures dans la province et sur la littérature produite à cette intention (modèles de sermons, recueils de chants, brochures décrivant la vie chrétienne à mener, etc.). Au Pérou, ces franciscains insistaient sur les miracles, les cas de guérison, ils s'opposaient souvent aux méthodes des jésuites vis-à-vis des Indiens. Les lettres envoyées en Catalogne, les récits des missionnaires de retour après plusieurs années outremer ont transmis des informations, en particulier sur le martyre de nombreux franciscains, qui figurent dans les histoires écrites dans les couvents catalans.

Hervé Pennec présente un dossier complexe sur la géographie de l'Éthiopie à partir de trois documents produits par des jésuites au XVII^e siècle et retrace l'enchaînement de ces textes, destinés à une première circulation à l'intérieur de la Compagnie, puis passés à une diffusion extérieure sur un mode scientifique. Luis de Azevedo, arrivé en 1605, rédige en juillet 1607 la lettre annuelle d'Éthiopie, il y donne une liste des royaumes et des provinces, grâce aux informations d'un militaire local, João Gabriel, un temps capitaine des Portugais du Tigré; son texte sera publié avec des modifications en portugais en 1611, puis en espagnol et en allemand en 1614, dans la *Relation annuelle* concernant l'Inde orientale. Une autre liste, due au supérieur local Pedro Páez, figure dans son *História da Etiópia*, destinée à réfuter une «histoire de l'Empire du Prêtre Jean» (Valence, 1610) où le dominicain Luis de Urreta revendiquait l'antériorité de la présence de son ordre dans ce pays. L'ouvrage de Pedro Páez, écrit à la demande du supérieur provincial de Goa pour informer la Compagnie, et auquel il travailla de 1614 à sa mort en 1622, n'a été publié qu'en 2008; il contient des renseignements détaillés recueillis sur le terrain en matière de géographie, d'histoire et de modes de vie, il modifie et complète les informations de Luis de Azevedo. Dans une troisième étape, Manuel de Almeida dresse, à partir de relevés effectués sur place avec un astrolabe, une carte pour illustrer sa propre histoire de l'Éthiopie, commencée comme une réécriture de l'ouvrage de Páez demandée en 1625 par le supérieur de la mission. Après l'expulsion des jésuites en 1633, Almeida continua

sa rédaction à Goa. Finalement sa carte et un *compendium* de son texte furent insérés dans l'histoire générale de l'Éthiopie (Coimbra, 1660) de Baltasar Tellez.

La troisième partie porte sur les interactions et les appropriations entre les savoirs indigènes et les savoirs missionnaires. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia retrace (en anglais) les stratégies missionnaires d'apprentissage du chinois entre 1580 et 1760. Tout commence avec deux jésuites italiens, Michele Ruggieri et Matteo Ricci, qui se concentrent sur la lecture et l'écriture du mandarin sans étudier les autres langues vernaculaires ou les dialectes indispensables pour converser. Ce choix s'inscrit dans la tradition de Confucius qui structure la formation de l'élite et des fonctionnaires impériaux. Les jésuites qui leur succèdent suivent un long entraînement linguistique avec l'aide de tuteurs chinois, convertis ou issus de Macau. Plus tard on se soucia davantage de la langue parlée en raison du nombre de nouveaux chrétiens. Quand des dominicains et des franciscains venant des Philippines sont autorisés à entrer en Chine après 1630, ils procèdent autrement. Les dominicains en particulier se concentrèrent sur les dialectes locaux de leurs implantations. L'opposition aux méthodes d'évangélisation des jésuites, qui aboutit à la querelle des rites, eut aussi sa composante linguistique, les jésuites étant demeurés savants en mandarin et les autres missionnaires privilégiant le savoir dialectal.

Danièle Dehouve recommande une lecture critique du corpus missionnaire recueilli pendant le XVI^e en Nouvelle-Espagne (principalement en nahuatl par des franciscains), un corpus auquel on a accordé un grand crédit en l'absence d'autres sources sur les us et coutumes des Indiens. Elle souligne combien la culture européenne des missionnaires, par exemple la rhétorique apprise selon Quintilien et Cicéron, a déterminé l'interprétation analogique proposée dans leurs textes.

Bartomeu Melià insiste (en espagnol) sur l'ampleur du savoir linguistique que le jésuite Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (éduqué d'abord à Lima et mort en 1652) accumula sur le guarani, pour composer d'abord une grammaire de cette langue, puis un dictionnaire attentif aux variations dialectales où le sens des mots est expliqué par des exemples de leur usage.

Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile revient au récit d'un capucin français, Yves d'Évreux, sur son séjour au Brésil en 1612-1614, en rappelant que les anthropologues ont longtemps découpé dans les relations missionnaires les informations qui leur semblaient pertinentes sur les sociétés indiennes et jugé sans intérêt le contenu

religieux. Après 1990, une autre lecture s'est développée, qui interroge le récit missionnaire tout entier comme témoignage sur le contact culturel entre deux mondes et sur la manière dont les Indiens ont cherché à s'adapter à leur nouvelle condition sociale. On peut alors rendre tout son sens au récit d'Yves d'Évreux comme texte missionnaire, marqué par l'interprétation téléologique donnée à la rencontre des Indiens, écrit selon le modèle habituel des chroniques franciscaines et nourri par un contact direct avec les Indiens, présenté comme une «conversation». Ainsi, parce que, dans le processus de christianisation, le mariage était un enjeu essentiel et la polygamie un usage à écarter, le missionnaire a recueilli une riche information sur le système de parenté et d'alliance sans cacher les difficultés rencontrées à ce propos.

Catarina Madeira Santos étudie la description historique de la région Congo-Angola composée par un capucin italien Cavazzi di Montecúccolo. Paru à Bologne en 1687, puis traduit en portugais et en d'autres langues, son ouvrage fut beaucoup lu et demeure précieux pour les africanistes. Cavazzi avait passé une dizaine d'années en Afrique centrale, à son retour en 1669 la congrégation De Propaganda Fide lui demanda d'écrire l'histoire des capucins au Congo et lui donna accès aux archives romaines sur la mission d'Angola. Cavazzi insiste sur l'importance de son «expérience quotidienne» en l'absence de source textuelle, il est conscient d'avoir à rendre compte «d'un monde excessivement nouveau». En même temps, il considère que ces peuples africains ont une véritable histoire, ignorée des historiens antiques, et il cherche à la reconstituer à partir des traditions orales.

La quatrième et dernière partie traite de la circulation et des usages des savoirs missionnaires. Joan-Pau Rubiés (chapitre en anglais) donne une analyse approfondie du débat espagnol au XVI^e siècle sur la mission lointaine à propos du concept de «civilisation gentile» développé dans les *Repúblicas del Mundo* (édition expurgée par l'Inquisition, Medina del Campo, 1575; édition augmentée, Salamanque, 1595) d'un moine augustin espagnol Jerónimo Román. Cet ouvrage descriptif s'appuyait sur des écrits missionnaires alors inédits: ceux de Bartolomé de Las Casas pour le Mexique et le Pérou, et de Martin de Rada (un augustin également) sur la Chine (ce dernier chapitre est l'un des ajouts de 1595). La censure ne toucha pas les longues descriptions de la religion et des coutumes des Indiens d'Amérique, mais pratiqua une «politique du secret» en matière de géographie par exemple et fut soucieuse de ne pas sembler soutenir l'idolâtrie des païens. Román suit d'assez près

Las Casas, il va plus loin en regrettant que les dominicains aient brûlé les documents pictographiques des Mexicains, ce qui prive l'historien d'une précieuse information sur leur culture. Son ouvrage, respectueux de ces sociétés non européennes, est moins animé par une intention de jugement que par un désir de savoir et de confrontation avec les sources antiques.

Marie-Lucie Copete revient (en espagnol) sur la mission intérieure à propos du jésuite Pedro de León († 1632) actif en Andalousie. Elle s'appuie sur son ouvrage, *Compendio de algunas experiencias en los ministerios de que usa la Compañía de Jesús*, trois tomes écrits en 1616-1618 dont le premier relate son apostolat surtout dans les prisons, et les deux autres défendent l'idéal jésuite de savoir et d'action dans le siècle. Le Supérieur général Muzio Vitteleschi s'opposa à l'édition souhaitée par le provincial d'Andalousie et le texte circula seulement en manuscrit parmi les jésuites. Pedro de León place la mission au cœur de l'identité jésuite, ce qui s'accorde avec la littérature spirituelle de son temps, mais il dessine aussi une image critique de la société espagnole à partir de son expérience parmi les pauvres gens. Sur différents points, cette tonalité politique peut faire penser au *Discurso de las cosas de la Compañía de Jesús* de son contemporain Juan de Mariana.

Carlos Alberto de M. R. Zeron (chapitre traduit du portugais) explique savamment le tournant majeur advenu au Brésil vers la fin du XVII^e siècle dans le rôle officiel des jésuites vis-à-vis des Indiens. Il montre comment étaient en concurrence des savoirs, des conceptions et des intérêts divergents entre les missionnaires, le gouvernement central de la Compagnie, l'autorité royale, ses représentants et la population coloniale, chaque groupe ayant ses divisions internes. Ce tournant est marqué par un plaidoyer, dû à un jésuite anonyme, en faveur des Paulistes (habitants de la région de São Paulo): cette *Apologia pro Paulistis* (1684) demandait la levée de l'excommunication prononcée en avril 1639 contre ceux qui capturent et réduisent en esclavage des Indiens. La Curie généralice désapprouva vigoureusement ce texte et ordonna sa destruction, il circula cependant dans les collèges de la province. Le texte en question, destiné aux seuls jésuites, est généralement attribué à un jésuite flamand, Jacob Roland, collatéral du provincial des années 1681-1684. Rédigé sur le modèle scolastique, il argumente avec finesse à partir des traités théologico-politiques faisant autorité, dont le jésuite Francisco Suárez, pour défendre la situation particulière des Paulistes et le respect de leurs coutumes, contre l'imposition d'une loi générale souveraine. En fait, depuis plusieurs

années, les jésuites locaux étaient en conflit avec les Paulistes sur la condition des Indiens. Influencé peut-être par l'*Apologia*, et conscient du changement des rapports de force dans la société locale, le nouveau provincial nommé en 1684 décida de renoncer à l'administration temporelle des villages indiens dont la Compagnie avait la responsabilité et de se limiter à assurer la «cure d'âmes» auprès de leurs habitants. Pour éclaircir la situation, le Portugal envoya en inspection un fonctionnaire royal, Bartolomeu Lopes de Carvalho, qui rédigea un *Manifesto* vers 1690, distinguant entre «Indiens dociles» et «Indiens sauvages», mais recommandant de les réunir tous en villages administrés, et finalement jugeant l'action des Paulistes indispensable pour la pacification du territoire et la prospérité de la société coloniale. Cette thèse fut entérinée par la Couronne.

Ines G. Županov s'intéresse avec un peu d'ironie aux jésuites français envoyés en Inde au XVIII^e siècle pour une mission politique (à la gloire du roi) et scientifique (à l'imitation des jésuites de Chine). Elle propose une lecture critique des *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1702-1776) où les récits des missionnaires étaient édités en version plus ou moins modifiée dans un but apologétique. Elle illustre sa lecture avec le cas de Jean Vernant Boucher († 1732), premier installé à la mission de Madurai en Inde du Sud. Boucher est attentif à l'organisation de la société indienne qu'il décrit avec minutie, mais il cherche à interpréter ces croyances comme un héritage déformé reçu des Hébreux et des Égyptiens selon la thèse développée par Pierre-Daniel Huet dans sa *Demonstratio evangelica* (Paris, 1679). Une de ses lettres concerne le phénomène de possession, dont il ne comprend pas la signification sociale et qu'il décrit en termes de «démons», une manière de voir qui a longtemps marqué l'anthropologie.

Kenneth Mills (chapitre traduit de l'anglais) étudie la *Relación del viaje* d'un hiéronymite espagnol, Diego de Ocaña, au Pérou en 1599-1606, un texte resté manuscrit. Il y voit le récit d'une expérience spirituelle, où l'auteur met en scène, à travers une description géographique, ses émotions, ses craintes et les dangers affrontés, notamment en franchissant le col de Pariacaca à très haute altitude. Le récit suit le modèle, venu des Pères de l'Église, de la mise à l'épreuve au désert et insiste sur la remise ultime à la protection de la Vierge de Guadalupe d'Estrémadure. On y retrouve l'emploi d'un langage chrétien traditionnel avec ses métaphores, ses allusions à Job ou aux miracles attendus de saints patrons.

En manière de conclusion, Pierre-Antoine Fabre esquisse ce que

pourrait être «une histoire spirituelle des savoirs dans l'espace du monde moderne». Il remarque combien l'histoire des missions et des savoirs mobilisés ou engendrés dans leur développement ébranle les frontières établies des institutions, des régions, des distinctions sociales (entre clercs, réguliers, fidèles, agents des pouvoirs coloniaux, convertis locaux, Indiens assujettis) et des cultures. Il s'interroge sur le statut de l'ethnographie ou de l'anthropologie qu'on a cherché à extraire des écrits missionnaires en écartant l'intention spirituelle et les marqueurs religieux de ces textes. Il juge qu'il serait temps de réfléchir à nouveaux frais sur les échecs de l'entreprise européenne de christianisation du monde, par exemple face à la Chine et dans les réductions indiennes au Paraguay.

L'ouvrage s'achève sur une riche bibliographie multilingue de soixante-quatre pages. On peut regretter l'absence de résumés pour les différents chapitres et comprendre qu'on ait renoncé à insérer un index qui aurait été volumineux, étant donné le nombre des lieux, des personnages et des sources mis à contribution. Les trois cartes insérées à la fin de l'introduction générale permettent cependant de situer tous les lieux mentionnés.

Au terme de cette lecture, on constate que, parmi les missionnaires étudiés, la Compagnie de Jésus est l'ordre religieux le plus présent aux dimensions du monde, d'Italie et d'Espagne en Éthiopie, en Amérique (avec le Mexique, le Pérou, le Brésil et le Paraguay), et aussi en Chine et en Inde. Cependant les dominicains, les franciscains et capucins ont leurs défenseurs (parfois agacés par l'attention majoritaire accordée aux jésuites), et d'autres milieux aujourd'hui moins connus (moines augustins, hiéronymites) figurent aussi. Les sources utilisées sont diverses: archives politiques des puissances coloniales, archives des instituts religieux, archives romaines de la congrégation De Propaganda Fide, correspondances des missionnaires, récits demeurés inédits et livres édités (censurés ou non) de ces missionnaires, ouvrages écrits par d'autres religieux de leur ordre utilisant leurs documents. Cette diversité, ajoutée à celle, géographique et sociale, des situations et des périodes considérées sur trois siècles, explique que la notion de «savoir missionnaire» reçoive une signification variable et que l'analyse critique du contenu de ces savoirs et des aléas de leur circulation, comme la mise en perspective de leur historiographie, ne soit pas traitée avec une égale acuité dans tous les chapitres.

Cette dernière remarque n'enlève rien à la richesse de l'information et de la réflexion réunies dans cet ouvrage souvent passionnant.

Dans la diversité de leur facture, ses différents chapitres montrent bien comment, en une génération, l'histoire des missions a su se renouveler en croisant les apports d'une histoire religieuse, d'une histoire économique et politique et d'une histoire intellectuelle, elles-mêmes en pleine transformation. Ce volume montre aussi combien le travail des historiens a bénéficié en s'ouvrant aux trois niveaux d'enquête requis par une histoire tour à tour locale, régionale et globale.

Paris

Luce Giard

Pedro DE VALENCIA, *Obras completas. VI. Escritos varios*, María Nieto Ibáñez (coord.), (Colección Humanistas Españoles, 36), León, Universidad de León, 2012, 661 pp., € 48,50, ISBN 9788497736114.

Resulta muy atractivo en la España del Siglo de Oro un personaje como Pedro de Valencia (1555-1620), un humanista secolar, retirado en su Zafra natal, alejado de los centros oficiales del saber, discípulo de Arias Montano, amigo personal de fray José de Sigüenza, con una producción apabullante que incluye el comentario de pasajes bíblicos y otros temas religiosos; el comentario filosófico (*Academica sive de iudicio erga verum*, Amberes, 1596); los problemas económico-sociales, con escritos abundantes en los que despliega un pensamiento de sorprendente modernidad (*Discurso acerca de la moneda de vellón*, *Discurso sobre el precio del trigo* – ambos de 1605 –, *Discurso sobre el acrecentamiento de la labor de la tierra* -1607-, *Discurso contra la ociosidad* -1608-, *Acerca de los moriscos en España*, etc.); los temas literarios además de muchos otros *Discursos*. Fue un erudito de gran prestigio que intervino en casi todos los asuntos importantes de la España de finales del siglo XVI y principios del XVII.

Hoy las ocupaciones y escritos de Pedro de Valencia son cumplidamente conocidos gracias a una larga serie de estudiosos que arrancando de Menéndez Pelayo y Serrano Sanz han trabajado desde diversos ámbitos disciplinares la vida y obra del humanista. Quisiera destacar los trabajos y desvelos del ya fallecido Dr. Morocho Gayo, máximo impulsor del estudio y publicación de las *Obras Completas* de Pedro de Valencia, desde 1994, dentro de la colección de Humanistas Españoles y con el apoyo de la Universidad de León y, esporádicamente, de algunas otras instituciones. Se han publicado ya nueve tomos: dos dedicados a los *Escritos Sociales, Económicos y Políticos* (IV/1, 1994; y IV/2, 1999)

con estudios introductorios de Jesús Paradinas, Rafael González Cañal, Rafael Carrasco y Gaspar Morocho Gayo; dos, conteniendo sus *Relaciones de Indias* (V/1, 1993; y V/2, 1995), a cargo de Jesús Paniagua Pérez; uno, recogiendo su *Discurso acerca de los cuentos de las brujas* (VII, 1997), con introducción de Manuel Antonio Marcos Casquero e Hipólito Benjamín Riesco Álvarez; dos sobre escritos espirituales (IX/1, *San Macario*, 2001; y IX/2, *La Lección cristiana*, 2002) con trabajos de Jesús M^a Nieto Ibáñez y Jesús Paradinas; un volumen más recogiendo la única obra publicada en vida del autor: *Academica* (III, 2006), con estudio de Juan Luis Suárez; y otro dedicado a su labor de traductor, coordinado por Jesús María Nieto Ibáñez, *Traducciones* (X, 2008). A estas referencias bibliográficas hay que añadir como referente esencial para el estudio del humanista el libro de Luis Gómez Canseco, *El humanismo después de 1600: Pedro de Valencia* (Universidad de Sevilla, 1993).

El volumen que presentamos, el VI de las *Obras completas* del humanista, recoge la edición de una miscelánea de escritos de variada temática e interés. Este volumen ha sido coordinado por Jesús M^a Nieto Ibáñez, presentado por Jesús Paniagua Pérez, prologado por Luis Gómez Canseco, y con estudios preliminares de prestigiosos estudiosos de los diferentes campos tratados.

La edición se abre con el título *De Tuenda valetudine* (pp. 27-72), un breve tratado médico que se enmarca en la literatura higiénico-médica de la época que culminará con los *regimientos de salud*. La obra, asentada en los principios galénicos y con una perspectiva humanista trata de las prácticas dietéticas, deportivas, higiénicas, sexuales...para mantener y preservar la salud. Sigue el tratadito *De hebraeorum coro expensa quaedam et examinata* (pp. 73-86) en el que Pedro de Valencia, en plena sintonía con los intereses humanistas, se ocupa de una unidad de medida hebrea muy concreta, el “coro”, haciendo no tanto un tratado sistemático como planteando unas reflexiones o consideraciones sobre el tópico.

En el *Humanae Rationis Paralogismata illustriora exempla* (pp. 87-120), editado por primera vez, el humanista zafrense expone una selección de paralogismos clásicos y los somete a una crítica impecable para “que los hombres aprendan en ellos a desconfiar de sí mismos y a mantener su entendimiento cautivo en la obediencia de Cristo...”. El paralogismo es un falso razonamiento, una argumentación capciosa hábilmente elaborada para engañar. El texto es una muestra del habitual y esmerado empleo que Valencia hace de las fuentes griegas y, sobre todo, de su insistencia en la aplicación del criterio de verdad a la pedagogía práctica y a la

moral personal y cívica. Se trata de desvelar los desvaríos de la razón humana en prestigiosos pensadores de la Antigüedad.

Las *Advertencias para la crianza de los príncipes cuando pequeños. Contra el abuso de procurarlos callar con espantos* (pp. 121-138), se inscriben en las doctrinas del Príncipe político y cristiano de interés entre los humanistas, aunque el escrito de Valencia tiene consejos para la educación de los niños en general. El escrito está impregnado de pensamiento cínico y estoico, con Epicteto y Dión de Prusa como principales inspiradores.

La *Descripción de la pintura de las virtudes* (pp. 139-224) tenía como finalidad proporcionar una serie de indicaciones iconográficas a los pintores encargados de desarrollar un programa simbólico basado en un total de veinte virtudes que habrían de decorar la "galería real". Los editores apuntan como hipótesis plausible que el programa iconográfico estuviera destinado a la Real Casa de El Pardo. Se trataba de la exaltación del poder real a través de la exposición de las virtudes políticas que debían acompañar al buen gobierno y por tanto, a la monarquía hispana de Felipe III. En el texto que sigue, la *Descripción de la justicia en ocasión de querer Arias Montano comentar las leyes del Reino* (pp. 225-242), en cierta forma complementario del anterior, Valencia quiso profundizar en el tema de la justicia por ser eje fundamental del gobierno del príncipe cristiano.

Los *Ejemplos de príncipes, prelados y otros varones ilustres que dejaron oficios y dignidades y se retiraron* (pp. 243-278) se inspiran en los ideales de vida cínicos y estoicos tan queridos por el humanista. Los argumentos de este tratado abarcan el típico desprecio de la riqueza, la fama y la nobleza de nacimiento, mientras que alaban la naturaleza, la sabiduría que rechaza esos valores, y el esfuerzo personal para conseguir la purificación del alma y el dominio de las pasiones.

Se incluye la breve *Dedicatoria a la reina Doña Margarita de su libro intitulado de las enfermedades de los niños* (pp. 279-288). El libro en cuestión, no ha llegado hasta nosotros. La dedicatoria es a la reina Margarita de Austria, esposa de Felipe III.

Las famosísimas *Cartas a Góngora en censura de sus poesías* (pp. 289-368) se editan aquí precedidas de la monografía de Manuel M^a Pérez López, *Pedro de Valencia, primer crítico gongorino* (Salamanca, 1988) con una bibliografía actualizada. Finaliza el volumen la edición de la calificación hecha por Valencia del texto *Sobre la guerra de Flandes de Jerónimo Conestaggio* (pp. 577-616) y un breve *Parecer sobre una cátedra en Salamanca* (pp. 617-626). Se acompaña el

conjunto de textos con un índice de nombres propios, siempre útil en una obra de estas características.

Entre las *Cartas a Góngora* y la calificación del *Sobre la guerra de Flandes de Conestaggio*, encontramos la *Carta e informe de Pedro de Valencia sobre los escritos del P. Alonso Sánchez y el Dr. Jerónimo Hurtado* (pp. 369-573) con estudio y edición de M^a Isabel Viforcós Marinas, probablemente el texto que puede suscitar un mayor interés a los lectores de esta revista. Este escrito del zafrense es el que ocupa mayor espacio en este volumen, con el estudio que le antecede y con un apéndice en el que se incluyen las aprobaciones suscritas por Pedro de Valencia en los años 1609 y 1619. La editora M^a Isabel Viforcós Marinas es una conocida americanista de la Universidad de León que ha trabajado temas muy diversos siempre referidos a América, con clara especialización en temáticas religiosas desde perspectivas sociales.

Los escritos del padre jesuita Alonso Sánchez llegaron a las manos de Pedro de Valencia a través del Consejo de Castilla en su calidad de cronista de Indias y Castilla, cargo que ocupaba desde 1607, y censor. El Dr. Jerónimo Hurtado había iniciado los trabajos para reunir los diferentes memoriales, cartas y tratados del padre Sánchez con el propósito de escribir un libro. Dos cuadernos en bruto, apenas esbozados, y los materiales reunidos, escritos originalmente entre 1583 y 1593, fueron los que ahora se entregaron a Pedro de Valencia para su calificación. El Dr. Jerónimo Hurtado es prácticamente desconocido y ni siquiera sabemos si era jesuita. En cambio, el jesuita Alonso Sánchez fue un personaje brillante, de facetas múltiples, altamente valorado por algunos de sus contemporáneos, como el Prepósito General Claudio Aquaviva, y por historiadores de la Compañía como Antonio Astraín, que encontraba en sus acciones, espiritualidad y vida, paralelismos con el cardenal Cisneros. Nada menos!

Hombre del General Aquaviva, asceta en su práctica espiritual, apasionado en la defensa de sus visiones y proyectos, político en el trato con los poderosos como Felipe II, los papas Gregorio XIV, Inocencio IX y Clemente VIII, o los miembros del Consejo de Indias, severo en el cumplimiento de las órdenes del superior, feroz opositor de los conversos en la Compañía como los hermanos Acosta, astuto en el diseño de las estrategias para conseguir sus fines (como su intervención para lograr la efectiva expulsión del padre Abreu según nos relata Antonio ASTRÁIN, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, tomo III, Madrid, 1909, pp. 535-538). Todo esto y mucho más fue el padre Alonso Sánchez.

En los últimos tiempos, buenos estudios como los de Manel Ollé, han aportado claridad, precisión y profundidad al perfil misionero del padre Sánchez y a sus propuestas de evangelización. Nacido en 1545, entró en la Compañía en 1565 y en 1579 ya zarpaba para México. Hacia 1581 partía hacia las Filipinas con los fundadores de la misión jesuita en las islas. Desde las Filipinas realizó varios viajes a China donde entró en contacto con otros misioneros establecidos allí. De sus viajes, impresiones y diálogos resultaron varios relatos y memoriales. De aquellas experiencias surgió su proyecto de evangelización particular, bien expuesto en los textos que debía calificar el humanista Pedro de Valencia. A juicio del padre Sánchez, la evangelización pacífica por el método suave de la acomodación, propuesto y seguido por los jesuitas Valignano y Ricci, era un fracaso. La extensión del Islam le parecía una amenaza inminente. Por otro lado, el Papa, como señor absoluto del mundo, tenía en sus manos el poder para vencer toda resistencia. Y, finalmente, tocaba a Felipe II, el Rey Católico, poner los instrumentos que venciesen toda resistencia. Alonso Sánchez abogaba por una intervención militar en China, una auténtica conquista y colonización que por vía militar abriese el camino a la predicación. Ciertamente, no se podía obligar a creer a los paganos pero, siguiendo los principios de la escuela de Salamanca respecto a la guerra justa, sí se podía obligar por la fuerza a escuchar la predicación. El *compelle intrare* de la parábola de los invitados a las bodas (Lucas 14: 15-24) servía al padre Sánchez como coartada para justificar la predicación por el poder y la fuerza. Muchos otros argumentos eran expuestos en los numerosos textos del jesuita: la riqueza de la China, la amenaza del Islam que ya hemos mencionado, la vocación de la Monarquía Hispánica, etc.

La censura de Pedro de Valencia era un tanto desgana. Por la temática, alejada de sus preocupaciones más urgentes: la publicación de las obras de su maestro Arias Montano, y las urgencias sociales del momento (de 1605 es su *Discurso sobre el precio del pan y acerca de la moneda de vellón*, 1605). Por otro lado, para el humanista una política exterior fundamentada en la paz era el mejor camino, si no el único, para solucionar los graves problemas internos. La propuesta de Sánchez no podía encajar ni en sus preocupaciones ni en su pensamiento: “apasionado” y “desmedido” era el juicio que le merecía el proyecto y su impulsor; caduco en sus informaciones sobre Filipinas puesto que unos años antes ya se había publicado la historia de las Filipinas del padre Pedro de Chirino (Roma, 1604); reiterativo en sus informaciones sobre la China, que ya eran de

dominio público gracias a las cartas de los padres jesuitas y otros misioneros; peligroso y temerario en cuanto a la concreción del proyecto; de doctrina peligrosa en su legitimación de la guerra contra las infieles en función de su resistencia. El pacifismo de Valencia, que tenía como la defensa de la honra del rey y de la nación española, incluso con las armas, como han subrayado R. González Cañal y José M^a Floristán, no se veía en absoluto alterado.

Se pregunta acertadamente M^a Isabel Viforcós al final de su estudio introductorio qué provecho podían tener estos escritos del padre Sánchez para que se calificaran para la impresión veinte años después de escritos, ya en el reinado de Felipe III. Lanza como hipótesis que el buen momento de la Compañía, con la beatificación del fundador, Ignacio de Loyola en 1609, y las excelentes relaciones de los jesuitas españoles en la corte con el lermismo, así como la voluntad de plasmar la imagen positiva de los Austrias españoles en la defensa de la fe en Oriente, estarían detrás del proyecto de rescate de los escritos del padre Sánchez. Una hipótesis que ofrece algunas dudas razonables, un interrogante que queda sin respuesta. La situación de la Compañía en España en aquellos inicios del siglo XVII no era precisamente idílica, lo cual añade todavía más interés al interrogante. Quizá, por ello, la aparentemente desganada censura de Pedro de Valencia podría ser leída, también, como un acto de prudencia, virtud que muchos hombres de letras debían practicar en aquella España del Siglo de Oro. No en vano, le escribía a su amigo el padre Sigüenza: “es menester quien vive entre hombres tener la prudencia de la serpiente”.

Estamos, en definitiva, ante un volumen cuidadosamente editado que será instrumento útil en las manos de los estudiosos del humanismo español.

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Doris Moreno

Wolfgang MÜLLER (Bearb.), *Die datierten Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München. Textband und Tafelband* (Die datierten Handschriften in Bibliotheken der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 6), Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 2011, XXI-185 pp., IV, 452 Seiten, 480 Abbildungen, € 198 (I) € 298 (II) ISBN 978-3-7772-1125-1, ISBN 978-3-7772-1126-8.

Die Publikation von Katalogen der datierten Handschriften hat in Deutschland später eingesetzt als in den umliegenden Ländern.

Bereits 1953 hatten sich die führenden Paläographen Europas in Paris geeinigt, ein Katalog- und Abbildungswerk der Buchhandschriften in lateinischer Schrift mit Angaben der Zeit oder des Ortes zu erarbeiten und zwar vom Beginn der schriftlichen Überlieferung bis 1600. Der erste Band erschien 1959 in Frankreich, seither wurden weit über 60 Bände publiziert. Die Kataloge stehen in der Tradition der paläographischen Tafelwerke, die für die Forschung und den Unterricht zusammengestellt wurden; sie waren dazu bestimmt, der paläographischen Forschung eine zuverlässige Grundlage für die Schriftgeschichte zu geben.¹

Während einige Länder wie Frankreich, Schweden und die Schweiz eine vollständige Erfassung der datierten Handschriften anstrebten, entschied sich die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft für eine Auswahl. Voraussetzung für die Erarbeitung eines Spezialkatalogs in der Reihe "Datierte Handschriften in Bibliotheken der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" ist die modernen Anforderungen genügende Katalogisierung des Bibliotheksbestandes und das Vorhandensein einer oder mehrerer historisch gewachsener Provenienzen. Der Mehrwert gegenüber den in Tiefenerschliessung erfassten Handschriften der Bestandeskataloge besteht in der visuellen Dokumentation der Schriften, die in Originalgrösse abgebildet werden. Bisher sind sechs Kataloge erschienen mit den datierten Handschriften der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg und kleiner Sammlungen, der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, der deutschen Handschriften bis 1450 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg und der Universitätsbibliothek München.

Die deutschen Kataloge zeichnen sich durch ein grosses Format aus, das für die meisten Handschriften die Abbildung ganzer Seiten erlaubt, bei den kleineren Formaten auch zweier gegenüberliegender Seiten in Originalgrösse. Dies hebt sich positiv ab von den Katalogen anderer Länder, in denen häufig nur Seitenausschnitte abgebildet werden oder die Seiten in verkleinertem Massstab reproduziert werden. Der vorliegende, von Wolfgang Müller erarbeitete Katalog bringt 452 Kurzbeschreibungen und 480 qualitativ gute Abbildungen. Der Text und die Abbildungen

1 Vgl. *Les manuscrits datés. Premier bilan et perspectives – Die datierten Handschriften. Erste Bilanz und Perspektiven*, hrsg. v. Geneviève Grand u.a., Paris 1985 (Rubricae 2); Albert DEROLEZ: *The Publications sponsored by the Comité International de Paléographie Latine* (2003), www.palaeographia.org/cipl/derolez.htm#cmd

sind auf zwei Halbbände aufgeteilt. Die Kurzbeschreibungen enthalten wie jene der bisherigen deutschen Kataloge der datierten Handschriften die Signatur, Angaben zur Lokalisierung und Datierung, zur Kodikologie (Beschreibstoff, Umfang, Format, Masse des Schriftraums), zum Inhalt (Verfasser und Titel), zum Schreiber und gegebenenfalls zum Auftraggeber sowie zur Provenienz. Bei deutschen Texten wird die Schreibsprache bzw. die Mundart angeführt. Die Textstellen der Handschriften, auf die sich die Lokalisierung, die Datierung und die Identifikation des Schreibers stützen, werden vollständig nachgewiesen, aber nur selten zitiert. Es folgt ein Hinweis auf den Katalog, der die Grundlage der Kurzbeschreibung bildet, die Abbildungsnummer und die Seitenangabe zur Abbildung. Die Kurzbeschreibungen beruhen auf den umfangreichen Katalogisaten in den fünf von Clytus Gottwald, Natalia Daniel, Gisela Kornrumpf, Marianne Reuter, Gerhard Schott, Paul-Gerhard Völker und Peter Zahn erarbeiteten Katalogen der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München. Darüber hinaus sind eigene Forschungen des Bearbeiters in die Kurzbeschreibungen eingeflossen. Die Einleitung bemerkt dazu: „Dass nicht in allen Fällen den Lesungen von Namen und Datierungen sowie der Zuweisung von Schreiberhänden der genannten Vorarbeiter sowie der Literatur gefolgt worden ist, das liegt sowohl in der Natur der diffizilen paläographischen Wissenschaft wie an inzwischen hinzugekommenen besseren Recherchemöglichkeiten“ (S. X). Die übersichtlichen Kurzbeschreibungen führen weitere von der gleichen Hand geschriebene Handschriften auf und geben Lebensdaten und Wirkungsorte der Schreiber sowie Literaturhinweise. Die Ergänzung der Literatur, besonders auch zu den Schreibern, ist begrüßenswert.

Der Mangel des Katalogs besteht in den gelegentlich zu knappen Nachweisen, besonders bei den Lokalisierungen. Knapp die Hälfte beruht auf Subskriptionen der Schreiber, die übrigen sind aufgrund der Schreibsprachen bzw. Mundarten, die Biographie der Schreiber, inhaltlicher Kennzeichen und anderer Indizien erschlossen, wobei zwischen zuverlässigen und unsicheren Zuweisungen unterschieden wird. Nicht immer ist ersichtlich, wo der Bearbeiter den Vorlagen in den ausführlichen Katalogen folgt, wo er zu neuen Erkenntnissen kam und wie die erschlossenen Lokalisierungen zustande kamen. Zwei im Katalog von Daniel/Kornrumpf als „süddeutsch“ charakterisierte Handschriften (2 Cod.ms. 71 und 97) werden von Wolfgang Müller in die „Diözese Augsburg?“ lokalisiert. Im Katalog von Daniel/Kornrumpf/Schott wird eine Textstelle

zitiert, in der die christlichen Oberhäupter Papst und Kaiser sowie die Diözese Augsburg genannt sind, die vielleicht Grundlage zur Lokalisierung ist (S. 117 und 156); in der Kurzbeschreibung des Spezialkatalogs findet sich dazu kein Hinweis. Für 4 Cod.ms. 745 hält der Katalog Kornrumpf/Völker fest: „Der Haupttext ist wohl in Rosenheim geschrieben“ und zum späteren IV. Teil: „Zur Zeit der Nachträge scheint die Hs. im Kloster Frauenchiemsee gewesen zu sein“ (S. 175f.). In den datierten Handschriften stehen „Rosenheim“ und „Frauenchiemsee“ ohne Einschränkungen. Gern wüsste man, weshalb die Handschrift 8 Cod.ms. 120 mit eingestreuten deutschen Gebeten nach „Oberitalien?“ lokalisiert wird; dies muss man in der Vorlage (Katalog Daniel, S. 107) nachschlagen. In anderen Fällen sind neue Identifikationen von Schreibern und Lokalisierungen und Korrekturen der älteren Zuschreibungen klar begründet.

Der Band ist durch umfangreiche Register gut erschlossen, die Chronologie und Herkunft, Mundarten, Personen und Orte sowie Verfasser und anonyme Werke verzeichnen und die Handschriften nach Siglen und Abbildungen auflisten.

Die Einleitung ist mit Hinweis auf die „Geschichte der Universitätsbibliothek München“ von Ladislaus Buzas (1973) kurz gehalten. Sie beschränkt sich auf eine Skizze der zwei hauptsächlichen Provenienzen: der 1472 gegründeten Universität Ingolstadt und des Säkularisationsgutes nach der Aufhebung der Stifte und Klöster im Jahr 1803. Der Ingolstädter Altbestand macht mit 178 datierten Handschriften rund die Hälfte der erfassten Handschriften aus. Die früheste Erwerbung, ein 1470 geschriebener Aristoteleskommentar, wurde 1476 „pro usu magistrorum“ für die Universität angekauft. Aus der Frühzeit der Universität stammen Autographen des Theologen Johannes Eck, des Humanisten Konrad Celtis, des Juristen Wolfgang Hunger und weiterer Professoren. Die bedeutendste Schenkung ist jene des Johann Egolph von Knöringen († 1575); unter den 28 oder 29 datierten Handschriften aus seinem Besitz befinden sich Zimelien wie die Motettensammlung von Heinrich Glarean, die *Annales Weissenburgenses* (um 1075) und das Hausbuch des Michael de Leone, bekannt als Würzburger Liederhandschrift. Nach der Auflösung des Jesuitenordens 1773 kamen 16 datierte Handschriften (18 nach dem Register, S. 152) in die Universitätsbibliothek, darunter die ältesten datierten Codices aus dem Kloster Biburg, das die Jesuiten 1589 in Besitz genommen hatten.

Kurz nach der Verlegung der Universität nach Landshut im Jahr 1800 profitierten die staatlichen Bibliotheken 1802/03 von der

Säkularisation der Stifte und Klöster. Die Universitätsbibliothek erhielt mindestens 146 datierte Handschriften, darunter 105 aus dem Franziskanerkloster Landshut. Die übrigen 36 datierten Handschriften sind Erwerbungen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts oder stammen aus unbekannten Provenienzen.

Wie in anderen Beständen ist der Anteil der datierten Handschriften vor 1400 klein. Es sind nur 20 von 360 Handschriften; die vier ältesten, ins 11. Jahrhundert zurückgehenden Datierungen und Lokalisierungen sind erschlossen. In der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts steigt die Zahl auf 87 an, die grösste Dichte liegt mit 160 Handschriften in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, mit 93 Handschriften ist die ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts stark vertreten. Die Inhalte sind breit gestreut, wobei die aristotelische Philosophie besonders stark hervortritt. Nicht weniger als 210 Schreiber, Glossatoren, Korrektoren, Illuminatoren und Rubrikatoren sind namentlich bekannt und zu einem guten Teil erstmals mit Schriftproben dokumentiert. Es sind mit Ausnahme der liturgischen Kodizes meist weitgehend schmucklose Gebrauchsschriften auf Papier aus dem universitären und dem klösterlichen Umfeld; pergamentene Prunkhandschriften des 15. Jahrhunderts aus höfischen oder patrizischen Sammlungen fehlen.

Die Paläographie hat durch die grosse Zahl der im Internet verfügbaren Volldigitalisate von Handschriften einen bis vor wenigen Jahren kaum vorstellbaren Zuwachs an Anschauungsmaterial erhalten. Angesichts dieser Tatsache drängt sich die Frage auf, ob es noch zeitgemäss ist, mit grossem Aufwand Kataloge mit umfangreichen paläographischen Tafeln in guter Qualität zu finanzieren. In der Einleitung argumentiert Wolfgang Müller, die vollständige Digitalisierung der Handschriften werde in einem "absehbaren Zeitraum" nicht möglich sein; bis dahin würde der Katalog in Buchform "nützliche Dienste" leisten (S. XVII). Dem ist beizufügen, dass die Bedeutung der Spezialkataloge nicht nur in der Präsentation der Abbildungen, sondern auch in der Bereitstellung minimaler kodikologischer Angaben besteht. Eine digitale Entsprechung der sorgfältig ausgewählten Schriftseiten mit zugehörigen Kurzbeschreibungen ist weder für die Münchner Universitätsbibliothek noch für andere Bestände in Sicht. Für paläographische und kodikologische Untersuchungen bieten die Kataloge der datierten Handschriften knappe Informationen zur Beschaffenheit und Entstehung der Handschriften in übersichtlicher Darstellung; sie eignen sich als Grundlage zu Studien zur quantitativen Kodikologie der spätmittelalterlichen Handschriften.

So dürfte auch dieser Spezialkatalog seine Bedeutung als Grundlage für die paläographische und kodikologische Forschung noch für längere Zeit behalten.

Kantonsbibliothek (Vadiana), St. Gallen

Rudolf Gamper

Ursula PAINTNER, *Des Papsts neue Creatur'. Antijesuitische Publizistik im Deutschsprachigen Raum (1555-1618)*, (Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis 44), Amsterdam/New York, Rodopi, 2011, pp. 584., Ill., \$ 162.00, ISBN 978-90-420-3283-5.

Nach fast einem Jahrhundert des Schattendaseins rückt nach den klassischen Arbeiten von Bernhard Duhr, Richard Krebs und Viktor Naumann das antijesuitische Textkorpus allmählich wieder in den Fokus der Forschung. Während sich die ersten neueren Monographien von Sabina Pavone und Christine Vogel vor allem mit den antijesuitischen Debatten des 17. und insbesondere 18. Jahrhunderts befassen, wählt Ursula Paintner in ihrer vorliegenden Dissertation die Jahre zwischen dem Augsburger Religionsfrieden und dem Ausbruch des Dreißigjährigen Krieges – mithin den Löwenanteil des Konfessionellen Zeitalters – als zeitlichen Rahmen.

Beim gewählten literaturwissenschaftlichen Ansatz klammert Paintner bewusst die „Wahrheitsfrage“ aus. Es geht ihr also nicht um eine Widerlegung oder Bestätigung der gegen den Jesuitenorden gerichteten Schmähungen und Behauptungen, sondern um die publizistische Funktionalisierung politischer Gegebenheiten (S. 198f., 224). Detailliert wird rekonstruiert, wie auf der Basis von Vorurteilen im 16. Jahrhundert antijesuitische Topoi im Rahmen des „inszenierten Antagonismus“ (S. 455f.) etabliert werden. Indem sich die Argumente in einem Textkontinuum hochschaukeln, werden Mutmaßungen, etwa zum Kadavergehorsam und zum Königsmord, zur Gewissheit, bis man von einer Konstruktion von „den Jesuiten“ als unpersönliche Gruppe in Form eines Feindbildes sprechen kann. Auf der Ebene des Feindbildes wird kein neues Argument mehr hervorgebracht, sondern höchstens noch die Sensationslust des Publikums befriedigt und die antijesuitische Debatte popularisiert (S. 196, 251, 318). Da sich die Untersuchung der Rezeption der Schriften wie in der Epoche üblich aufgrund fehlender Lektüreberichte als schwierig erweist, wird die Leerstelle über die Betrachtung von Primärrezipienten und die Zusammenbindung verschiedener Schriften gefüllt, wobei auch die

Leserlenkung durch die typographische Gestaltung und Paratexte, insbesondere Titelblätter und Vorreden, berücksichtigt wird.

Als Quellenbasis dienen rund 400 deutsche und lateinische Texte des deutschsprachigen Raumes – vom Einblattdruck bis zum umfangreichen Traktat –, die für den Rezipienten eindeutig als „antijesuitisch“ erkennbar waren, sich also schon im Titel gegen einzelne Jesuiten oder den Gesamtorden richteten. Während bei den Einblattdrucken aufgrund von Michael Niemetz' Arbeit zur antijesuitischen Bildpublizistik und bei den „Neuen Zeitungen“ wegen der bloßen Fülle des Materials jeweils ein repräsentativer Querschnitt gewählt wurde, war bei allen übrigen Druckerzeugnissen Vollständigkeit angestrebt, was eine 367 Titel umfassende Bibliographie eindrucksvoll unter Beweis stellt (S. 477-539).

Da antijesuitische Argumente in den untersuchten Quellen stark repetitiv aufgeführt werden, ist eine Darstellung der Hauptargumentationslinien gewählt, die mit der medialen, sprachlichen und formalen Analyse der gängigsten Textsorten und einzelner beispielhafter Schriften einhergeht. Durch die konsequente Einbeziehung von Verfassern, Druckern und Adressaten ist die literatursoziologische Kontextualisierung gewährleistet. Die Grobgliederung der Argumentationsstrategien erfolgt in die drei Bereiche Theologie, Politik und Moral, wobei die Kontroverstheologie und die politische Polemik zur „systematischen Polemik“ zählen, alle anderen Argumente und Texte hingegen Eingang in die Restkategorie der „narrativen Polemik“ finden. Als roter Faden zieht sich durch sämtliche untersuchte Textsorten, dass sie hauptsächlich für ein binnenkonfessionelles Publikum geschrieben waren und sich der formal in einigen Fällen dominierende Dialogcharakter als zweitrangig erweist. Mit der wachsenden innerkatholischen Kritik an der Gesellschaft Jesu wurde der konfessionelle Gegensatz relativiert. Gerade in diesem Kontext wäre es lohnend gewesen, den Forschungsbegriff „Antijesuitismus“ ausführlicher zu diskutieren. Hinsichtlich der außersprachlichen Referenz wird betont, dass in systematisch argumentierenden Texten Ereignisse zum Exemplum umgewertet werden, wobei aber ein direkter Bezug unnötig ist: „Was sensationell genug ist und irgendwie mit den Jesuiten in Verbindung gebracht werden kann, gibt Anlass zu antijesuitischer Polemik [...]“ (S. 215). Dabei stellt sich heraus, dass umso eher auf unsachliche Argumentation verzichtet werden kann, je deutlicher ein Antagonismus auf einer formalen Ebene gesehen wird. Hervorzuheben ist, dass die Verfasserin die wichtigsten Analysekatgorien nicht einfach aus der Literatur

übernimmt, sondern sie überzeugend bewertet und adaptiert. So versteht sie „Polemik nicht von den verwendeten Argumenten oder der Intention, sondern von ihrer kommunikativen Situierung her“ (S. 43), und auch eine Trennung von Flugschrift und Flugblatt gibt sie auf, da diese wohl von Zeitgenossen nicht sehr stark wahrgenommen worden sei.

Besonders innovativ ist die Untersuchung von Texten, die den engeren Kreis der theologischen und politischen Argumentation überschreiten. Besonders deutlich wird dies im juristischen Bereich, anhand der fingierten Gerichtsrede und der Anklageschriften gegen den Jesuitenorden, und durch die Einbindung der Satire. Diese wird oftmals aufgrund ihrer Affinität zur „schönen“ Literatur nicht im Zusammenhang mit der Gebrauchsliteratur, der das Gros des antijesuitischen Textkorpus angehört, gesehen. Auch der Nachweis der Wechselwirkung des antijesuitischen Feindbildes mit anderen Negativfolien, namentlich den Hexen und Janitscharen, trägt dazu bei, aufzuzeigen, wie Alterität immer erst im konkreten Diskurs konstruiert wird, wobei diese Abgrenzung der Selbstvergewisserung und der Selbstdefinition dient. Das Beharrungsvermögen der Alteritätsvorstellungen wird in einem knappen Ausblick bis ins 20. Jahrhundert deutlich, der zugleich als Hintergrund für die Kontextualisierung der älteren Forschungsliteratur dienen kann.

Die Zusammenstellung und Analyse der antijesuitischen Topoi und der argumentativen Sets bieten sich als Anknüpfungspunkt für weitere Forschungen an, da sie eine rasche Einschätzung ermöglichen, welche Vorwürfe in antijesuitischen Texten den bekannten Diskurstraditionen angehören und welche durch den spezifischen historischen Kontext motiviert sein können. Dabei wird sich auch die umfangreiche Bibliographie zu den antijesuitischen Druckerzeugnissen als sehr brauchbares Hilfsmittel erweisen.

Tübingen

Fabian Fechner

Anthony E. CLARK, *China's Saints. Catholic Martyrdom during the Qing (1644-1911)* (Studies in Missionaries and Christianity in China), Bethlehem PA, Lehigh University Press, 2011, 270 pp., Illustrations, \$ 75.00, ISBN 978-1-61146-016-2.

The author, an associate professor of Chinese history at Whitworth University (Spokane, WA) started his study of the matter under

discussion with two assumptions, namely that martyrdom was consigned to the era of early Christianity, with some occasional occurrences up until around 1900, and that the few secular scholars who have written on the topic of Catholic martyrdom in China, like Paul Cohen, had been unbiased. After having discovered, first, that the Chinese government has continued persecuting Christians up till the present day (before the 2008 Olympics in Beijing dozens of missionaries were expelled to prevent proselytizing), and secondly, that both secular and religious studies have tended to be partial, Clark set himself the task of providing an “academically objective” account of the Catholic martyr saints of China from both an exogenous and indigenous religious view, using Western and Chinese, secular and religious sources. “[O]ne should not reductionistically ascribe a priori bad behavior generally to the missionaries and the church authorities who sent them”, he writes (5), but neither – one might add – should one attribute to them a priori good behavior. Much taken by the concept of martyrdom, where sacrifice witnesses externally to an internal faith, the author, who closes his book with a quote of Pope Benedict XVI, has not always been able to avoid turning his academic study into an *apologia pro fide sua*. What is certainly missing, given that the book explicitly discusses Catholic saints, is an extended discussion of the process of canonization as it developed in the twentieth century, and particularly of the various phases of the causes of the Chinese martyrs, including their problems and obstacles, such as the selection of (presumed) martyrs for beatification and canonization; the difficulties in obtaining the necessary witness statements and documentation regarding their death out of hatred of the faith; and the pastoral and political goals of the Holy See in this matter: nowhere does Clark mention, for example, that Pope John Paul II simply dispensed from the miracle needed for the canonization of the 120 Chinese martyrs in 2000. The author seems to betray his partiality when in the three-page paragraph on “Miracles and the making of saints” (110-112) he talks at some length, and not too critically, about posthumous miracles of the saints, with an unnecessary digression to St. Francis Xavier; but he limits the discussion of the admittedly very difficult cause of the Chu-Kia-Ho martyrs under discussion to a quote from the devotional group biography written by Fr. F.X. Mertens, SJ in 1936, when the *Positio super Introductione Causae* had not even been finalized. Martyrdom is a well-defined concept in the Catholic Church, and the “afterlife” of the saints, that is, how they rose to the honour of the altar, is

often a no less revealing episode in Church history than as their life itself. Another minor critical observation would be the division of the subject matter, not in time periods but in religious families: after a most interesting exposition on martyrdom in general and in the Chinese context, followed by a brief history of Christianity in China (that need not have started in the seventh century), Clark discusses first the Dominican martyrs (1648, 1747-1748), then the Jesuit (1900) and Franciscan martyrs (1816, 1900), and finally the group of "other martyrs from other missions" (between 1814 and 1930). Would a chronological order not have been more helpful, more logical? And ought the accent then not have been primarily on the Boxer Uprising around 1900, when most of the martyrs died, together with thousands of people who were never beatified or canonized? The author presents the martyrs well, describing at some length, where possible, their life before martyrdom, and he does this with great knowledge (proven by an impressive bibliography) of both the historical context and the spirituality that prepared these priests, religious, and lay people to give their life for the faith. Whether Clark has fully succeeded in writing the objective study that he had set out to write, remains to be seen, but whoever takes an academic interest in the 120 Chinese martyrs canonized in the year 2000 would do well to take up this book first. For thoroughness and insight it remains for the moment unsurpassed.

Rome, General Postulator's Office

Marc Lindeijer S.J.

Thomas M. McCoog, *"And touching our Society": Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England* (Studies and Texts 183), Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2013, XIV-476 pp., \$ 95.00 ISBN 978-0-88844-183-6

This volume brings together thirteen articles by the volume's author, ten of which have appeared previously but all of which have been, as he says, "re-worked", so as to make them cohere. A substantial introduction explains the genesis of each essay. Each is therefore both a stand-alone piece and also a contribution to a long running project which has aimed to resituate the Society of Jesus in English/British Reformation studies. Very briefly, Thomas McCoog's approach to the topic was a conscious attempt to dissociate himself from the, at one time, majority view within Catholic historiography which took more or less on their own terms the

polemical works produced by Catholic contemporaries who found themselves radically at odds with some post-Reformation regimes. The common thread running through Fr McCoog's publications has been to see the Society from the perspective of its administrative systems but not merely for the purpose of writing a dry-as-dust institutional history of the order. Rather, one has in most of these articles, and indeed his monographs on the Jesuits in Britain, an understanding of the challenge which the Society presented in the wake of the supposed conformist consensus created by parliamentary statute. It is this which also allows him to undermine the more-assumed-than-demonstrated line that, because there were relatively few Jesuits in Britain, they could not be taken to have been of any real significance.

Crucial here, for example, is the debate with Anne Dillon in chapter twelve, probably one of the few serious discussions of the intensely difficult subject of martyrology. In fact, Dillon's and McCoog's publications are the ideal starting point for a really significant new research agenda on the meaning of post-Reformation Catholic martyrdom. Again, chapter four raises all sorts of questions about the role of Edmund Campion. Exactly what sort of martyr was he? This essay problematises the, for many Catholic scholars, formerly unproblematic confrontation between the Jesuit saint and the allegedly persecuting heretical Tudor State. Chapter two, on the Anjou match was itself a major attempt to reconstruct the chronology of the Campion agitation, if one can call it that. Here McCoog follows the trail established by John Bossy over fifty years ago. There has always been an assumption that the rigours of Jesuit training and the Society's extraordinary focus on mission and evangelism meant that all Jesuits were obedient to the papacy and the general and hence all were in accord over their principal function and what they should be doing as missionary clergy. The ground breaking chapter ten on the disagreements between Robert Persons and William Creighton over what to do about the king of Scots, James VI, shows how far there might be practical and indeed ideological difficulties among those who were technically all committed to the same cause.

Fr McCoog's project has always been based on constant access to a range of Jesuit archives, i.e. in more than one country, but particularly in Rome. His methodology owes a great deal to the training which a career in archives makes possible. At the same time, his take on the period was never an iconoclastic one (though, in the context of his institutional affiliation, one might not expect it to be).

What they do is to challenge the settled Anglocentricity of so much writing about the English Reformation. The field of Reformation studies is still, by and large, dominated by the search for the middle way and for consensus, which most historians of the Church of England certainly tend to associate with the supposedly moderate tendencies of the English Reformation. Here those who are outside whatever the consensus is supposed to be tend to be regarded as untypical and marginal. Of course, it is quite true that Jesuit clergy for the most part had to lead separate lives and indeed the English mission represented all sorts of problems for the conducting of a life in accord with the Society's normal mode of operation. Chapter seven deals with exactly this problem: in this essay McCoog deals with the lingering strain of determinedly Anglican (in the worst sense of the word) thinking about the processes which created a separated Catholic community or, rather, which led to a fraction of English Catholicism becoming visibly separated from the national Church in a way which had not really been the case for much of, say, the early reign of Elizabeth Tudor. The claim has been that this separatism was essentially elitist and that the elitist Jesuit-led seminary clergy were at least as responsible for the drift of the mass of the population, i.e. of a conservative temperament, towards the religion of the established Church; it is questionable whether we have any very clear idea exactly what that was, at least outside the, in any case, contested foundation documents of the Church of England.

What McCoog's work has demonstrated is that this historical marginalisation of this cadre of European-trained clergy, whose mode of operation was defined only in part against the Protestant Reformation and was just as problematical for many Catholics as it was for Protestants, is close to a nonsense. Whatever they were, Jesuits were not an irrelevance. The regularity with which Jesuits figure in both Catholic and Protestant polemic tells us that, for all the uneventfulness, one suspects, of many Jesuit lives, at least much of the time, their way of proceeding was not about withdrawal from the world.

There is, of course, potentially a danger that an institutional focus on the Society will serve to play down exactly the issues which made Jesuits interesting and indeed alarming to contemporaries. Neither here nor in Fr McCoog's two published monographs is there a great deal on what one might call the demonology of Jesuitism – the reaction that the involvement of prominent Jesuits in contemporary politics caused, even though one of the really

novel aspects of McCoog's work on Edmund Campion was to show how the English Jesuit mission of 1580 caused anxiety to the Jesuit general Everard Mercurian who did not want his men mixed up in political conflict of exactly the kind in which Campion and Persons immediately got involved. On the other hand, these essays do challenge both the unthinking tendency to demonise and the even greater propensity nowadays just to ignore. If one takes the Society's way of proceeding out of the box in which it has frequently been confined and thinks about it in, say, the context provided by the regeneration of Jesuit life and influence in Bourbon France after the catastrophes of the later sixteenth-century wars of religion, we have an entirely different perspective to think about the Reformation in England and Britain during the same period.

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Festo MKENDA, *Mission for Everyone: A Story of the Jesuits in East Africa (1555-2012)*, Nairobi, Paulines Publications Africa, 2013, 311pp., ISBN 9966-08-703-6

Mission for Everyone aims to present a broad overview of the involvement of the Jesuits in East Africa. Today, this Jesuit presence constitutes what, in Jesuit terms, is a province which includes the territories of Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan. At the time of writing in 2010, we are told that it was comprised of two hundred and ten Jesuits from a wide variety of places who were united by the goal of spreading the Good News as this is detailed in the New Testament.

Festo Mkenda traces the roots of this undertaking back to the founder of the Jesuits, St. Ignatius of Loyola (born in 1491). As a means of setting the scene, the author provides some background on St. Ignatius to locate the spirituality that undergirds today's Jesuits in East Africa. He then focuses on Francis Xavier, a companion of St. Ignatius, and his mission to India including his stop-over in Mozambique, Malindi and Ethiopia, as he followed the route to the East that had recently been discovered through the voyages of Vasco da Gama.

In chapter three, the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia of the sixteenth century is described, providing much detail on the Jesuit, Pedro Páez. Over a nineteen year period, Páez had been remarkably successful largely perhaps because of his method of approach to

the local people and their way of life. He not only learned the local language but approached sensitive issues gently and tactfully. This led to the conversion of the emperor even though in itself this proved somewhat ambiguously helpful. Páez's attitude appears to have been to tolerate what did not seem prejudicial to the faith. Following Páez, another Jesuit, Alphonso Mendez, took a different line. After being appointed patriarch, he insisted on re-ordination of Orthodox clergy, re-consecration of churches, rebaptism, and rearranged the calendar to correspond with the Latin way. As Mkenda says, he was no incarnation of Páez. Within a relatively short time, Mendez's mode of evangelization proved to be disastrous and whatever had been achieved came to ruin as the Jesuits were eventually expelled from Ethiopia by an edict of Fasilidas in 1633.

At this point, the author speculates on what might have happened if Páez's achievements had been better honoured. He postulates that subsequent history would probably not have helped the Jesuits who faced major obstacles with, among other things, the suppression of the Chinese rites and their own eventual suppression. Whatever else, it appears to leave us with a potentially useful lesson in mission history.

Even if Jesuits and the Catholic church maintained some contact with Ethiopia over the succeeding centuries, from the perspective of the Society of Jesus, the next significant moment came after 1945. At that point, Canadian Jesuits were invited by the ruling emperor, Heile Selassie, to help modernize Ethiopia by means of education. However, they had to accept his terms and as part of this assume a highly secular presence. Among other things, their efforts brought Africa its first indigenous university in 1957 in Addis Ababa. However, once again, their success was overshadowed by the waning of the emperor's regime and the rise to power of a Marxist group. Nonetheless, this time around, the Jesuits managed to carve a way forward and gain long-term footing through the imagination and dedication particularly of their people like Claude Sumner, Lucien Matte, Rolland Turenne, as well as Brothers Charpentier and Vincent Soreng.

When opportunity arose for mission to Tanzania in the late 1950s, the Jesuits were ready for what was still a very unpredictable enterprise. These were largely Jesuits from India and Ceylon who spread to Uganda, Kenya and Sudan. Politically, the region became very unsettled in the immediate aftermath of national independence with rulers like Idi Amin, difficulties in Sudan, the rise of Marxism

and one-party state ideologies. Perhaps largely because of the foresight and determination of the Jesuit general from 1965, Pedro Arrupe, many diverse initiatives increasingly gained some form of cohesion. Mkenda provides detail on the years that followed Vatican II and particularly Arrupe's emphasis on inculturation, a complex and contestable notion that had deep roots in the Jesuit missionary strategy as we have seen. The fruits of those efforts and years are multiple including the development of Hekima College (Nairobi), the first Jesuit theologate on African soil serving Africa and Madagascar resulting from the emergence of local vocations, four secondary schools, two primary schools, a parish and retreat centre.

Mission for Everyone is undoubtedly a fine record of the Jesuits in East Africa, giving evidence of careful research and of the author's capacity to assimilate what was going forward in what was not only a long period but also within a very diverse and culturally complex situation.

The author's use of photographs and map is appropriate and helpful connecting the text with everyday life. The book would have been enhanced by a good thematic index as well as section headings in order to reduce and make more digestible what at times seems like too much straight chronology. Nonetheless this is indeed a commendable contribution to the Jesuit and Catholic Church history of East Africa.

CRDCE, Institute of Education, London Brendan Carmody S.J.

Franz BRENDLE, *Der Erzkanzler im Religionskrieg. Kurfürst Anselm Casimir von Mainz, die geistlichen Fürsten und das Reich 1629 bis 1647*, (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 156), Münster Aschaffendorf, 2011, gebunden, XIV-578 pp., ill. (s/w u. farbig), € 59.00, ISBN 978-3-402-12802-2.

Die hier vorzustellende Studie über den Erzkanzler des Reichs Anselm Casimir Wambold von Umstadt (1582–1647), von 1629 bis zu seinem Tod Kurfürst und Erzbischof von Mainz, war im Sonderforschungsbereich 437 „Kriegserfahrungen – Krieg und Gesellschaft in der Neuzeit“ an der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen entstanden und wurde an der dortigen Fakultät für Philosophie und Geschichte 2007/08 als Habilitationsschrift angenommen. Sie sieht sich „durchaus in der Tradition“

einschlägiger politischer Biographien, möchte jedoch „eine um die Erfahrungsgeschichte erweiterte Perspektive“ mit einbeziehen (S. 20). Angesichts der von der Historiographie vernachlässigten Rolle der geistlichen Fürsten stellt sie sich dem Anspruch, „die Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges aus der Sicht eines geistlichen Fürsten zu schreiben“ (S. 20 f., hier 21). Vorliegende Rezension beabsichtigt dabei nicht, den mehreren bereits publizierten Besprechungen in anderen Organen lediglich eine weitere hinzuzufügen, sondern möchte den Blick vor allem auf Anselm Casimirs universitäre Ausbildung, deren Auswirkung und die Bedeutung der Hofbeichtväter lenken.

Zunächst ist anzumerken, dass nach dem persönlichen Empfinden des Rezensenten die Lesbarkeit der Studie unter einem zuweilen exkursorischen Stil leidet. Dies gilt auch für im Allgemeinen verbleibende Literaturzusammenstellungen, so z. B. zum Wallfahrtsort Loreto und zum Heiligen Jahr 1600 (S. 55, Anm. 33–35). Hingegen werden Daten und Ereignisse, welche einzelne Abschnitte der Vita Anselm Casimirs betreffen, mitunter nur summarisch abgehandelt, so z. B. wenn auf mehrere Briefe Anselm Casimirs „im Laufe des Jahres“ 1600 Bezug genommen (S. 56) und als Beleg lediglich ein Brief vom 1. Juni 1600 angeführt wird (ebd., Anm. 38; in Anm. 40 auf derselben Seite findet sich erneut ein allgemeiner Verweis auf die genannten Briefe, wobei ein Quellenzitat unbelegt bleibt). In Rom traf Anselm Casimir am 13. Dezember 1599 ein, wo er die nächsten Jahre am Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum studierte (S. 54–56). Hier könnten die einschlägigen Bestände des zum Kollegsleben ergiebigen und zum 16./17. Jahrhundert von der Forschung bisher wenig genutzten Kollegsarchivs weitere Auskunft geben. An den Universitäten in Bologna und Padua schloss sich nach Anselm Casimirs am 7. September 1605 erfolgter Aufnahme in das Mainzer Domkapitel in den „darauffolgenden zwei Jahre[n]“ ein weiterführendes Studium der Rechtswissenschaften an; hier hätte man statt wenig zielführender Verweise auf Publikationen zu Kavaliertouren europäischer Adelliger (S. 58) zumindest die einschlägigen Editionen zur jeweiligen „Natio Germanica“ der Juristen erwartet. Diese Defizite im Detail vermindern jedoch in keiner Weise den großen Wert der Arbeit, die in der Fülle der angeschnittenen Fragen (entwickelt auf S. 19–34) große Linien zieht und der Erhellung durch weitere Quellenarbeit harrt, zur späteren auf überkonfessionellen Frieden zielenden Haltung Anselm Casimirs im Dreißigjährigen Krieg.

Mit Blick auf Anselm Casimirs Stellung im Dreißigjährigen

Krieg verdient besonderes Interesse die Rolle der jesuitischen Hofbeichtväter und des dazugehörigen „jesuitische[n] Netzwerk[es]“ (S. 24), die an verschiedenen Stellen der Arbeit zur Sprache kommen, und zu denen das römische Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu oder auch das Münchener Archiv der Deutschen Provinz der Jesuiten hätten konsultiert werden können. So heißt es noch in einem aktuellen, die genannten beiden Ordensarchive gleichfalls außer Betracht lassenden Beitrag zu Anselm Casimirs Hofbeichtvater Reinhard Ziegler S.J. (1569–1636) und dessen Kontroverse mit dem sächsischen Oberhofprediger über die Wertung des kaiserlichen Restitutionsedikts von 1629, ersterer sei „weit weniger bekannt“ als letzterer: Silvia Serena Tschopp, „Politik in theologischem Gewand. Eine jesuitisch-lutherische Kontroverse im Kontext des Dreißigjährigen Krieges“, in: Henning P. Jürgens; Thomas Weller (Hg.), *Streitkultur und Öffentlichkeit im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz; Beiheft 95), Göttingen, 2013, S. 31–55, hier 45.

Zum Abschluss der Arbeit findet sich die knappe Bemerkung, Anselm Casimir sei trotz der Tatsache, dass er „bei den Jesuiten in die Schule gegangen“ war, „nie“ „ein Jesuit in der Gesinnung“ geworden, „vielmehr ein Mann des reichspolitischen Ausgleichs“ (S. 501): Was ist jedoch unter einem „Jesuiten in der Gesinnung“ zu verstehen? Worin bestand vielmehr das jesuitische Profil der Hofbeichtväter? So bleiben ihre Entsendung durch den Orden, ihr Selbstverständnis sowie ihr Netzwerk – auch hinsichtlich des Kontaktes zwischen den einzelnen, unterschiedlichen Herren dienenden Hofbeichtvätern sowie ihrer Stellung zum „gerechten Krieg“ (vgl. hierzu S. 13 f., 31) – als spannende Fragen, die der Bearbeitung anhand der archivalischen Überlieferung weiterhin harren, bestehen.

Würzburg

Frank Sobiech

Robert E. Scully, *Into the Lion's Den. The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580-1603*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2011, 468 pp., \$ 32.95, ISBN 978-1-880810-78-1.

Il poderoso volume di cui si dà notizia si pone sulla falsariga delle linee di ricerca degli studi, ormai classici, sul tema della missione dei Gesuiti in Inghilterra durante il periodo elisabettiano. Pur

tuttavia, esso si distingue notevolmente per l'indagine rivolta non solo, appunto, all'Inghilterra, ma anche al Galles, oggetto fino ad ora di un interesse marginale da parte degli studiosi.

La ricerca analizza le strategie missionarie dei cattolici e della Compagnia di Gesù, in particolare, pianificate, talvolta improvvisate, necessariamente clandestine, per sostenere la comunità cattolica inglese. Attraverso la vita dei tanti, chierici e laici, uomini e donne che, congiuntamente alle grandi figure, quali ad esempio Edmund Campion, Robert Persons, Ralph Emerson contribuirono in vario modo a mantenere viva e operante la presenza cattolica, si evince un affresco dettagliato e nitido del dinamismo e del fermento oltretché delle incertezze, difficoltà e tensioni che sottessero all'azione missionaria.

Il volume ha il pregio, tra le altre cose, di una lettura agevole e coinvolgente proprio perché l'Autore, nella ricostruzione minuziosa e accurata degli eventi, pone in primo piano i soggetti reali, protagonisti delle vicende analizzate. Un ruolo essenziale viene riconosciuto alle donne, madri, vedove, *singles* e monache nell'assolvere a un'attività di supporto concreto nelle mille realtà che punteggiavano l'opera dei Gesuiti grazie anche alla funzione che svolsero nella conversione di familiari e nella protezione di sacerdoti; imprigionate e torturate, comunque fedeli alla loro religione.

L'Autore esamina diversi casi di donne martiri a partire dalla protomartire del periodo elisabettiano, Margaret Clitherow la cui missione in certo modo si esplicò oltre la sua stessa vita e martirio allorché i tre figli scelsero la vita religiosa.

Un ruolo determinante a sostegno dei missionari fu quello della *gentry*, che si concretizzò non solo in termini di risorse economiche, ma anche fornendo loro spazi adeguati, indispensabili per la sopravvivenza della comunità in un contesto ostile. Alcuni hanno ravvisato una dipendenza della missione dalla funzione di supporto esercitata dai laici, in particolare dalla "more conservative upper classes", che avrebbe impedito il costituirsi di un "lasting revolutionary spirit in English Catholicism" (p. 151); e, come conseguenza, il relativo isolamento della Chiesa d'Inghilterra e Galles dal cattolicesimo internazionale.

Nell'impossibilità di riportare nel regno la fede cattolica, fu il sacrificio dei martiri e lo sforzo congiunto di laici, sacerdoti e missionari della Compagnia di Gesù a garantire la sopravvivenza del cattolicesimo inglese. L'arma principale dei gesuiti fu "to help souls" (p. 203) e quindi, innanzi tutto, il servizio pratico delle attività spi-

rituali, a partire dagli Esercizi, che costituirono un aspetto fondamentale del loro lavoro, orientato non solo al clero ma anche ai laici, uomini e donne. L'impegno si esplicava inoltre nella pubblicazione di testi liturgici e devozionali e in una intensa operosità culturale e di educazione religiosa. Va sottolineato che nessun aspetto della vita religiosa di questa comunità si esprimeva in una dimensione pubblica e ciò costituiva un indubbio svantaggio, oltretutto un pericolo, rispetto alla religione ufficiale.

Roma

Roberta Grossi

Fabrizio CAPANNI, Anna SANTUCCI (eds), *L'Abate Luigi A. Lanzi tra filologia classica e letteratura religiosa. Atti del IV Convegno di studi lanziani, Corridonia (MC), Teatro "Giovanni Battista Velluti", 14 novembre 2009*, Macerata, Simple, 2010, 260 pp., € 25.00, ISBN 978-88-6259-315-1.

Il convegno di Corridonia, tenutosi il 14 novembre 2009, rappresenta l'ultima, in ordine di tempo, di una nutrita serie di occasioni di studio che negli ultimi anni hanno avuto per oggetto i vari aspetti di un'opera ricca e multiforme quale è stata, indubbiamente, quella del gesuita Luigi Antonio Lanzi (1732-1810). Un'opera che ha spaziato dall'archeologia alla museologia, dalla storia dell'arte alla filologia e che porta in sé contenuti la cui validità è solidamente testimoniata, oltre che dai frequenti momenti di confronto diretto tra ricercatori, dall'ampia bibliografia sull'abate; segno chiaro, quest'ultimo, dell'interesse sostanziale che il suo lascito percepisce presso gli studiosi.

Nel convegno vengono messi a tema quegli aspetti dell'attività del Lanzi considerati *minori*; insistendo, in primo luogo sugli anni della formazione; seguendolo nei trascorsi spirituali e scientifici, adeguatamente contestualizzati, che da Fermo conducono al Collegio Romano. Operazione tutt'altro che agevole, poiché non esiste, tuttora, una biografia scientifica, documentata del personaggio; e le informazioni disponibili provengono da testimonianze dirette, coeve ma datate. Si passa, quindi, all'analisi degli scritti di argomento devozionale e filologico letterario, molto meno noti di quelli di storia dell'arte, di antiquaria e museografia ma, tuttavia, non secondari nel permettere una valutazione e una comprensione più adeguata e d'insieme.

Con la compilazione e la pubblicazione, nel 1749, di un *Catalogo delle*

province, delle case, dei collegi, delle residenze, l'ultimo catalogo generale prima della soppressione, la Compagnia di Gesù delinea un quadro complessivo della sua diffusione e articolazione nel momento di maggiore espansione. Dal Catalogo del 1749 risultavano 699 i collegi presenti nel mondo, dato che esprime da solo il successo ma anche il maggior punto di forza dell'organizzazione qualificandosi, fa notare Bianchi nel suo contributo, come "la tipologia di insediamento di gran lunga più diffusa in primo luogo in relazione all'attività scolastica ed educativa, ma più in generale, in relazione all'attività culturale e all'apostolato religioso della Compagnia, per la riuscita e il successo della loro missione" (p.6). Questa rete di scuole, dove gli ideali della formazione religiosa e morale, intrecciati alla cultura letteraria umanistica venivano trasmessi attraverso una molteplicità e versatilità di strumenti didattici rappresentò "l'orizzonte formativo dei ceti colti ed elevati dell'Europa moderna, e contribuì a rafforzarne l'identità e il senso di appartenenza cetuale".(p.6)

È nel collegio di sant'Ignazio di Fermo, dove fino a qualche anno prima aveva insegnato Giuseppe Boscovich, che il giovane Lanzi intraprende il corso di studi. Il collegio rappresentava un solido punto di riferimento e di raccordo nella vita culturale della città, ricca di fermenti e di attività legate all'esistenza di accademie in cui le élite cittadine esprimevano, consolidandolo, il loro status e prestigio sociale. A tale vivacità, in cui si manifestavano sia un'opera di organizzazione e di direzione della vita spirituale e religiosa della comunità cittadina che un'azione di radicamento ulteriore nel tessuto civile, si associava, confermandone il prestigio, un tenore severo degli studi che mise a dura prova anche la salute del Lanzi.

Agli anni di Fermo seguiranno quelli dell'ingresso vero e proprio nella Compagnia, in cui dei ventiquattro anni che vi trascorre solo tre saranno dedicati unicamente alla formazione religiosa, i restanti, saranno vissuti secondo le regole dell'Ordine. È su questo aspetto che troviamo nell'intervento del P. Danieluk, basato su materiali manoscritti conservati all'ARSI, una ricognizione puntuale "su come era organizzata la vita di un gesuita dal suo primo ingresso in noviziato"(p. 27). Gli anni romani del Lanzi, dal 1748 al 1756, sono anche quelli del massimo splendore del pontificato lambertiniano; anni vissuti in una Roma ricca di novità e fermenti, ben delineati dall'intervento di Rurale; una città percorsa da preoccupazioni e inquietudini verso la cultura razionalistica e illuministica contro cui di lì a poco la Chiesa romana avrebbe innalzato le sue barriere. A questo clima non furono estranei l'ambiente accademico del Collegio Romano e la mentalità aperta dei docenti, tra i quali spicca su tutti

la figura e l'opera dell'umanista e scienziato Giuseppe Boscovich. P. De Lasala tratteggia con acume, nel suo intervento, i caratteri di tale insieme di fattori i cui effetti virtuosi si estesero fino al campo della filosofia morale, per cui "gli scritti morali dei gesuiti sono caratterizzati, sin dagli inizi, dall'adattabilità alle circostanze concrete di luoghi, tempi e persone" (p.75).

La seconda sezione del volume riflette, risente, del valore diseguale di questa parte dell'opera del Lanzi; del suo significato alquanto marginale.

Sul Lanzi 'autore di spiritualità' si sofferma il Festa, biasimando il "desolato silenzio" della letteratura critica rispetto al Lanzi storico dell'arte e antiquario, e ponendo l'attenzione su quattro opuscoli, di argomento devozionale, sul Sacro Cuore di Gesù, sul Cuore Immacolato di Maria, sul Santissimo Sacramento e su San Giuseppe, scritti sul finire della vita, tra il 1802 e il 1809; analizzati dal punto di vista formale e dottrinale. Tali opere, seppure espressioni della "rinnovata manualistica devota e popolare di fine Settecento ed imbevuti dell'alta tradizione didascalico-spirituale gesuitica" si segnalano per "completezza e nitore di forma e d'espressione" come un "testimone tutt'altro che secondario dell'insorgente spiritualità ottocentesca".(138)

Alle complesse dinamiche religiose e politiche maturate nell'arco del Diciottesimo secolo e, in specie, allo sviluppo della devozione al Sacro Cuore di Gesù è dedicato l'intervento di Giulia Pedace. L'analisi mette a fuoco il passaggio, ricco di contrasti, dalla devozione al riconoscimento di un culto ufficiale e "l'esplosione di una miriade di congregazioni e confraternite dedicate al suo nome nell'arco del Settecento" (p.145). La vicenda rappresenta un capitolo emblematico della storia religiosa del secolo dei Lumi in quanto l'azione della Compagnia di Gesù, per conseguire il riconoscimento del culto, si svolge contemporaneamente all'attacco che l'ordine sta subendo in vari stati europei. Dal lavoro della Pedace emerge con chiarezza il clima culturale nel quale il Lanzi concepisce il progetto editoriale dedicato al Sacro Cuore ma anche la sua posizione che "sembra tuttavia estranea ai tentativi di riforma religiosa di impronta giansenista e illuminata maturati nell'ambito del riformismo ecclesiastico leopoldino"(152).

Le opere filologico-letterarie del Lanzi sono al centro degli interventi di Falchi, Fedeli e Fornaro. È il paradigma della *comunicabilità dei saperi*, di chiara matrice settecentesca a costituire, per l'abate, l'impulso a por mano alla traduzione di autori che, collocabili a pieno titolo nella *ratio studiorum*, testimonieranno le "molte qualità di un

traduttore rigoroso, accurato, piacevolmente espressivo nelle scelte stilistiche e lessicali, sebbene non sempre adeguatamente inserito nel dibattito scientifico internazionale" (p.XIII).

Conclude la raccolta l'intervento di Buonocore che discute alcune lettere scritte tra il 1776 e il 1807 da Lanzi a Gaetano Marini, primo custode della Biblioteca Vaticana. Le lettere scelte testimoniano dell'intenso e fraterno rapporto e il reciproco scambio di saperi da cui emerge chiara la statura scientifica del Lanzi, oltre a offrire un quadro della vivacità culturale dell'epoca.

Il breve papale *Dominus ac Redemptor* che sanciva lo scioglimento della Compagnia di Gesù lo colse a Siena, ministro e prefetto del Collegio. Di lì a poco, il Granduca Pietro Leopoldo I lo avrebbe chiamato alla Galleria fiorentina. La circostanza scandisce la fine della prima fase della vita dell'Ordine e l'inizio di una nuova nella vicenda di studioso del Lanzi. In ciò è affatto condivisibile il richiamo del P. Danieluk a non smarrire il nesso sostanziale tra il suo "periodo non gesuita" e l'attività scientifica per cui è maggiormente noto e il fatto che la sua personalità e il profilo intellettuale fossero il frutto della formazione ricevuta all'interno della Compagnia e della vita trascorsa secondo il carisma dell'ordine al quale appartenne per più di due decenni (p.37).

Roma

Roberta Grossi

Simona SPERINDEI, *Francesco Maria Riccardi (1697-1758). Un Monsignore fiorentino nella Curia romana*, (L'arte e il clero. Collezionisti, Cultura e Mecenatismo), Roma, Andreina e Valneo Budai, 2012, pp. 224 pp., 28 ill. b/n e col., € 35.00, ISBN 88-904944-6-8

Forse in pochi sono a conoscenza che in uno dei luoghi più visitati della Compagnia di Gesù, l'altare di S. Ignazio di Loyola nel transetto sinistro della chiesa del Gesù a Roma, si trova un altro sepolcro, in basso a destra accanto alla balaustra. L'epigrafe marmorea ci ricorda che si tratta di Franciscus Maria Ignatius Riccardi, monsignore fiorentino, morto nel 1758. La vita religiosa e culturale di questa interessante personalità è stata interamente ricostruita da Simona Sperindei, appunto nel libro a lui dedicato.

La prefazione di Elisa Debenedetti, di gran lunga la più autorevole studiosa del Settecento romano, conferma la novità di questa ricerca, incentrata su di un personaggio ancora poco conosciuto, ma che certamente merita l'attenzione del mondo scientifico. Il libro è

costituito soprattutto da un denso lavoro di ricerca d'archivio. Sperindei si dedica già da vari anni allo studio di questa importante figura di monsignore collezionista, intuendone il suo originale apporto nella vita culturale romana della prima metà del XVII secolo, dove il gusto tardo barocco si sta oramai orientando verso tendenze rococò e con evidenti scelte classicheggianti. Nelle prime trenta pagine del libro, l'Autrice presenta il protagonista della ricerca, attraverso delle essenziali indicazioni biografiche sulla giovinezza fiorentina e sugli anni della sua maturità a Roma.

La famiglia Riccardi, infatti, è molto rinomata a Firenze – quella per intendersi dell'omonimo palazzo Medici Riccardi – e favorisce con grande prodigalità di mezzi la vocazione religiosa e l'ascesa nella curia romana del giovane Francesco Maria. In lui la vita devota si mescola con una forte propensione verso il collezionismo e uno spiccato interesse artistico, soprattutto verso gli artisti del suo periodo. Finanzia la decorazione di varie chiese come S. Maria delle Grazie alle Fornaci o S. Francesco a Ripa; promuove il culto di immagini mariane, ad esempio nella chiesa del Gesù a Frascati, oppure fa pubblicare stampe con santi, quali Giuseppe e Luigi Gonzaga. Mostra una vera attenta partecipazione alla vita religiosa romana, entrando in contatto anche con il predicatore, futuro santo, Leonardo da Porto Maurizio. Ricopre incarichi di fiducia, stringe solide amicizie con cardinali e vari prelati e religiosi di molteplici ordini. Nei confronti della Compagnia di Gesù, però, nutre una particolare predisposizione affettiva fin dalla giovinezza fiorentina, rimanendo in stretto contatto con numerosi padri gesuiti dell'epoca e in seguito a Roma facendo parte attiva di varie iniziative di pietà popolare, acquistando e donando libri di preghiera e immagini incise legate alla spiritualità gesuitica.

Colleziona numerose pitture e incisioni, rigorosamente con soggetti cristiani, pur spaziando anche a volte tra temi classici. Possiede tra l'altro opere di Giovanni Paolo Panini, Sebastiano Conca e Gaspare Serenario. Inoltre si concede da monsignore le agiatezze di un'abitazione a palazzo Ruggeri, arricchita da una biblioteca selezionata da lui stesso. Riccardi è anche, infatti, un fine bibliofilo, che compra dagli *Annali* di Baronio al *Vocabolario della Crusca*.

Dai libri dei conti emergono, quindi, notizie di pagamenti di vario tipo che registrano acquisti continui nell'ottica di un collezionismo "devoto", ma non per questo meno ricercato nel materiale prezioso e raffinato. Scorrendo le pagine dell'appendice documentaria, che, in verità, costituisce il vero e proprio *corpus* della ricerca dell'Autrice, si scorgono una serie di oggetti, che testimoniano, appunto, degli

orientamenti di gusto di monsignor Riccardi: cornicette per immagini stampate, ricami d'oro per gli apparati sacri nelle chiese, paliotti in lamina d'argento, legature in argento o in nero con fiori d'oro, "un crocefisso in legno ricoperto di cera assai ben fatto con il fondo di lavagna". Egli si mostra anche molto generoso nei regali, per i quali svolge una particolare cura e attenzione nella scelta: ad esempio "due reliquiari di filigrana d'argento per mandargli con la reliquia di S. Teresa e di S. Margherita alle mie nipoti", "un calice e una patena d'argento" al sagrestano del Collegio Romano "per una mia speciale devozione"; ma anche, secondo la moda in uso nel tempo, "cioccolata senza vaniglia per il Procuratore Generale dei Cappuccini" oppure "castagne candite regalate alla principessa Santacroce". La ricchezza del materiale documentario offre, quindi, al lettore la possibilità di seguire la vita del Monsignor Riccardi, animata dai suoi contatti quasi giornalieri con quella realtà artistica e soprattutto artigiana della Roma del primo Settecento. Nell'inventario della sua casa, redatto il 7 ottobre 1758, tanto viene annotato un quadro con Clemente XII di Antonio David, famoso ritrattista dell'epoca, che testimonia di un gusto estetico assai colto; tanto poi si trova indistintamente una gran quantità di quadretti con santi di fattura meno ricercata.

Dopo questa prima importante presentazione di tale materiale documentario, non si può non aspettare dall'Autrice una seconda fatica, ossia un saggio di più ampio respiro, dove la figura del collezionista Francesco Maria Riccardi possa venire collocata all'interno della animata vita culturale romana, formata in modo eterogeneo da pittori, falegnami, argentieri, ricamatori e da altri che concorrono alla realizzazione degli oggetti più vari dell'arte cristiana del Settecento romano.

Pontificia Università Gregoriana

Lydia Salviucci Insolera

Ana Carolina Hosne, *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru, 1570-1610. Expectations and appraisals of expansionism*, (Routledge studies in the modern history of Asia 85), Routledge, London and New York, 2013, pp. 195, £ 90.00, ISBN 978-0-415-52982-2

A première vue, les missions jésuites du Pérou et de Chine, à la fin du XVI^e siècle, n'ont pas grand-chose en commun. Tout semble même les séparer, à commencer par l'Océan Pacifique. L'Empire Inca est alors aux mains des Espagnols depuis plusieurs décennies (1532-34) et les jésuites, lorsqu'ils arrivent au Pérou en 1566, commencent

leur mission dans une terre non seulement conquise, mais déjà partiellement évangélisée. La Chine, elle, en dépit des multiples tentatives entreprises depuis la seconde décennie du XVI^e siècle pour y pénétrer, résiste fermement à toute présence européenne sur ses terres jusqu'à ce que les autorités de la province de Canton octroient, en 1583, un permis de résidence à une poignée de jésuites italiens. Ceux-ci, contrairement à leurs confrères du Pérou, doivent dès lors se soumettre aux lois et coutumes de leurs hôtes. Leur mission est par ailleurs placée sous le patronat portugais, tandis que la «mission des Andes» est confiée au patronat espagnol. La première, quoique sous tutelle portugaise, est d'abord soumise à l'autorité pontificale – elle en dépend directement –, alors que la seconde doit en premier lieu répondre aux exigences de Philippe II. Bref, la situation géographique comme le contexte socio-politique conduisent à penser que l'examen comparé de ces deux missions serait tout au plus à même de dégager quelques spécificités de l'une et de l'autre à partir de leurs différences respectives. Ana Carolina Hosne les a pourtant réunis dans une même étude, avec l'intention d'apporter un nouvel éclairage sur l'expansion du christianisme à l'époque pré-moderne. Au fait des travaux menés ces dernières années dans le domaine de l'«histoire connectée» (notamment ceux de Sanjay Subramanyan et Serge Gruzinski), elle n'envisage pas simplement de comparer les deux missions pour examiner le phénomène de globalisation auquel la politique missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus a donné lieu, mais aussi de mettre en lumière les relations entre ce phénomène et les contextes locaux spécifiques dans lesquels ces missions se sont déroulées – selon une perspective exclusivement européenne toutefois.

Le livre s'articule autour de deux figures missionnaires majeures de la première modernité: José de Acosta (1539-1600) et Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). Là encore, les ressemblances sont loin d'être évidentes et la liste des trois points communs entre ces deux missionnaires, qu'Ana C. Hosne établit à l'ouverture du chapitre premier, ne promet pas d'être particulièrement fertile («éducation dans des collèges jésuites», «humeur mélancolique» et «goût du pouvoir»; p. 13). La structure même de l'ouvrage témoigne d'ailleurs du fossé qui sépare les deux hommes et les deux missions. Dans la première partie – qui traite de questions biographiques et des contextes socio-politiques dans lesquels les missions prennent place – comme dans la seconde – qui examine les textes doctrinaux rédigés par les deux missionnaires –, les croisements sont rares et l'auteur multiplie les sous-parties consacrées tour à tour à Acosta et à Ricci, au Pérou et à

la Chine, à l'«hispanisation» et à l'«accommodation», à la *Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo para Instrucción de Indios* (DCC; 1584) et au *Tianzhu Shiyi* (TZSY; 1603), à *Viracocha* et à *Tianzhu* et *Shangdi*, etc. Et souvent, lorsque l'auteur passe d'un hémisphère à l'autre, le propos est placé sous le signe du contraste, de la nuance, voire de l'opposition.

On constate toutefois, au fil de ces pages par ailleurs très bien écrites, toujours efficaces et très bien informées, que les orientations données par Acosta et Ricci à leurs missions respectives ont quelque chose qui les relie, au-delà de leur contemporanéité et de leur simple appartenance à la Compagnie de Jésus. Les deux missionnaires, d'abord, partagent bien plus que les trois points communs évoqués ci-dessus, à commencer par leur instinct politique hors du commun et leur capacité à élaborer des méthodes d'évangélisation adaptées aux spécificités culturelles locales ; une capacité qui, dans les deux cas, semble dépasser les seules considérations stratégiques. Acosta et Ricci ont en effet tous deux développé une profonde connaissance des peuples qu'ils entendaient amener au christianisme, de leurs mœurs et de leur système de croyance. Leur rôle prépondérant dans la constitution d'un savoir ethnographique sur l'Amérique et la Chine à l'époque pré-moderne n'a plus besoin d'être démontré. Quant à l'impressionnante longévité des méthodes d'évangélisation qu'ils ont élaborées – la méthode riccienne, dans ses grands axes, s'impose en Chine jusqu'à la suppression de la Compagnie en 1773, et le catéchisme rédigé par Acosta en 1584 n'a été remplacé dans les «pays andins» qu'en 1944 –, elle témoigne à elle seule de la perspicacité avec laquelle ils ont su discerner les dispositions de leur terre d'accueil à la conversion au christianisme.

A cet égard, le second volet de l'ouvrage d'Ana C. Hosne («The missions and their texts») montre parfaitement que les catéchismes d'Acosta et de Ricci s'inscrivent tous deux dans une tradition encore antérieure à Canisius (la démonstration de l'auteur remonte au *De Catechizandis Rudibus* de saint Augustin; p. 98), mais qu'ils répondent aussi habilement aux diverses contraintes, politiques et culturelles, imposées par les deux terres de mission. L'analyse est d'autant plus convaincante que, dans les deux cas, ces catéchismes sont conçus pour réorienter une méthode d'évangélisation préalable. Le DDC redéfinit les pratiques missionnaires des prédécesseurs d'Acosta – que ce dernier jugeait trop conciliantes à l'égard des religions idolâtres préhispaniques – et vise à remplacer la *Plática para todos los Indios*, rédigée par le dominicain Domingo de Santo Tomás en 1560. Quant au TZSY, il modifie complètement la première

méthode d'évangélisation des jésuites de Chine, alors assimilés à des moines bouddhistes, et remplace à cet effet le *Tianzhu Shilu*, le premier catéchisme chinois rédigé par le confrère italien de Matteo Ricci, Michele Ruggieri, en 1584. Le visiteur des missions de Chine et du Japon, Alessandro Valignano, va d'ailleurs ordonner la destruction du catéchisme de Ruggieri dès la parution du TZSY, en 1603; c'est dire à quel point la méthode riccienne, qui prône un rapprochement avec l'élite confucéenne, se démarque de l'apostolat préalablement défini par Ruggieri, où la représentation religieuse des missionnaires, par le port de l'habit de bonze notamment, primait sur leur bonne intégration dans les hautes sphères de la société chinoise. On aimerait bien sûr reprocher à l'auteur de ne pas commenter davantage les conséquences entraînées par ce changement de méthode, en particulier dans la longue «querelle des rites chinois» qui traverse tout le XVIIe siècle. Il faut toutefois admettre qu'Ana Carolina Hosne annonce d'emblée que l'objet de son ouvrage porte sur l'expansion du christianisme dans les terres de mission, pas sur les débats qu'il a suscités en Europe. Il faut enfin saluer l'esprit de synthèse de l'auteur qui ne cède jamais à la tentation d'étaler gratuitement une érudition manifeste. Ainsi, ce livre, s'il peine à mettre en perspective les deux pôles qu'il envisage, apparaît nourri d'une profonde connaissance du contexte andin et du contexte chinois, des écrits d'Acosta et de ceux de Ricci et de la situation des missions à la parution des catéchismes respectifs de ces deux missionnaires. Il propose également de multiples références – toujours précises et pertinentes – à la littérature secondaire même la plus récente et les nombreuses sections qui le composent, souvent courtes, permettent au lecteur pressé d'y trouver rapidement des enquêtes efficaces sur les objets qui l'intéressent.

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